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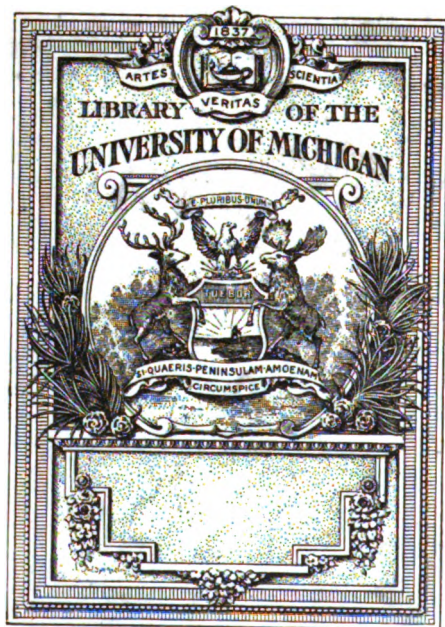
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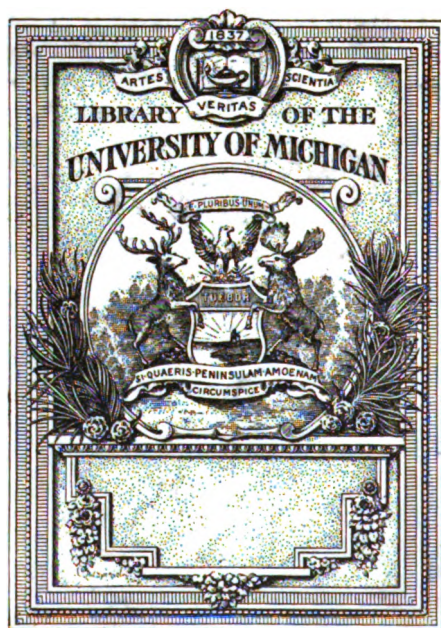
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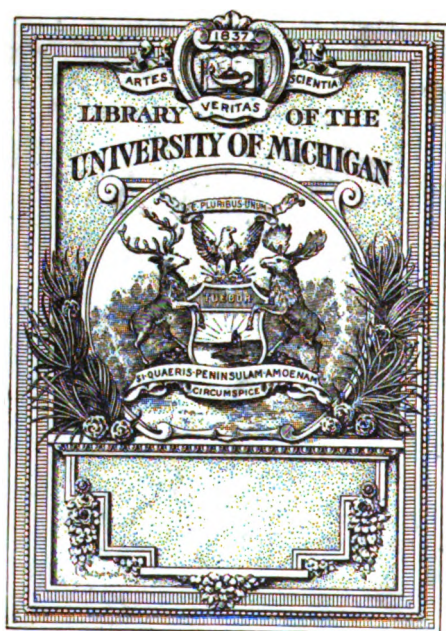
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THE
AMERICAN
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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXIX.

No. 113.

I.—Virgil's Georgics and the British Poets. By WILFRED P. MUSTARD,	1
II.—Duplication Mechanics in Samoan and their Functional Values. By WILLIAM CHURCHILL,	33
III.—Notes and Queries on Utopias in Plautus. By HENRY W. PRESCOTT,	55
IV.—Sigmatism in Greek Dramatic Poetry. By JOHN A. SCOTT, . . .	69
V.—The Etymology of <i>πταβυς</i> . By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, . . .	78
VI.—Felsspar > Feldspar. By PERSIFOR FRAZER,	82
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	84
Bennett, The Latin Language.—Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States.	
REPORTS:	99
Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.—Englische Studien.	
BRIEF MENTION,	113
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	126
BOOKS RECEIVED,	129

No. 114.

I.—On the Source of 'Still to be Neat'. By KIRBY FLOWER SMITH,	133
II.—The Ancient Religions in Universal History. By GRANT SHOWER- MAN,	156
III.—Notes on a Few Vestal Inscriptions. By ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN,	172
IV.—Notes and Suggestions on Lefebvre's Comedies of Menander (Cairo, 1907). By ROBINSON ELLIS,	179
V.—Hieremias De Montagnone and Catullus. By ARTHUR LESLIE WHEELER,	186
VI.—Ξ ΑΠΑΛΩΝ ΟΝΥΧΩΝ. By EDWIN W. FAY,	201
VII.—ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ and ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΣ in Schol. Dem. De Pace 6. By EDWARD CAPPS,	206

NOTE:

A Critical Note to Col. 4, L. 76, of the Behistan Inscription. By H. C. TOLMAN,	212
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	213
Hirzel's <i>Themis, Dike und Verwandtes</i> .—Wageningen's <i>Album Terentianum</i> .	
REPORTS:	228
Rheinisches Museum.—Romania.	
BRIEF MENTION,	239
CORRESPONDENCE,	248
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	250
BOOKS RECEIVED,	253

NO. 115.

I.—Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. First Article. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE,	257
II.—Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries of our Era. By G. L. HENDRICKSON,	280
III.—The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence. By ROY C. FLICKINGER,	303
IV.—Cicero: Pro Sulla 18, 52. By H. C. NUTTING,	316
V.—Ulpian 0 KEITOTYKEITOE. By CHARLES N. SMILEY	322
VI.—The Greek Dictys. By NATHANIEL E. GRIFFIN,	329
VII.—Contraction in the Case Forms of <i>Deus</i> and <i>Meus</i> , <i>Is</i> and <i>Idem</i> . A Study of Contraction in Latin <i>Io-</i> and <i>Eo-</i> , <i>Iā-</i> and <i>Eā-</i> Stems. By ROBERT S. RADFORD,	336
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	342
Bright's <i>Evangelium secundum Johannem</i> .—Huyshe's <i>Beowulf</i> . An Old English Epic.—Thorndyke's <i>Tragedy</i> .—Faraday's <i>The Cattle-Raid of Cooley</i> .—Windisch's <i>Die Altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge</i> .—Jubainville's <i>Táin Bó Cúalnge</i> .	
REPORTS:	353
Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.—Revue de Philologie.	
BRIEF MENTION,	368
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	381
BOOKS RECEIVED,	385

CONTENTS.

v

NO. 116.

I.—Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. Second Article. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE,	389
II.—The Plot of Menander's Epitrepontes. By EDWARD CAPPS,	410
III.—Gildas, Libellus Querulus de Excidio Britannorum as a Source of Glosses in the Cottoniensis (Cleopatra A III = WW. 338-473) and in the Corpus Glossary. By OTTO B. SCHLUTTER,	432
IV.—Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.—An Overlooked Source. By ROBERT T. KERLIN,	449
V.—A New Rhodian Inscription. By T. LESLIE SHEAR,	461
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	467
Marx's C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae.—Cichorius' Untersuchungen zu Lucilius.—Toutain's Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain.—Denison's Nauatl or Mexican in Aryan Phonology.	
REPORTS:	487
Hermes.—Philologus.	
BRIEF MENTION,	498
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	506
BOOKS RECEIVED,	510
INDEX,	513

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE No. 113.

I.—VIRGIL'S GEORGICS AND THE BRITISH POETS.

The enthusiasm of the British poets for Virgil begins with "the morning star of song, Dan Chaucer". To Chaucer, however, Virgil is regularly the poet of the Aeneid, and there seems to be no evidence in his writings that he was at all acquainted with the Georgics. The expression "the crow with vois of care", 'Parlement of Foules', 363, has been called a mistranslation of Geor. i. 388, "cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce;" but this is at least uncertain.

Some early echoes of the Georgics may be found in the worthy old poet who "gave rude Scotland Virgil's page", Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. In the 'Proloug of the Twelt Buik of Eneados' (1513) the passage,

"Of Eolus north blastis havand no dreyd,
The sulye spred hyr braid bosum on breid,
Zephyrus confortabill inspiratioun
For till ressaue law in hyr barm adoun",

is like Geor. ii. 330 ff.,

"parturit almus ager, Zephyrique tepentibus auris
laxant arva sinus
nec metuit surgentes pampinus Austros
aut actum caelo magnis Aquilonibus imbrem",

and the lines,

"The spray bysprent with spryngand sprowtis dispers,
For callour humour on the dewy nycht,
Rendryng sum place the gers pilis thar hycht
Als far as catal, the lang symmeris day,
Had in thar pastur eyt and knyp away;
And blisfull blossommis in the blomyt yard
Submittis thar hedis in the yong sonniss selfgard",

repeat the fancy of Geor. ii. 201-2,

"et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet",

and Geor. ii. 332,

"inque novos soles audent se germina tuto
credere".

In the third prologue Cynthia is called "leman to Pan", according to a passing hint in Geor. iii. 391-3. In the 'Proloug of the Fowrt Buik' the four stanzas about the power of love,

"O Lord, quhat writis myne autor of thi force,
In his Georgikis", etc.,

refer to Geor. iii. 209 ff. Compare the lines,

"quhow thine vndantit mycht
Constrenis so sum tyme the stonit hors,
That, by the sent of a mere far of sycht,
He braidis brayis anon, and takis the flycht;
Na bridle may him dant nor bustius dynt,
Nothir bray, hie roche, nor braid fludis stynt",

with Geor. iii. 250-4,

"nonne vides, ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum
corpora, si tantum notas odor attulit auras?
ac neque eos iam frena virum neque verbera saeva,
non scopuli rupesque cavae atque obiecta retardant
flumina".

Douglas mentions also the battle of the bulls,

"The bustius bullis oft, for the yowng ky,
With horn to horn wirkis vther mony ane wound",

and speaks of the behavior of the "meek harts", and rams, and bears. And, still following Virgil's suggestion, he devotes two stanzas to the story of Leander. In the sixth prologue there are three quotations from the Georgics. In the lines,

"For all the plesance of the camp Elise,
Octavian, in his Georgikis, ye may se,
He consalis nevir lordschip in hell desyre",

the reference is to Geor. i. 36-38. The lines,

"The world begouth in veir, baith day and nycht
In veir he sais that God als formit man",

refer to Geor. ii. 336. And in the next stanza,

"Happy wer he that knew the caus of all thingis,
And settis on syde all dreid and cuir, quod he,
Wndir his feit at treddis and doun thringis
Chancis vntretable of fatis and destany,
All feir of deid, and eik of hellis see",

we have a quotation from Geor. ii. 490-92.

In the Scottish metrical romance 'Lancelot of the Laik' (c. 1490-1500), lines 2483-5,

"And scilla hie ascending in the ayre,
That euery vight may heryng hir declar
Of the sessone the passing lustynes",

repeat one of Virgil's signs of fair weather, Geor. i. 404-9,

"apparet liquido sublimis in aere Nisus,
et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo", etc.

In Alexander Barclay's fourth 'Egloge' (c. 1514) there is an allusion to the general subject of the Georgics",

"As fame reporteth, such a Sheperde there was,
Which that time liued under Mecenas.
And Tityrus (I trowe) was this shepherdes name,
I well remember aline yet is his fame.
He songe of feldes and tilling of the grounds,
Of shepe, of oxen, and battayle did he sounde.
So shrill he sounded in termes eloquent,
I trowe his tunes went to the firmament".

All this, and much more, is borrowed from Mantuan's fifth eclogue, 'De Consuetudine Divitum erga Poetas',

"Tityrus (ut fama est) sub Mecoenate vetusto
rura, boves et agros, et Martia bella canebat
altius, et magno pulsabat sidera cantu", etc.

And the same passage of Mantuan explains Spenser's allusion to the Georgics, 'Shepherd's Calendar', October, 55-60:

"Indeede the Romish Tityrus, I heare,
Through his Mecaenas left his Oaten reede,
Whereon he earst had taught his flocks to feede,
And laboured lands to yield the timely eare,
And eft did sing of warres and deadly drede,
So as the heavens did quake his verse to here."

Compare Sannazaro's allusion to Virgil, 'Arcadia', Prosa X.:
"Il quale, poi che, abbandonate le capre, si diede ad ammaestrare i rustichi coltivatori della terra; forse con isperanza di

cantare appresso con più sonora tromba le arme del Troiano Enea", etc. Toward the close of Barclay's poem there is a specific allusion to *Geor. iv.* 437-42:

"Like as Protheus oft chaunged his stature,
Mutable of figure oft times in one houre,
When Aristeus in bondes had him sure", etc.

In the third 'Egloge' the sorrow at the "shepherd's" death,

"The mighty walles of Ely monastery,
The stones, rockes, and towres semblably,
The marble pillars and images echeone,
Swet all for sorowe",

reminds one of the death of Caesar, *Geor. i.* 480,

"et maestum illacrimat templis ebur aëraque sudant".

Compare Milton's ode on the Nativity (1629), xxi,

"And the chill marble seems to sweat,
While each peculiar power foregoes his wonted seat".

In Barnabe Googe's eighth 'Eglog' (1563),

"Looke how the beastes begin to fling and cast theys heades on hye,
The Hearonshew mountes aboue the clouds, ye Crowes ech wher do cry:
All this showes rayn",

we have some of the weather signs of the first Georgic: compare 375,

"aut bucula caelum
suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras;"

364, "altam supra volat ardea nubem;" 388, "cornix . . . pluuiam vocat". The prefatory poem to 'The Zodiacke of Life' (1560) shows that Googe was familiar with the works of Aratus; but the behavior of his "hearonshew" agrees rather with the Georgics, a part of which he translated and published, about 1577.

In Brysket's 'Mourning Muse of Thestylis' (1587), various portents which, Virgil tells us, attended the death of Julius Caesar are rather naïvely borrowed and made to attend the death of Sir Philip Sidney. Compare lines 82-90,

"The sun his lightsom beames did shrowd, and hide his face
For grieft, whereby the earth feard night eternally:
The mountaines eachwhere shooke,
And grisly ghosts by night were seene, and fierie gleames
Amid the clouds,
The birds of ill presage this lucklesse chance foretold,
By dernfull noise, and dogs with howling made man deeme
Some mischief was at hand",

with Geor. i. 466-88,

" Ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam,
cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,
impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.
Tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti
obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres
signa dabant.
. . . insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes,
. . . et simulacra modis pallentia miris
visa sub obscurum noctis
Non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
fulgura, nec diri totiens arsere cometae."

In Samuel Daniel's 'Civile Wars' (1595), iii. 513,

" O happie man, sayth hee, that lo I see
Grazing his cattle in those pleasant fieldes !
If he but knew his good ",

there seems to be an echo of Geor. ii. 458,

" O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas !"

And in 'The Queen's Arcadia', iv. 4,

" like to the Bee that stinging dies,
And in anothers wound left his owne life ",

we are reminded of Geor. iv. 238, "animasque in vulnere ponunt."

This comes through Tasso's 'Aminta', iv. 1,

" in guisa d'ape che ferendo muore,
E nelle piaghe altrui lascia la vita".

In Shakespeare's 'King Henry V' (1599), i. 2, 192 ff., there is a delightful passage about the work of the honey-bees, which is often quoted to illustrate Geor. iv. 153 ff. The expression "the tent-royal of their emperor", applied to the royal cell of the hive, is an interesting parallel to Virgil's "praetoria", Geor. iv. 75,

" et circa reges ipsa ad praetoria densae
miscentur", etc.

In Ben Jonson's 'Silent Woman' (1609), ii. 2, we have a bit of literary criticism by Sir John Daw: "Homer, an old tedious, prolix ass, talks of curriers, and chines of beef; Virgil of dunging of land and bees; Horace, of I know not what". In the same play, iv. 2, the Lady Haughty's reflection, "The best of our days pass first", seems to be borrowed from Geor. iii. 66,

" Optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
prima fugit",

and in 'Epigrams', LXX,

"Each best day of our life escapes us first",

the Virgilian sentiment is even more literally repeated. In 'The Masque of Beauty' the author's own notes refer to *Geor.* iv. 387-8 and i. 453.

In George Chapman's 'Eugenia' (1614) there is a long list of "tempestatis praesagia", which suggests an acquaintance not only with the *Georgics*, but also with Aratus, Lucan and Pliny. In the 'Georgics of Hesiod' the title is borrowed from Virgil, and the Roman poet's *Georgics* are mentioned in the introductory note.

In Fletcher's 'Elder Brother', i. 2, 130ff., the studious Charles Brisac discourses on the *Georgics*:

"For, what concerns Tillage,
Who better can deliver it than Virgil
In his *Georgicks*? and to cure your Herds,
His *Bucolicks*¹ is a Master-piece; but when
He does describe the Commonwealth of Bees,
Their industry, and knowledge of the herbs
From which they gather Honey, with their care
To place it with decorum in the Hive;
Their Government among themselves, their order
In going forth, and coming loaden home;
Their obedience to their King, and his rewards
To such as labour, with his punishments
Only inflicted on the slothful Drone;²
I'm ravished with it", etc.

Compare *Geor.* iv. 153 ff.

¹ The name 'Bucolics' is here applied to the third book of the *Georgics*, and the name 'Georgics' to the first book in particular. This may be a bit of etymological pedantry on the part of our "mere scholar"; or it may represent a common usage of a generation which was careful to call Virgil's pastoral poems 'Aeglogues'. In E. K.'s note on the 'Shepheardes Calender', x. 58, the name 'Bucolics' covers even the first book of the *Georgics*: "In labouring of lands is (meant) hys *Bucoliques*".

² Fletcher must have been reading Lyly, whose king bee is represented as "preferring those that labour to greater authoritie, and punishing those that loyter, with due seueritie" ('*Euphues and his England*', p. 45 Bond). The error of the ancients in supposing the queen bee to be a king had a long life. Xenophon has a queen bee, *Oecon.* vii. 38, but it is hard to find another in literature until after 1670, when the Dutch naturalist, Jan Swammerdam, discovered the sex of the royal bee by the aid of the microscope. Before 1524, Giovanni Rucellai examined various queen bees with the aid of a concave mirror, but failed to discover their sex ('*Le Api*', 963-1001).

In Herrick's 'Hesperides', 664,

"O happy life! if that their good
The husbandmen but understood!"

we hear again the words of Geor. ii. 458.

In George Daniel's 'Pastorall Ode' part of the praise of a country life,

"What though I doe not find
My Galleries there Lined
With Atticke hangings, nor Corinthian Plate", etc.,

and, again,

"What though, my Backe, or Thigh,
Not Cloathed be with Woole, in Tirian Dye!"

is due to Geor. ii. 458 ff. Compare lines 461-4, "si non . . .
inlusasque auro vestes Ephyreiaque aera", and 506, "ut gemma
bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro". In the lines 'Vpon a Reviewe
of Virgil, translated by Mr. Ogilby' (1647),

"And Hesiod there, who sung of Ceres most,
Gave his Corne-Chaplets, Virgil's better boast,
When Hee arriv'd",

there is an allusion to the Georgics. And there is another in
'A Vindication of Poesie',

"the Mantuan,
As Sweet in feilds, as statelie, in Troies' fire".

The motto prefixed to Henry Vaughan's 'Olor Iscanus' (1651)
is adapted from Geor. ii. 488-9, and the motto set on the title-page
was taken from Geor. ii. 486. Among his 'Fragments and Trans-
lations' there are versions of Geor. iv. 125-138, and ii. 58.

In the preface to the edition of his works in folio (1656)
Abraham Cowley quotes Geor. iii. 244. In his 'Essays in Prose
and Verse' he quotes from the Georgics five times (i. 514; ii.
488-9; ii. 458; iv. 564; ii. 291-2). The first essay refers to the
story of Oenomaus, Geor. iii. 7, and the fourth contains a 'Trans-
lation out of Virgil', Geor. ii. 458-540.

In Milton's 'Paradise Lost' (1667) the phrase "ignoble ease",
ii. 227, is Virgil's "ignobilis oti", Geor. iv. 564; and at ii. 665
the "labouring moon" recalls the "lunaeque labores" of Geor. ii.
478. The phrase "smit with the love of sacred song", iii. 29, is
often quoted to illustrate Geor. ii. 476, "ingenti percussus amore".
At vii. 631, "thrice happy if they know their happiness", there
is a verbal resemblance to Geor. ii. 458, "fortunatos nimium, sua
si bona norint"; and at ix. 852, "and ambrosial smell diffused",

we have the very words of *Geor.* iv. 415, "et liquidum ambrosiae diffundit odorem". The mention in 'Comus', 114, of the starry quire who "lead in swift round the months and years", recalls the "clarissima mundi lumina" of *Geor.* i. 6, "labentem caelo quae ducitis annum;" and perhaps the expression at 525, "his baneful cup, with many murmurs mixed", should be compared with *Geor.* ii. 128-9:

"pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae,
miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba."

In Dryden's 'Medal',

"Too happy England, if our good we knew",

we have another echo of *Geor.* ii. 458; and in 'Alexander's Feast', the "honest face" of Bacchus seems to be the "caput honestum" of *Geor.* ii. 392.

In Roscommon's 'Essay on Translated Verse',

"Who has not heard how Italy was blest,
Above the Medes, above the wealthy East?"

the reference is to *Geor.* ii. 136 ff.

We learn from Dryden's Dedication of the *Aeneis* (1697) that Lord Mulgrave had made a version of 'Orpheus and Eurydice' which was "eminently good". And the Postscript to the Reader speaks in terms of praise of a recent anonymous translation of part of the third Georgic, called 'The Power of Love.'

The motto of Samuel Garth's 'Claremont' is *Geor.* iii. 40-41.

The motto of Addison's 'Letter from Italy, 1701', is *Geor.* ii. 173-5. In this poem, "Eridanus the king of floods" is the "fluviorum rex Eridanus" of *Geor.* i. 482. The poetical works of Addison include 'A Translation of all Virgil's Fourth Georgic, except the story of Aristaeus'.

The motto prefixed to Pope's 'Pastorals' (1704) was taken from *Geor.* ii. 485-6. The 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day', 53-107, contains a paraphrase of part of Virgil's story of Orpheus and Eurydice, *Geor.* iv. 481-527. And perhaps the lines, in 'Satires and Epistles of Horace Imitated', Bk. ii. Sat. i,

"And he, whose lightning pierced the Iberian lines,
Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my vines",

refer to Virgil's precept that vines should be set out in the order of the quincunx, *Geor.* ii. 277-81.

In John Philips' 'Cyder' (1706) we have the first of a series of eighteenth century didactic poems which are manifestly modeled on the Georgics.¹ The opening lines of the first book,

"What soil the apple loves, what care is due
To orchats, timeliest when to press the fruits,
Thy gift, Pomona, in Miltonian verse
Adventurous I presume to sing",

remind one of the opening lines of the first Georgic, "quid faciat laetas segetes . . . hinc canere incipiam". The subtle juice, at line 65,

"which, in revolving years, may try
Thy feeble feet, and bind thy faltering tongue",

is like the "tenuis Lageos" of Geor. ii. 94,

"temptatura pedes olim vincturaque linguam."

The turn of the phrase, at 116, "yet who would doubt to plant somewhat", is perhaps due to Geor. iv. 242, "at suffire thymo . . . quis dubitet?" The memorials of the ancient city of Ariconium,

"huge unwieldy bones, lasting remains
Of that gigantic race; which, as he breaks
The clotted glebe, the ploughman haply finds,
Appall'd",

remind one of Geor. i. 493-7,

"Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,
aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes
grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."

¹Other members of the series are, Tickell's 'Fragment of a Poem on Hunting'; Somerville's 'Chase' (1735); Armstrong's 'Art of Preserving Health' (1744); Akenside's 'Pleasures of the Imagination' (1744); Smart's 'Hop-Garden' (1752); Dodsley's 'Agriculture' (1754); Dyer's 'Fleece' (1757); Grainger's 'Sugar-Cane' (1763); Mason's 'English Garden' (1772-82); and (about 1785) Cowper's 'Task'—especially the third part, entitled 'The Garden'. In all these poems the model followed is professedly, or at least manifestly, Virgil; and throughout the series there is a careful imitation of the Georgics in structure and tone, and in many a fancy and precept and phrase. Two of the favorite subjects for imitation are Virgil's episode in praise of Italy and his rhapsody in praise of the farmer's life. Perhaps we should mention here 'The Secrets of Angling', by John Dennys, written before 1613 (Arber's 'English Garner', i. 147 ff.). The beginning of the first book, in its statement of the subject and its invocation of the Nymphs, is sufficiently like the beginning of the first Georgic.

The description of the process of grafting, "force a way into the crabstock's close-wrought grain by wedges", is, naturally like Geor. ii. 79, "et alte finditur in solidum cuneis via". The passage,

"So Maro's Muse,
Thrice sacred Muse! commodious precepts gives
Instructive to the swains, not wholly bent
On what is gainful: sometimes she diverts
From solid counsels, shows the force of love
In savage beasts; how virgin face divine
Attracts the helpless youth through storms and waves,
Alone, in deep of night: then she describes
The Scythian winter, nor disdains to sing
How under ground the rude Rhiphaean race
Mimic brisk Cyder with the brake's product wild;
Sloes pounded, Hips, and Servis' harshest juice",

refers to various passages in the third Georgic: 245 ff., 258 ff., 352 ff., 376 ff. The mention of spring as the season "when the stork, sworn foe of snakes, returns" is due to Geor. ii. 320,

"candida venit avis longis invisa colubris."

The mention of the Rhodian and Lesbian vines, and of "Phaneus self", is due to Geor. ii. 90-102, and the expression, "and shall we doubt to improve our vegetable wealth", comes from Geor. ii. 433, "et dubitant homines serere", etc. The meadows "with battening ooze enrich'd" recall the "felicem limum" of Virgil's mountain valley, Geor. ii. 188. The long passage towards the close of the first book,

"Some loose the bands
Of ancient friendship, cancel Nature's laws
For pageantry, and tawdry gewgaws . . .
If no retinue with observant eyes
Attend him, if he can't with purple stain
Of cumbrous vestments, labor'd o'er with gold,
Dazzle the crowd, and set them all agape;
Yet clad in homely weeds, from Envy's darts
Remote he lives", etc.,

is suggested by Virgil's praises of a country life, at the close of the second Georgic: cp. 461 ff.,

"Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes,
inlusasque auro vestes
at segura quies", etc.,

and 505 ff.,

"hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque Penates,
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro", etc.

At the beginning of Philips' second book,

"Thus far of trees: the pleasing task remains,
To sing of wines, and Autumn's blest increase",

we are reminded of the opening lines of the second Georgic:

"Hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli;
nunc te, Bacche, canam", etc.

At line 62,

"The well-rang'd files of trees, whose full-ag'd store
Diffuse ambrosial steams",

we have a Virgilian phrase, "liquidum ambrosiae diffundit odorem", *Geor.* iv. 415. The precept,

"The hoarded store,
And the harsh draught, must twice endure the Sun's
Kind strengthening heat, twice Winter's purging cold",

borrowes Virgil's phrase, "bis quae solem bis frigora sensit", *Geor.* i. 48, and the expression,

"with vehement suns
When dusty summer bakes the crumbling clods",

repeats *Geor.* i. 65-6,

"glæbasque iacentes
pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas."

In 1710, Swift wrote 'A Description of a City-Shower, in Imitation of Virgil's Georgics'. This has its own list of "sure prognostics", to match Virgil's "certis signis", *Geor.* i. 351. And, at the close, it has its own picture of the effect of the storm,

"Now from all parts the swelling kennels flow,
And bear their trophies with them", etc.,

to match Virgil's picture, *Geor.* i. 325,

"et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores
diluuit; implentur fossae", etc.

In the first canto of John Gay's 'Rural Sports. A Georgic' (1713) we have a list of the subjects in "the Mantuan's Georgic strains". In 'Trivia', i. 122 ff., a cheap imitation of Swift's 'City-Shower', we have a list of "sure prognostics" and

"certain signs" of the weather, like Virgil's "*certis signis*", *Geor.* i. 351 ff. Virgil's lines, 415-6,

"haud equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis
ingenium aut rerum fato prudentia maior",

are applied to the city sparrows,

"Not that their minds with greater skill are fraught,
Endued by instinct or by reason taught."

At i. 204,

"So fierce Alecto's snaky tresses fell,
When Orpheus charm'd the rigorous powers of Hell",

we have a reference to the "*caeruleos implexae crinibus angues Eumenides*" of *Geor.* iv. 482. And at ii. 393-8, we have an allusion to the death of Orpheus, *Geor.* iv. 523 ff.,

"His sever'd head floats down the silver tide,
His yet warm tongue for his lost consort cry'd", etc.

In the poems of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, we have 'Part of the Story of Orpheus. Being a Translation out of the fourth Book of Virgil's *Georgic*'. The part translated is iv. 453-527.

The mottoes of twenty-five of the essays in the '*Spectator*' (from 1710 on) are taken from the *Georgics*. The motto of John Hughes' '*Ecstasy*' is *Geor.* ii. 475-6. The motto of William Congreve's '*Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas*' is *Geor.* iv. 511-15. The motto of the first book of Edward Young's '*Last Day*' is *Geor.* i. 328-31. The motto of Night the Third of Young's '*Complaint*' is *Geor.* iv. 489. The motto of his '*Epistle to Lord Lansdowne*' is *Geor.* ii. 18-19.

In Colley Cibber's '*Refusal*' (1720), v. 2, there is a quotation (slightly modified) from Dryden's version of the *Georgics*,

"Hear how the British Virgil sings his sway:

'Thus every creature, and of every kind,
The secret joys of mutual passion find;
Not only man's imperial race, but they
That wing the liquid air, or swim the sea,
Or haunt the desert, rush into the flame;
For love is lord of all, and is in all the same'".

See *Geor.* iii. 242-4.

In the second canto of Soame Jenyns' '*Art of Dancing*' (1730) there is a foot-note reference to *Geor.* i. 514, "*nec audit currus habenas*".

In 'A Fragment of a Poem on Hunting', by Thomas Tickell, the "thousand families of hounds"—

"First count the sands, the drops where oceans flow"—

are as numerous as Virgil's varieties of trees and vines, ii. 105-8. The passage about spring as the season of Venus comes from *Geor.* ii. 325 ff., iii. 242 ff. The fragment breaks off with a reference to the fourth and third Georgics:

"Hence bees in state, and foaming coursers come", etc.

Perhaps the most striking case of the careful study and imitation of the Georgics is that of James Thomson, the author of the 'Seasons'. Indeed, one may apply to his use of Virgil what was said of Spenser's use of his models in the 'Shepherd's Calendar': "whose foting this author every where followeth: yet so as few, but they be wel sented, can trace him out". We hear a great deal about Thomson's enthusiasm, his passion, for Nature; but it ought to be more widely known that in much of his imaginative interpretation of the physical world he was avowedly following Virgil. Many of his "nature" passages were written with Virgil definitely in mind, or with the page of Virgil literally open before him. Even the prayer to Nature—which is sometimes quoted as giving Thomson's poetical profession of faith—is a close imitation of a passage in the Georgics. A similar prayer, in a similar context, may be found at the close of Somerville's 'Chase'.

In 'Spring', 27, the mention of the season when the "bright Bull" receives the bounteous sun is suggested by *Geor.* i. 217,

"candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus."

Compare Milton, P. L. i. 769, "In spring-time when the sun with Taurus rides". Lines 32-33,

"Forth fly the tepid Airs; and unconfined,
Unbinding earth, the moving softness strays",

are due to *Geor.* ii. 330-1:

"Zephyrique tepentibus auris
laxant arva sinus; superat tener omnibus umor."

And the expression, in line 46, "the faithful bosom of the ground"

is very like Virgil's "*iustissima tellus*", *Geor.* ii. 460. At line 55 we have a direct mention of Virgil:

"Such themes as these the rural Maro sung
To wide-imperial Rome, in the full height
Of elegance and taste, by Greece refined."

At line 455 we have another reference to the *Georgics*:

"Through rural scenes; such as the Mantuan swain
Paints in the matchless harmony of song."

The description, at 717, of the nightingale who finds her nest robbed "by the hard hand of unrelenting clowns", and, retiring to the poplar shade,

"sings

Her sorrows through the night; and, on the bough
Sole-sitting, still at every dying fall
Takes up again her lamentable strain
Of winding woe, till, wide around, the woods
Sigh to her song, and with her wail resound",

is borrowed from *Geor.* iv. 511,

"*qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
observans nido implumes detraxit; at illa
flet noctem ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
integrat et maestis late loca questibus implet.*"

Lines 791-807,

"Through all his lusty veins

The bull, deep-scorched, the raging passion feels.
Of pasture sick, and negligent of food,
. and, idly-butting, feigns
His rival gored in every knotty trunk.
. to the hollowed earth,
Whence the sand flies, they mutter bloody deeds", etc.,

recall the passage in the third *Georgic*, 215 ff:

"*Carpit enim vires paulatim uritque videndo
femina, nec nemorum patitur meminisse nec herbae
dulcibus illa quidem illecebris
et tentat sese, atque irasci in cornua discit
arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.*"

And lines 808-19,

"The trembling steed,

With this hot impulse seized in every nerve,
Nor hears the rein, nor heeds the sounding thong", etc.,

are a paraphrase of *Geor.* iii. 250-4 :

"Nonne vides, ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum
corpora, si tantum notas odor attulit auras?
Ac neque eos iam frena virum neque verbera saeva,
non scopuli rupesque cavæ atque obiecta retardant
flumina correptosque unda torquentia montes."

In 'Summer', 1116 ff., the signs of the rising storm :

"A boding silence reigns,
Dread through the dun expanse; save the dull sound
That from the mountain, previous to the storm,
Rolls o'er the muttering earth, disturbs the flood,
And shakes the forest-leaf without a breath.
Prone, to the lowest vale, the ærial tribes
Descend
. In rueful gaze
The cattle stand, and on the scowling heavens
Cast a deploring eye",

are borrowed from *Geor.* i. 356 ff.:

"Continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti
incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis
montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe
litora misceri et nemorum increbescere murmur.
. . . . aut illum surgentem vallibus imis
æriæ fugere grues, aut bucula caelum
suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras."

And the effect of the storm on Carnarvon's mountains, 1163:

"from the rude rocks
Of Penmanmaur heaped hideous to the sky,
Tumble the smitten cliffs",

recalls *Geor.* i. 331-3:

"ille flagranti
aut Athon aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo
deicit."

The panegyric on Britain, 1442 ff., and the list of her "sons of glory", 1479 ff., were probably suggested by the episode in praise of Italy, *Geor.* ii. 136-76. And the concluding passage in praise of philosophy, 1730 ff., has its parallel near the close of the second *Georgic*, 475-82.

The expression in 'Autumn', 7, "whate'er . . . Summer suns concocted strong", is probably due to *Geor.* i. 66,

"glæbasque iacentes
pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas."

And the same Virgilian passage is paraphrased at 408,

"The fallow ground laid open to the sun,
Concoctive."

Line 24,

"And Libra weighs in equal scales the year",

may be compared with Geor. i. 208,

"Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas."

The expression, at 122, "Thames . . . king of floods", recalls Virgil's "fluviorum rex Eridanus", Geor. i. 482. The description of the autumn storm, 311 ff., is a paraphrase of Geor. i. 316 ff. Compare lines 330 ff.,

"And sometimes too a burst of rain,
Swept from the black horizon, broad, descends
In one continuous flood. Still overhead
The mingling tempest weaves its gloom, and still
The deluge deepens; till the fields around
Lie sunk and flatted, in the sordid wave.
Sudden the ditches swell; the meadows swim.
Red from the hills, innumerable streams
Tumultuous roar;
. . . . his drowning ox at once
Descending, with his labours scattered round,
He sees", etc.,

with i. 322 ff.,

"Saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum,
et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbris atris
collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,
et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores
diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt
cum sonitu", etc.

The picture of the vintage, 700,

"the country floats,
And foams unbounded with the mashy flood",

recalls Geor. ii. 6,

"tibi pampineo gravidus autumnus
floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris;"

and the lines, at 1072,

"What pity, Cobham! thou thy verdant files
Of ordered trees shouldst here inglorious range,
Instead of squadrons flaming o'er the field,
And long embattled hosts!"

remind one of Geor. ii. 277 ff.,

"nec setius omnis in unguem
arboribus positis secto via limite quadret.
Ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortes
explicuit legio, et campo stetit agmen aperto,
directaeque acies", etc.

Lines 1233-4,

"their annual toil
Begins again the never-ceasing round",

are an echo of Geor. ii. 401-2:

"Redit agricolis labor actus in orbem,
atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus."

The long passage—too long to quote—1235-1351,

"Oh! knew he but his happiness, of men
The happiest he; who far from public rage
Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired,
Drinks the pure pleasures of the rural life", etc.,

is a close imitation of Geor. ii. 458-540. Compare 1235-77 with ii. 458-74; 1278-98 with ii. 503-12; 1299-1310 with ii. 495-502; 1327-51 with ii. 519-40. The address to Nature, 1352-73, is modeled on ii. 475-86. Compare the lines,

"But if to that unequal; if the blood,
In sluggish streams about my heart, forbid
That best ambition; under closing shades,
Inglorious, lay me by the lowly brook", etc.,

with ii. 483-6,

"Sin has ne possim naturae accedere partes,
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
flumina amem silvasque inglorius."

The line in 'Winter', 228,

"And the sky saddens with the gathered storm",

has its counterpart in Geor. iii. 279,

"unde nigerrimus Auster
nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum."

Compare Tennyson, 'The Daisy',

"The gloom that saddens Heaven and Earth."

At 530 we have an indication of Thomson's reverence for Virgil:

"Behold, who yonder comes! in sober state,
Fair, mild, and strong, as is a vernal sun—
'Tis Phoebus' self, or else the Mantuan Swain!"

The signs of the rising storm, 118-52, are largely borrowed from Virgil. Compare 126-31 with *Geor.* i. 365-9; 132-7 with i. 375-6 and 390-2; 139-41 with i. 381-2; 143-4 with i. 403; 144-6 with i. 361-4; and 148-52,

"Ocean, unequal pressed, with broken tide
And blind commotion heaves; while from the shore,
Ate into caverns by the restless wave,
And forest-rustling mountain, comes a voice,
That solemn-sounding bids the world prepare",

with i. 356-9,

"Continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti
incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis
montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe
litora misceri et nemorum increbescere murmur."

Lines 182-3,

"Low waves the rooted forest, vexed, and sheds
What of its tarnished honours yet remain",

may be compared with *Geor.* ii. 404,

"frigidus et silvis Aquilo decussit honorem."

The picture of the frigid zone, 816-26,

"There, warm together pressed, the trooping deer
Sleep on the new-fallen snows; and, scarce his head
Raised o'er the heapy wreath, the branching elk
Lies slumbering sullen in the white abyss.
The ruthless hunter wants nor dogs nor toils,
Nor with the dread of sounding bows he drives
The fearful, flying race; with ponderous clubs,
As, weak, against the mountain-heaps they push
Their beating breast in vain, and, piteous, bray,
He lays them quivering on the ensanguined snows,
And with loud shouts rejoicing bears them home",

is borrowed from *Geor.* iii. 368-75,

"confertoque agmine cervi
torpent mole nova et summis vix cornibus exstant.
Hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis
puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pennae,
sed frustra oppositum trudentes pectore montem
comminus obtruncant ferro, graviterque rudentes
caedunt, et magno laeti clamore reportant."

And at 941 ff., the lines,

"Deep from the piercing season sunk in caves,
Here by dull fires, and with unjoyous cheer,
They waste the tedious gloom",

remind one of Geor. iii. 376 ff.,

"Ipsi in defossis specubus secreta sub alta
otia agunt terra", etc.

In 'Liberty', i. 159, "yellow Ceres" is Virgil's "flava Ceres", Geor. i. 96; and at iii. 512, "the deep vales of gelid Haemus", we have the "gelidis convallibus Haemi" of Geor. ii. 488. At the beginning of Part v, the long passage on the happiness and grandeur of Great Britain, 8-85, is modeled on the episode in praise of Italy, Geor. ii. 136-76. Compare, for example, lines 81-5,

"Great nurse of fruits, of flocks, of commerce, she!
Great nurse of men! by thee, O Goddess, taught,
Her old renown I trace, disclose her source
Of wealth, of grandeur, and to Britons sing
A strain the Muses never touched before",

with ii. 173-6,

"Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontes,
Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen."

Virgil's description of the Lago di Garda, ii. 160,

"fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens, Benace, marino",

is applied to the Severn,

"And thee, thou Severn, whose prodigious swell
And waves, resounding, imitate the main;"

and even the line about the Italian climate, ii. 149,

"hic ver adsiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas",

is resolutely applied to the climate of Great Britain,

"Eternal verdure crowns
Her meads; her gardens smile eternal spring."

In 'The Castle of Indolence', ii. 55, the stanza about the toiling swain, "perhaps the happiest of the sons of men", free from

avarice and "rich in nature's wealth", owes something to Geor. ii. 458 ff. And in stanza 78 the picture of the "saddened country",

"Where nought but putrid streams and noisome fogs
For ever hung on drizzly Auster's beard;
Or else the ground, by piercing Caurus seared,
Was jagged with frost, or heaped with glazed snow",

may be compared with Geor. iii. 279,

"unde nigerrimus Auster
nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum",

and iii. 354-6,

"sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto
terra gelu late septemque adsurgit in ulnas;
semper hiemps, semper spirantes frigora Cauri."

The motto of Somerville's 'Chase' (1735) is Geor. iii. 404. The motto of 'Hobbinol' is Geor. iii. 289-93. The motto of Fable xiii is Geor. iii. 97-101. The author's model in the 'Chase' is professedly Virgil; in his preface he says, "I have intermixed the preceptive parts with so many descriptions and digressions in the Georgic manner, that I hope they will not be tedious". The conclusion, like that of Thomson's 'Autumn', is modeled on the conclusion of the second Georgic:

"O happy! if ye knew your happy state,
Ye rangers of the fields;
. What, if no heroes frown
From marble pedestals;
Give me to know wise Nature's hidden depths,
Trace each mysterious cause,
. But if my soul,
To this gross clay confined, flutters on Earth
With less ambitious wing;
Grant me, propitious, an inglorious life", etc.

In Gray's 'Ode on the Spring' (written 1742) the lines,

"The insect youth are on the wing,
Eager to taste the honied spring,
And float amid the liquid noon",

are referred, in the author's own note to Geor. iv. 59, "nare per aestatem liquidam."

The motto of William Collins' 'Persian Eclogues' (1742) is taken from Geor. i. 250.

In Akenside's 'Pleasures of the Imagination' (1744), i. 599-604,

"I unlock
The springs of ancient Wisdom
And tune to Attic themes the British lyre",

we have an echo of Geor. ii. 174-6,

"tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontes,
Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen."

And the conclusion of the third book, 568 ff., "Oh! blest of Heaven! . . . what though not all . . . yet Nature's care", etc., is modeled on the conclusion of the second Georgic, 458 ff.

In Armstrong's 'Art of Preserving Health' (1744), we have another didactic poem whose model is doubtless Virgil. The lines in the first book,

"Harder in clear and animated song
Dry philosophic precepts to convey.
Yet with thy aid the secret wilds I trace
Of Nature, and with daring steps proceed
Thro' paths the Muses never trod before",

may be compared with Geor. iii. 289-93,

"Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
quam sit
sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
raptat amor; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo."

Compare, also, Lucretius, i. 922-30. The third book has a passage in praise of country life which recalls the close of the second Georgic; and the close of the third book, like the close of the third Georgic, gives a description of a terrible pestilence. The close of the fourth book, like the close of the fourth Georgic, has an allusion to the story of Orpheus,

"Sooth'd even the inexorable powers of Hell,
And half redeem'd his lost Eurydice".

Compare the close of Milton's 'L'Allegro',

"Such strains as would have won the ear
Of Pluto, to have quite set free
His half regained Eurydice."

In the second book of William Thompson's 'Sickness' (1745) there is an allusion to Geor. iv. 271: "amello, blooming still in Virgil's rural page". And the passage,

"Through dreary paths, and haunts, by mortal foot
Rare visited",

is referred to Geor. iii. 291-3.

In Francis Fawkes' 'Bramham Park' (1745),

" Oft, as with shining share he ploughs the field,
The swain astonish'd finds the massy shield,
On whose broad boss, sad source of various woes,
He views engrav'd the long disputed rose.
Huge human bones the fruitful furrows hide
Of once-fam'd heroes that in battle died",

the reference to the civil war is modeled on Geor. i. 493-7.

The motto of George Lyttelton's 'Monody. A. D. 1747' is Geor. iv. 464-6.

The motto of John Cunningham's 'Landscape' is a misquotation of Geor. ii. 485.

The title of one of John Byrom's poems, 'Dulces ante omnia Musae', is taken from Geor. ii. 475.

In Walter Harte's 'Episode of Orpheus and Eurydice' we have a translation of Geor. iv. 460-527. In 'Contentment, Industry, and Acquiescence under the Divine Will' (1749), we have the lines about "December's Boreas",

" Destruction withers up the ground,
Like parchment into embers cast",

with a foot-note reference to Virgil, "inamabile frigus aduret". This is a misquotation of Geor. i. 93, "aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat". In 'The Enchanted Region',

" In vain the Mantuan poet try'd
To paint Amellus' starry pride",

we have an allusion to Geor. iv. 271. And in 'Macarius; or, The Confessor',

"Age seldom boasts so prodigal remains",

there is a foot-note reference to Geor. ii. 99-100,

"cui vix certaverit ulla
aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos."

beginning of the first Georgic. The lines in praise of "noble Albion",

"Such noble warlike steeds, such herds of kine,
So sleek, so vast; such spacious flocks of sheep,
Like flakes of gold illumining the green,
What other Paradise adorn but thine,
Britannia? happy, if thy sons would know
Their happiness. To these thy naval streams,
Thy frequent towns superb of busy trade,
And ports magnific add", etc.,

may be compared with Geor. ii. 145-161, and ii. 458. The mention of the Lappian shepherd, in the "Hyperborean tracts", who "burrows deep beneath the snowy world", is due to Geor. iii. 376-81, "Ipsi in defossis specubus", etc.

The motto of William Shenstone's 'Elegy' XVIII, is Geor. iii. 318-20. The motto of 'The Dying Kid' is Geor. iii. 66-67. The motto of 'Love and Honour' is adapted from Geor. ii. 136-9.

Grainger's 'Sugar-Cane' (1763) is called in the Preface "a West India Georgic". The opening lines,

"What soil the cane affects; what care demands;
Beneath what signs to plant", etc.,

follow the model provided by Geor. i. 1,

"Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
vertere", etc.;

and the author definitely mentions Virgil among his predecessors in didactic verse. At i. 223,

"Never, ah never, be ashamed to tread
Thy dung-heaps",

we have the precept of Geor. i. 80, "ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola". At i. 170, the list of plagues that annoy the planter reminds one of Geor. i. 181 ff. The list of "signs of future rain", at i. 312, begins with an allusion to Geor. i. 351 ff.,

"The signs of rain, the Mantuan bard hath sung
In loftiest numbers."

In ii. 131 ff.,

"Not the blest apple Median climes produce,
Though lofty Maro (whose immortal Muse
Distant I follow, and, submiss, adore)
Hath sung its properties, to counteract
Dire spells, slow-mutter'd o'er the baneful bowl,
Where cruel stepdames pois'nous drugs have brew'd", etc.,

we have an allusion to *Geor.* ii. 126-30. The description of the hurricane, ii. 286 ff., when "all the armies of the winds engage", and "rushes the headlong sky", recalls Virgil's storm, *Geor.* i. 318, "*omnia ventorum concurrere proelia*", and i. 324, "*ruit arduus aether*". The statement, at iii. 46,

"The planter's labour in a round revolves;
Ends with the year, and with the year begins",

is adapted from *Geor.* ii. 401-2:

"*Redit agricolis labor actus in orbem,
atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.*"

And at iii. 102,

"So from no field, shall slow-pac'd oxen draw
More frequent loaded wains",

we have an echo of *Geor.* ii. 205-6,

"*non ullo ex aequore cernes
plura domum tardis decedere plaustra iuvenia.*"

The line in Charles Churchill's '*Independence*', 356,

"E'en Virgil to Maecenas paid his court",

refers to the circumstances under which the *Georgics* were written.

The motto of Richard Jago's '*Edge-Hill*' (1767) is *Geor.* ii. 173-5. Toward the close of the third book, the author has indicated three allusions to the *Georgics* (i. 419; i. 143; ii. 103-4.) And in the fourth book, his foot-notes refer to four other passages of the *Georgics* (i. 322-26; iii. 494-5; iii. 470-3; i. 493-7).

The motto of John Langhorne's '*Fables of Flora*' (1771) is from *Geor.* iii. 40.

In Mason's '*English Garden*' (1772-82) we have still another didactic poem which is modeled upon Virgil. The third book contains a pleasant reference to the *Georgics*, especially iv. 116-49:

"That force of ancient phrase which, speaking, paints,
And is the thing it sings. Ah, Virgil, why,
By thee neglected, was this loveliest theme
Left to the grating voice of modern reed?
Why not array it in the splendid robe
Of thy rich diction", etc.

The fourth book contains a long tale, of Alcander and Nerina, to correspond to the story of Aristaeus in the fourth *Georgic*

In Cowper's 'Task' (c. 1785), i. 6,

"The theme though humble, yet august and proud
The occasion",

we have a parallel to Geor. iv. 6, "In tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria", etc. The opening lines of book ii,

"Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful or successful war,
Might never reach me more!"

may be compared with Geor. ii. 488-9,

"O qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi
sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra",

and ii. 497-8,

"aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,
non res Romanae perituraque regna", etc.

In iii. 413,

"No meaner hand may discipline the shoots,
None but his steel approach them",

we have the tone of Geor. ii. 369-70,

"ante reformidant ferrum; tum denique dura
exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentes."

At iii. 429,

"With blushing fruits, and plenty not his own",

the author added, in a foot-note, a misquotation of Geor. ii. 82,

"miraturque novos *fructus* et non sua poma."

At iii. 625,

"the employs of rural life,
Reiterated as the wheel of time
Runs round",

we have an echo of Geor. ii. 401,

"Redit agricolis labor actus in orbem
atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus."

The expression, at iii. 650,

"ere he gives
The beds the trusted treasure of their seeds",

may be compared with Geor. i. 223, "debita quam sulcis committas semina". At iii. 657,

"Few self-supported flowers endure the wind
Uninjured, but expect the upholding aid
Of the smooth shaven prop, and neatly tied", etc.,

we are reminded of Virgil's precept, Geor. ii. 358-61,

"tum leves calamos et rasae hastilia virgae
fraxineasque aptare sudes furcasque valentes,
viribus eniti quarum et contemnere ventos
assuescant", etc.

The conclusion of the third book,

"O blest seclusion from a jarring world,
Which he, thus occupied, enjoys!" etc.,

with its thesis that the country is "preferable to the town", recalls the conclusion of the second Georgic, 458 ff. In v. 135-7,

"In such a palace Aristaeus found
Cyrene, when he bore the plaintive tale
Of his lost bees to her maternal ear",

the allusion is to Geor. iv. 374,

"Postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta
perventum", etc.

The motto of 'Retirement', "studiis florens ignobilis otii", is from Geor. iv. 564, and there is an echo of the same Latin passage at the close of the English poem: "Me poetry employs . . . fast by the banks of the slow-winding Ouse", etc. In the lines 'On the Death of Mrs. Throckmorton's Bulfinch', there is an allusion to Virgil's story of the death of Orpheus, Geor. iv. 523 ff. The motto of the 'Yearly Bill of Mortality', 1792, is Geor. ii. 490-2.

In 1794, W. S. Landor wrote a verse translation of Geor. iv. 464-515. And in 'Pericles and Aspasia', the song to Hesperus, vol. v, p. 451, he hints at an antique bit of scandal about Pan and Luna (Geor. iii. 391-3).

The first dialogue of Mathias' 'Pursuits of Literature' (1794) alludes to Geor. iv. 398, and a note on the second quotes, or adapts, Geor. ii. 173.

The line in Coleridge's 'Dejection' (1802) vi,

"And fruits, and foliage, not my own, seemed mine",

may be an echo of Geor. ii. 82,

"miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma."

And the passage in Wordsworth's 'Prelude', viii,

"Smooth life had herdsman, and his snow-white herd
To triumphs and to sacrificial rites
Devoted, on the inviolable stream
Of rich Clitumnus",

may be due to Geor. ii. 146-8,

"hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus
victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos."

In the preface to 'Hours of Idleness' (1807) Byron quotes Geor. iii. 9, "virum volitare per ora". In 'Hints from Horace', the phrase "fluent as an Orpheus head" is explained by a foot-note reference to Geor. iv. 523-7.

In 1809, James Grahame published a belated didactic poem, entitled 'British Georgics'.

The motto of Thomas Moore's 'Fables for the Holy Alliance' is Geor. iv. 106. The motto of 'Hat versus Wig' is Geor. ii. 491-2. In 'Evenings in Greece', Second Evening,

"'Tis Maina's land—her ancient hills
The abode of nymphs",

the author adds a foot-note reference to Geor. ii. 487, "virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta."

In Samuel Rogers' 'Italy', xix, we have an allusion to the "biferique rosaria Paesti" of Geor. iv. 119:

"And now a Virgil, now an Ovid sung
Paestum's twice-blowing roses."

Compare Ovid, Met. xv. 708; Propertius, v. 5. 61. And the motto of the lines 'To an Old Oak' is taken from Geor. ii. 294-5.

In Macaulay's 'Horatius', vii,

"Unwatched along Clitumnus
Grazes the milk-white steer",

we have the "hinc albi, Clitumne, greges" of Geor. ii. 146. And in the next stanza,

"This year, young boys in Umbro
Shall plunge the struggling sheep;
And in the vats of Luna,
This year, the must shall foam
Round the white feet of laughing girls,
Whose sires have marched to Rome",

may be compared with Geor. i. 272,

"balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri",

and Geor. ii. 6-8:

"spumat plenis vindemia labris;
huc, pater o Lenæe, veni, nudataque musto
tingue novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis."

In the 'Battle of the Lake Regillus', ii, the picture of "wild Parthenius tossing in waves of pine", recalls Geor. ii. 437, "undantem buxo spectare Cytorum."

In Matthew Arnold's 'Memorial Verses. April, 1850',

"And he was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow
Of terror, and insane distress,
And headlong fate, be happiness",

we have an echo of Geor. ii. 490,

"felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari."

In the sonnets of Charles Tennyson Turner, ccvii, 'The Steam Threshing-Machine', there is a pleasant allusion to Virgil,

"him, who set his stately seal
Of Roman words on all the forms he saw
Of old-world husbandry."

And in Sonnet ccviii,

"it might be
Some poet-husbandman, some lord of verse,
Old Hesiod, or the wizard Mantuan
Who catalogued in rich hexameters
The Rake, the Roller, and the mystic Van",

we have an allusion to Geor. i. 164-6. In Sonnet ccxxxviii, 'Free Greece',

"And spread our sails about thee lovingly",

we have a foot-note reference by the author to Geor. iii. 285,

"singula dum capti circumvectamur amore."

In Robert Browning's 'Ring and the Book', viii,

"Ah, fortunate (the poet's word reversed)
Inasmuch as we know our happiness!"

...
7

the reference is to Geor. ii. 458,

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas."

In part ix, the lines,

"Like the strange favor Maro memorized
As granted Aristaeus when his hive
Lay empty of the swarm?
And lo, a new birth filled the air with joy,
Sprung from the bowels of the generous steer",

allude to Geor. iv. 555 ff. The poem 'Pan and Luna' is developed, as its motto might suggest, from Virgil's brief hint, Geor. iii. 391-3,

"Munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est,
Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit
in nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem."

The Latin passage is paraphrased at the close of the English poem:

"Ha, Virgil? Tell the rest, you! 'To the deep
Of his domain the wildwood, Pan forthwith
Called her, and so she followed'—in her sleep,
Surely?—'by no means spurning him.'"

The lines,

"If one forefather ram, though pure as chalk
From tinge on fleece, should still display a tongue
Black 'neath the beast's moist palate, prompt men balk
The propagating plague",

give "the fact as learned Virgil gives it", Geor. iii. 387-9. The passage in 'The Ring and the Book', ix,

"Darnel for wheat and thistle-beards for grain,
Infelix lolium, carduus horridus",

may be compared with Geor. i. 151-4, "horreret carduus . . . infelix lolium."

In Tennyson's ode 'To Virgil' there is a very fine allusion to the Georgics:

"Landscape-lover, lord of language
more than he that sang the Works and Days,
All the chosen coin of fancy
flashing out from many a golden phrase;
Thou that singest wheat and woodland,
tilth and vineyard, hive and horse and herd;
All the charm of all the Muses
often flowering in a lonely word."

The passage in 'The Daisy',

"The rich Virgilian rustic measure
Of Lari Maxume",

refers to Geor. ii. 159, "anne lacus tantos; te, Lari Maxume",
etc. And the allusion in 'Queen Mary', iii. 1,

"Well, the tree in Virgil, sir,
That bears not its own apples",

is to Geor. ii. 82,

"miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma."

The opening line of 'Love and Death',

"What time the mighty moon was gathering light",

has been aptly compared with Geor. i. 427,

"Luna, revertentes cum primum colligit ignes."

The earliest complete translation of the Georgics into English verse seems to have been published by Abraham Fleming in 1589, though a "wytty translation" of a good part of the poem had already been printed by Master Barnabe Googe. Later versions are those of May (1628), Ogilby (c. 1647), Lord Lauderdale (1694-1737), Dryden (1696), Trapp (1731), Warton (1753), Andrews (1766), Sotheby (1800), Sewell (1846), Singleton (1855), Kennedy (1861), Blackmore (1871), Rhoades (1881), Lord Burghclere (1904). Other translators of parts of the poem are: Cowley (ii. 458-540), Henry Vaughan (iv. 125-38), Lord Mulgrave ('Orpheus and Eurydice'), Addison (book iv. except the story of Aristaeus), Sheffield (iv. 453-527), Benson (books i-ii), Hamilton (iv. 116-48), Landor (iv. 464-515), Trench (iv. 452-516), C. S. Calverley (iii. 515-30).

To this long list of poetical tributes to the Georgics we may add a few other "testimonia" in prose. The aged Tennyson, during a serious illness, "often looked at his Virgil, more than ever delighting in what he called 'that splendid end of the second Georgic'" (Memoir, ii. 348). The youthful Addison remarked, in his essay on the Georgics, that Virgil "delivers the meanest of his precepts with a kind of grandeur; he breaks the clods and tosses the dung about with an air of gracefulness". In the dedication of his translation of the Georgics, Dryden boldly calls them "the best poem of the best poet". And, in the preface to his 'Sylvae', he speaks of them as "those four books, which, in my opinion,

are more perfect in their kind than even his divine Aeneids". In Cowley's fourth essay, 'Of Agriculture', we are told that the first wish of Virgil was to be a good philosopher; the second, a good husbandman: "and God . . . made him one of the best philosophers, and best husbandmen; and, to adorn and communicate both those faculties, the best poet". In Sir John Harington's 'Briefe Apologie of Poetrie' (1591) there is a pleasant comment on the triumph of Virgil's style over an uninviting subject: "for myne owne part I was neuer yet so good a husband to take any delight to heare one of my ploughmen tell how an acre of wheat must be fallowd and twyfallowed, and how cold land should be burned, and how fruitful land must be well harrowed; but when I heare one read *Virgill*, where he saith,

*Saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros,
Atque leuem stipulam crepitantibus vrere flammis.
Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
Pinguia concipiunt: sive illis omne per ignem
Excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilis humor, etc.,*

and after,

*Mulum adeo, rastris glebas qui frangit inertes,
Vimineasque trahit crates inuual arua;*

with many other lessons of homly husbandrie, but deliuered in so good Verse that me thinkes all that while I could find in my Hart to driue the plough". And in Sir Thomas Elyot's 'Governour' (1531) the works of Virgil are recommended for their utility as well as for their beauty: "In his Georgikes lorde what pleasant varietie there is: the diuers graynes, herbes, and flowres that be there described, that, reding therin, hit semeth to a man to be in a delectable gardeine or paradise. What ploughe man knoweth so moche of husbandry as there is expressed? who, delitynge in good horsis, shall nat be therto more enflamed, reding there of the bredyng, chesinge, and kepyng of them? In the declaration whereof Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all breders, hakneyemen, and skosers", etc. (i. 10).

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II.—DUPLICATION MECHANICS IN SAMOAN AND THEIR FUNCTIONAL VALUES.

The tale of the last hundred words in my dictionary of Samoan speech in its present phase shows fifty-six words which are under the formal influence of duplication in one or other variety of this element of word modification. A similar reckoning based upon other centuries of words taken at random in the dictionary gives almost precisely the same result. We are therefore warranted in the statement that taken by and large more than half the Samoan words are duplicated, the percentages lying between 55 and 60; and it is not an extravagant estimate that the duplication forms represent 60 per cent of the speech.

Where a principle is so distinctly made manifest as a factor in the use and formation of a speech of man it cannot be held to be below philological inquiry. The present paper, then, will be a study of the mechanism of the Samoan duplication and the functions which it exercises in the speech of the people.

From the outside we shall obtain little assistance, for the grammar of isolating speech has almost wholly lacked sympathetic study. What slight aid we do get will be found to come from a dialect of our own English speech which has received little consideration, yet which is fairly entitled to moment with those whose language studies guide them back to an infancy of speech.

In the Indo-European tongues of classical development we encounter and become superficially acquainted with a reduplication which, *qua* duplication, has undergone a practically complete process of conventionalizing and now remains a convenient grammatical apparatus for the expression of certain declensional phenomena which first only in speech of inflection arise for expression. Such instances of reduplication, the mere ceremonial and almost inert survival out of a past closed to students of the Indo-European save by inference, cannot avail to shed for us a light upon the doubling up process which plays so large a part, which acts so vividly in the far more primitive isolating languages of the Polynesian stock. Such being the case it has seemed altogether advisable to relinquish the term reduplication to such

manifestation of the principle as has long been familiar in such forms as *διδωμι* and *τιθημι*. For purposes of convenient identification of the various phases of this activity in the Samoan of my study I shall employ rather the word duplication and make a sparing use of such other derivatives thereof as may seem needed. Thus it will be made and kept clear that these researches into duplication phenomena are not intended as in any sort an attempt at explanation of the reduplication of inflected speech, except insofar as they make clear a basic formative principle whose conventionalized survival has been scantily preserved to us in the inflected classic tongues.

Such aid toward the comprehension of the duplication phenomena of the speech of isolation as we are to find in our more familiar languages is to come from the almost unconsidered dialect of infancy and of affection, the baby talk of the nursery and its second appearance in a modified form in the dialect of the mating period or as the "little language" of silly tender things which Dean Swift did not hesitate to spatter upon his pages to Vanessa. The reason why the comparison of the baby talk with Polynesian duplication is a proper exercise rests upon a psychological consideration of the growth of the speech faculty in the individual and of the race, to whose average measure of speech attainment (no very high one, be it said, even in the highest race) the childhood of the individual is largely devoted to developing.

I cannot better introduce this theme than by citing a case recently reported by our most distinguished American clinician, an authority on the brain deservedly in repute, Dr. William Hanna Thomson.

"Disorders of speech, due to physical damage in the brain, show that words are there arranged somewhat like books on library shelves," says Dr. Thomson. Continuing the theme, it being understood that the article is a popular one addressed to lay comprehension, he says: "Other instances show that the books may be so jammed sidewise, so to speak, that not one of them can be got out, in which case the event proves that on each shelf the verbs are placed first, the pronouns next, then the prepositions and adverbs, and the nouns last. A man was brought to my clinic who could not utter a word. My diagnosis ascribed his disability to a tumorlike swelling in the speech area, which might be absorbed by giving him iodide of potassium. I

then had him removed so that he could not hear what was said, while I told the class that if he recovered he would very likely get his verbs first and his nouns last. When he returned two weeks afterward, on my showing him a knife he said 'You cut'; a pencil, 'You write', etc. Three weeks later he had all his prepositions, but he could name no noun for several weeks afterward. The reasons are that verbs are our innermost and first learned words, because we know what we see, we hear, etc., before we know what it is we see or hear; while nouns represent things outside of us, to which we later give names. The nouns that we learn last, and therefore soonest forget, are the names of persons¹; that is why elderly people are ever complaining that they cannot recall names."

This is to be interpreted that the pathological lesion had reduced the patient to the condition of mankind before speech had been acquired. The exhibition of potassium iodide removed the check and enabled the reawakening specialized cell susceptibility of the third frontal convolution of the patient's brain to pass rapidly and in the measure of weeks through the long chain of linguistic achievement which it has taken the race many ages to acquire. Not the least interesting feature of this clinic is that the physician should have announced as a medical man the return of speech consciousness almost accurately in terms of the only discrete parts of isolating speech, the attributive, the demonstrative and the paradeictic.

So with the baby talk. Embryologists have shown that in a short time the young of man speeds through all the successive stages which have marked the evolution of the species, and psychologists find in the awakening of the infant mind no more than an epitome of the long course of the development of the race mind. If that be so, then there is reason in the baby talk, a language dear to every crooning mother though ridiculous to all others, for as the infant emerges from the period of the animal cry its cell susceptibility in Broca's speech area must rest for an appreciable period at such a stage of receptivity and formative activity as corresponds to the period of isolating speech in the race. Then it is that the babbling mother employs the baby talk, no philologist at all but a sound linguist. Just listen to some of the words of this special vocabulary, they come readily enough

¹One recalls the sad simplicity of Emerson at the coffin of Longfellow: "He was a beautiful soul, but I cannot remember his name."

to mind, attend not so much their content as their form. In one group we have babby, mammy and daddy, babby shakes a day-day, goes a baibai, wears a daidai, pats the poor pussy,¹ sees the chuchu car, and when he rests after a day spent in storing up knowledge couched in such crude vocables the last words upon his slumbering ear may be night-night.

After all these ages of intellectual advance baby talk characteristically remains duplicated. The duplicated word forms in Samoan are by count 60 per cent. The accord will be found not altogether fortuitous.

We can make no better beginning of the study of duplication than by an examination of its mechanics. This is nothing more than the mathematics of combinations which are found to be applicable. Thus, when our primitive stem is a monosyllable

¹ It is a fancy of my own that poor pussy is a duplication form, and until sober study has passed upon the mechanism of the speech of infancy such classification may await determination. To single out the cat alone of our domestic familiars for the epithet poor can scarcely claim a just foundation, the beautiful and consistent selfishness of the cat hardly calls for compassion. "Poor pussy" has passed over into the Polynesian with only such modification as is due to the Pacific paucity of consonants. It is found as *popoki* in Hawaiian meaning "cat", clearly an introduced word. The resemblance in sound, always remembering that the sibilant is so impossible to the Hawaiian that it is doubtful if even geese could hiss in the empire of the Kamehamehas, is a complete one. Lorrin Andrews (Hawaiian Dictionary s. v.) notes that "*popoki* applies to that which is short and thick; and a cat is so called from its plump, short, thick head." I prefer my understanding of the word, the more as the Andrews etymology lacks support. In an indubitably duplicated form puss-puss appears once more in the Pacific area, far to the west in that interesting jargon the biche-la-mar of Melanesia which still lacks detailed record. In Duffield's New Ireland vocabulary (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland I 115) *pus-puss* is defined as "a cat, a white shell, a delicate word." The latter is an interesting extension of the catty sense. In Stephan and Graebner's "Neu-Mecklenburg" (the same island) it is cited in the phrase "bimeby she puss-puss plenty" as covering every outward exhibition of affection, static and kinetic. Such, too, is my recollection of the word from an earlier date in the same wild archipelago. The student of ethics will find herein a striking disclosure of the jejunity of the intellectual or spiritual development of these savages when their first need of a term for the affections, possibly their first discovery of the existence of such emotions, is awakened by seeing a rude sailor petting a cat, aliens both. Far in advance of the night of New Ireland as is the Polynesia of my study it cannot be said that it has made any great progress in identifying, or, at least, differentiating the emotions so long as *alofa* passes current for love, pity, grief and sympathy indifferently.

there can be but one duplication possible, a simple repetition. The duplication of any dissyllabic stem affords four possibilities, the repetition of the two syllables, the repetition of the former syllable followed by the latter unmodified, the repetition of the latter preceded by the former, the repetition of each syllable. In like manner the possibilities in the case of a trisyllabic stem are ten, and theoretically the possibilities increase enormously as we consider stems increasing steadily by one unit. But as we find that of the four possibilities of the scheme the Samoan dissyllable duplicates in but three, of the ten trisyllable possibilities the language employs no more than five, we need not go beyond the trisyllable in the diagram. In this plan the first stem syllable is designated by B, the second by C, the third by D; and the forms which have been neglected in Samoan use are set within parentheses.

	Dupli- cation.	Predupli- cation.	Subdupli- cation.	Indupli- cation.	Condupli- cation.
Monosyllable B	BB				
Dissyllable BC	BCBC	BBC	BCC		(BBCC)
Trisyllable BCD	(BCDCBD)	BBCD	BCDD	BCCD	BCBCD (BBCCDD) (BBCCD) (BCCDD) (BCCDD)

Now, as to the names of these several phases of functional repetition, no objection can be raised against that of duplication which has been assigned to the first column. It describes exactly the process which the primitive stem has undergone, and it avoids all chance of leading one to associate this process with the connotation which prescription has accumulated in the term reduplication as used far later in the grammar of inflection. As regards the other terms we are to see that they are to serve but an evanescent purpose, for I shall show that all reduce to the first column, but as the iteration phases to which they are applied are frequent in occurrence and are really permanently established in the speech the terms serve an end of convenience. They are surely not amiss, for they fittingly describe a repetition which exhibits itself initially, terminally, internally or by combination of two members as the case may be.

In presenting this scheme of iteration phases we have advanced from the simpler in the direction of the more complex. But in examining the application to the living tongue we shall find an

advantage in beginning with the more involved forms in order that we may see how they indicate their reducibility to the next lower group of forms, the duplicated trisyllable to the dissyllable, the duplicated dissyllable to the monosyllable. Thus in this inquiry covering a special group of word forms we are led promptly back to yet another establishment of the fact that the Samoan, and equally the whole Polynesian tree of which it is a central trunk, is a monosyllabic speech. We may not avoid the fact that in making their classifications it is imperfect information upon which the systematists have acted in assigning the Polynesian to the agglutinative type of languages. Indeed it is a peculiarly vivid example of a speech of the monosyllabic type, but for the reason that its vocables exhibit 60 per cent of iteration forms, a remarkable degree, it is preferable to use the alternative term and refer to it as an isolating speech.

As a single example of this reducibility the random choice falls upon *tafitifiti* "to keep on writhing about" which is seen to be of the phase BCDCD, a terminal conduplication of the trisyllable stem *tāfiti* "to be restive"; which in turn is found to be composed of *tā*, denoting repeated quick action, and *fiti* "to snap or spring". Thus readily does our conduplicated trisyllable resolve itself, so far as relates to its iterated element, into a case of the simplest repetition phase of the dissyllable, namely, the duplication form.

So, too, with the duplicated dissyllable, there is abundance of illustration of its reducibility to monosyllabic elements. We will examine *vavae*, it signifies "to cut clean off", it is of the iteration phase BCBC; no different sense inheres in the alternative form *vavae* of the phase BBC, and this is quite as freely used. Their primitive *vae* is found in the sense "to cut". The BBC form, however, points the way clearly to the existence in the stem *vae* of two monosyllabic root elements. The *va* root, whose dynamic position in the *vae* stem is emphasized by the insistence of repetition in *vavae*, has been somewhat closely inquired into in a former paper.¹

We shall now remark upon the comparative frequency with which the several phases of repetition are found in Samoan speech. That simple iteration of the stem as a whole to which the term duplication is fitly applicable is shown to appear in monosyllabic

¹"Root Reducibility in Polynesian", American Journal of Philology XXVII 387.

and dissyllabic stems, to fail utterly in the case of stems of three or more syllables. While we must regard the dissyllabic stems as the composition of two monosyllabic roots the composition is of such long duration as largely to have passed out of popular knowledge and the duplication of such stems is both simple and frequent. On the other hand the composition of a dissyllabic stem with either a monosyllable or another dissyllable is a facility of word formation so freshly acquired and the fact of composition remains so plainly in mind that the trisyllabic or polysyllabic stem may not be duplicated as a unit by mere iteration. If for purposes which begin to show the expectation of inflection, or if for emphasis repetition be desirable, one or other of the component stems is selected for the application of this increment of the word. In the Samoan syntax the principal concept is first presented, the modifiers follow. Such emphasis as iteration may indicate will naturally apply to the principal concept. As the priority of the principal concept is shown in a great majority of Samoan composite forms, we therefore find in the polysyllables which exhibit repetition phenomena a large preponderance of the preduplication forms BBC and BBCD. By legitimate extension the conduplication form BCBCD is seen to rest upon the same base. The induplication form BCCD is ambiguous; in so far as it represents a composite of the monosyllable root B and the stem CD it falls within this category. These are the prevailing repetition phases. Yet as there are idioms in Samoan syntax which seemingly invert the normal order and present what our estimate would consider the attributive modifier in advance of its principal concept, so in iteration we find phases which have developed from this inversion. To this we owe the subduplication forms BCC and BCDD, the conduplication form BCDCD, and so much of the induplication form BCCD as may represent a composite of BC with D. This second group is far in the minority. The final column in the table is but a graphic representation of the fact that iteration emphasis is applicable to no more than one component of a Samoan stem.

Having thus briefly scanned the form in which functional iteration makes itself felt upon the Samoan word we shall next examine, and with more particular closeness, the syntactical functions which have developed from such use of this elemental mechanism of differentiating sounds of a word for the expression of variations of signification. A note should be entered that

repetition phenomena are almost without exception confined to the attributive; a few cases occurring in the demonstratives, I recall *iinei* and *iila* as types, I reserve for later inspection; in the paradeictics I do not now note a single case. For convenience I shall have to use the grammatical names of noun and verb because of their familiarity to our ears, but it must be borne sedulously in mind that there are no such things as noun and verb in the Samoan as parts of speech. The attributive is noun and verb, adjective and adverb, in itself; it is a very ameba in adjusting itself to varying external conditions of the thought which call upon its vitality to function now as the name of a thing and now as the name or description of an action when used in a principal sense, or as adjective or adverb in the secondary sense according as it is linked with thing-name or action-name. We are dealing in our Samoan with a plane of speech growth in which the need is just beginning to make itself felt of establishing a permanent differentiation between the thing-name function of the formless attributive and the action-name. To effect this differentiation and yet to retain for each the elemental signification which runs into each from the attributive stem a change of form is a primal suggestion of a working means. The simplest change of form and that which least obscures the elemental stem significance is to repeat the stem for the specialized form. Just what will result from the specializing iteration, whether the duplication form is noun and the primitive functions as verb, or whether the converse proves the case, must depend in each individual instance upon the extent to which and the direction in which the initial sense has clotted in the primitive stem up to the time at which it is seized upon by the modern fashion of duplication.

We shall first inspect the forms to which I have assigned the special name of duplication, beginning with the duplication of the monosyllable, the phase BB.

1) It establishes a word in cases where the simple stem is not in independent use. By the expression to establish a word I refer to the sense of the preceding paragraph. It does not in itself create noun or verb but, as has just been explained, takes cognizance of a pre-existing tendency toward the formation of a noun or verb nucleus in the diffuse attributive and presents a means for the permanent representation of that tendency. Such a case we may find in 'u'u, "to urge on". The primitive 'u is not found independently in the Samoan of the present, but it is found by

ready inference in the causative compound *fa'a'u* and in the form *'umia* which serves as the objective aspect of *'u'u*. In general it may be noted that the objective aspect (which, among other duties, plays somewhat the part of what we understand by the passive voice) of duplicated verbs is formed from the primitive stem. This is easy of comprehension: the addition of the formative elements which make the objective aspect, demonstrative alone or paradeictic coupling demonstrative as the case may be, is sufficient to establish the word as used in a verb sense and therefore it is not necessary to employ the duplication method as is done in cases where this addition may not be employed. The cases in which the objective aspect does employ duplication we may look upon, then, as a levelling process of conformity to a growing system. Since such a process has played havoc with our historic conjugations in English we may not deny it to the Samoan.

2) It establishes a word in cases where the simple stem is also retained in use. These two classes differ, not in themselves, but solely in the extraneous accident of the retention of the primitive. Together they account for by far the majority of the examples of this BB phase. The following are specimens, no difference in signification being appreciable as between the primitive and the derivative duplication:

<i>mā</i> , to burn	<i>māmā</i>
<i>nā</i> , to hide	<i>nānā</i>
<i>nō</i> , to borrow	<i>nonō</i>
<i>sā</i> , holy	<i>sāsā</i>
<i>se</i> , to wander	<i>sesē</i>

Just what value the Samoan finds in this duplication without alteration of the sense it would be hard to appreciate without knowledge of the fact that these simple monosyllables are employed with no apparent variety of sound to express many different things. Thus in the example last preceding we find *se*, "to wander", in the duplication form *sesē* meaning not a particle more. But a reference to the dictionary will show that by this expedient *sē* "to wander" is established in a positive distinction from no less than six other senses of *sē*: "not", a masculine term of address, "friend", "grasshopper", "afraid", "incorrect", and an indefinite relative equivalent in general to "one who".

3) This duplication sometimes distinguishes an intensive, as:

'i, to cry, as a bird *'i'i*, to utter a prolonged scream

- 4) Rarely does it mark a plural, as :

<i>pɪ</i> , to splash, as a fish in a trap	<i>pɪpɪ</i>
<i>fā</i> , hoarse	<i>fāfā</i>

- 5) Still more rarely does it diminish the degree of the stem sense, as :

pō, to slap *pōpō*, to pat gently

Passing now to the duplication phase BCBC of the dissyllabic stem we find the following groups of uses.

- 6) It establishes a vocable in a verb usage as different in its relations from the underlying substantive sense found in the primitive stem.

<i>lega</i> , turmeric; the yolk of egg	<i>legalega</i> , to be yellowish
<i>lī'o</i> , a circle	<i>lī'olī'o</i> , to surround
<i>foe</i> , a paddle	<i>foefoe</i> , to paddle vigorously
<i>muli</i> , the end	<i>mulimuli</i> , to follow

- 7) It gives to the sense of the primitive a frequentative connotation, the most common use of this duplication.

<i>ālo</i> , to fan	<i>āloālo</i> , to fan continuously
<i>'a'ami</i> (' <i>amia</i>), to fetch	<i>'ami'ami</i> , to fetch one after another
<i>'emo</i> , to wink	<i>'emo'emo</i> , to wink repeatedly
<i>fana</i> , to shoot	<i>fanafana</i> , to go out shooting
<i>futi</i> , to pluck	<i>futifuti</i> , to pluck repeatedly

- 8) It gives to the sense of the primitive a diminutive connotation, a use nearly as frequent as the foregoing.

<i>agi</i> , to blow	<i>agiagi</i> , to breathe as a zephyr
<i>'ona</i> , bitter	<i>'ona'ona</i> , tart
<i>moe</i> , to sleep	<i>moemoe</i> , to doze
<i>lamu</i> , to chew	<i>lamulamu</i> , to nibble
<i>ua</i> , rain	<i>uaua</i> , a sun shower

- 9) It gives to the sense of the primitive an intensive connotation, a use by no means infrequent.

<i>asu</i> , smoke	<i>asuasu</i> , haze
<i>gese</i> , slow	<i>gesegese</i> , very slow indeed
<i>goto</i> , to sink	<i>gologoto</i> , to go down like a stone
<i>esi</i> , to drive away	<i>esiesi</i> , to chase off vociferously
<i>'ini</i> , to pinch with the nails	<i>'ini'ini</i> , to pinch sharply

10) In a very few instances this duplication is used to express the plural of the primitive.

<i>fiti</i> , to fillip	<i>fitifiti</i>
<i>gāu</i> , to break	<i>gāugau</i>

11) An apparent anomaly is the case of *itiiti* "small" which seems to represent the singular, whereas the primitive is plural:

'o le mea itiiti, the little thing: *'o mea iti*, little things.

The probable explanation is that *iti*, the plural, is not indeed the primitive *iti*, but a form reduced by crasis from *iiti*, which would be such a normally formed plural preduplication as *fufuti* from *futi* or *'e'emo* from *'emo* (cf. 12). Then *itiiti* would rest as a sort of intensive or differentiating form (cf. 9). Upon my working hypothesis of root reducibility we may see in *iti* the seed *i* which contains the germ idea of smallness. This becomes still more clear when we find the same vocal seed with other consonantal coefficients in *lil'i* and *nini'i*, each of which signifies small, and each of which, as well as *iti*, has a wide extension into other languages of the Polynesian stock.

We now pass to the phase of preduplication, taking up for consideration first the preduplication of the dissyllabic stem of the type BBC, for in the nature of things preduplication is an impossibility to the monosyllabic stem.

12) It forms a plural of verbs:

<i>'ai</i> , to eat	<i>'a'ai</i>
<i>'au</i> , to send	<i>'a'au</i>
<i>tapi</i> , to wipe	<i>tatapi</i>
<i>tusi</i> , to write	<i>tutusi</i>
<i>vele</i> , to weed	<i>vevele</i>

13) It forms an intensive of verbs, by extension of the idea of repeated to continuous action:

<i>'ati</i> , to bite	<i>'a'ati</i> , to eat in, to corrode
<i>'olo</i> , to coo	<i>'o'olo</i> , to speak indistinctly
<i>'ona</i> , bitter	<i>'o'ona</i> , sour
<i>lau</i> , to speak	<i>lalau</i> , to make a speech
<i>sae</i> , to tear	<i>sasae</i> , to rend

14) It establishes verb functions from a primitive which has now ceased to exist independently :

'a'ala, to smart	(fe'ala <i>si</i>)
'a'ami, to fetch	('amia)
'i'ile, to foretell	('ile <i>a</i>)
fafaga, to feed	(fagaina)
gagana, to speak	(feganavai)

15) It establishes a verb as different in its relations from the underlying substantive sense found in the primitive stem. This is designedly a statement of superficial conditions as they appear in the vocabulary. There can be no manner of doubt that digging for origins beneath the surface will establish a condition requiring diametrically opposite statement. Thus, *pe'a* means "bat" and is in form a primitive; *pepe'a*, a preduplication form, signifies "to have a rank odor". Superficially the verb derives from the noun. Yet it is not without warrant in closer analysis to infer a primitive *pe'a* "to have a bad smell". In Polynesian zoology the bat is almost the sole animal which possesses a marked degree of feter. The first step, then, will be to employ the primitive *pe'a* of the animal, at first purely as a descriptive, later sliding into dominant position as a thing-name, "the bad-smeller". As there are unfortunately millions of bats by night, and fortunately in the hearty draft of the southeast trades bad smells are rare the noun sense overwhelmed the need of the verb sense. Then, when it was necessary to express the original signification "to have a bad smell", the primitive verb was subjected to iteration and came into use as *pepe'a*. The other examples are susceptible of the same explanation.

'apu, a cup	'a'apu, to be bellied out, as a sail by the wind
'asi, a shell	'a'asi, to scrape bast with the 'asi
'ofe, a flute	'o'ofe, to have a sweet voice

We now pass to the preduplication of the trisyllabic stem, the phase BBCD. It is far less frequent for the reason that in the prevalent dissyllabism the words of three syllables are not many. This phase of preduplication occurs in words where a monosyllabic stem as the principal and precedent component is modified by a dissyllabic stem; the principal stem undergoes duplication in the phase BB.

- 16) It may form a diminutive :

fūlēnā, quiet *fīfūlēnā*, somewhat quiet
fīmālie, gentle *fīfīmālie*, somewhat gentle

- 17) Or it may serve to express a plural :

funa'i, to hide away *fufuna'i*

Subduplication is a phase which has met with little favor from the Samoans. As applied to the dissyllable, the BCC phase, it is of infrequent occurrence.

- 18) It expresses a plural of the primitive :

afi, to do up in a leaf wrapper *afifi*
gapē, to be broken *gapēpē*
pā'u, to fall *pā'u'u*
mālō, hard *mālōlō*

- 19) It effects a duplication with little apparent difference in sense or use :

fālō, to stretch out *fālōlō*
ga'o, industrious *ga'o'o*

As manifested among the stems of three syllables subduplication in the phase BCDD affects words having a dissyllable for the leading component followed by a monosyllable, the latter undergoing BB duplication. It is infrequent and seems restricted to the same senses as BCC.

- 20) *'alosā*, to avoid *'alosāsā*, intensive¹
gafatā, to marry *gafatatā*, plural
masatō, to be very low water *masatolō*, intensive

Induplication (BCCD phase) arises when the leading component is a monosyllable, the latter a dissyllable, the latter component being preduplicated in the BBC phase. It is restricted to the formation of plurals.

- 21) *'apele*, to be full *'apepele*
fagota, to fish *fagogota*
galue, to work *galulue*
mālie, to be satisfied with drink *mālie*
tafao, to take a walk *tafafao*

The conduplication of the trisyllable in the BCBCD phase arises when the principal and leading component is a dissyllable.

¹ Also forms (BCBCD phase) *'al'alosā*, intensive.

22) It forms an intensive :

' <i>au</i> , to wind round	' <i>au</i> ' <i>au</i> , to wind round and round
' <i>ava</i> , to speak loud	' <i>ava</i> ' <i>ava</i> , to bawl
<i>uea</i> , to be giddy	<i>ueuea</i> , to be dizzy
<i>finau</i> , to argue	<i>finafinau</i> , to be disputatious
<i>punou</i> , to bow the head	<i>punopunou</i> , to be intent upon one's work

23) Or a frequentative:

'*anai*, to rub with 'ana coral '*ana* '*anai*, to rub repeatedly

24) Rarely a plural:

maua, to get *maumaua*

25) And it takes the place of a primitive in verbs formed from nouns:

<i>pou</i> , a post (<i>poui</i>)	<i>poupoui</i> , to put posts in a house
' <i>afa</i> , sennit (' <i>afai</i>)	' <i>afa</i> ' <i>afai</i> , to serve with sennit,

Where a monosyllabic component is followed by a dissyllable, and the latter undergoes duplication of the BCBC phase we have conduplication of the BCDCD phase.

26) It makes an intensive:

<i>gafoa</i> , to be notched	<i>gafoafoa</i> , to be serrated
<i>galulu</i> , to shake	<i>galulululu</i> , to shake violently
<i>maligi</i> , to shed tears	<i>maligiligi</i> , to weep copiously

27) At least as often it expresses a diminutive:

<i>galepu</i> , to be stirred up	<i>galepulepu</i> , to be somewhat roiled
<i>gasolo</i> , swift	<i>gasolosolo</i> , somewhat swift
<i>malepe</i> , to be broken to pieces	<i>malepelepe</i> , to be rickety

28) Sometimes it bears an inchoative value:

fāna 'e, to rise, of the tide *fāna* 'ena 'e, to begin to rise

29) Or a plural:

ta 'afi, a shred of *siapo* *ta* 'afi 'afi, rags of *siapo*

30) And at times without apparent change of primitive meaning:

<i>afua</i> , to begin	<i>afuaafua</i>
<i>pālasī</i> , to drop down	<i>pālasilasi</i>

Up to this point we have considered the mechanism of iteration forms and have presented examples of the different significations which we have been able to see as pertaining to duplication in its

several phases. Now we shall enter upon a consideration of the various alterations in sense which iteration is employed to indicate, and before proceeding to the particular discussion it will be found convenient to have a table of the information already brought under study but for the present purpose rearranged by signification and by the phases which occur in each signification.

Formative	BB	BCBC	BBC	BCC				BCBCD	BCDCD
Plural	BB	BCBC	BBC	BCC	BBCD	BCDD	BCCD	BCBCD	BCDCD
Intensive	BB	BCBC	BBC			BCDD		BCBCD	BCDCD
Frequentative		BCBC						BCBCD	
Diminutive	BB	BCBC			BBCD				BCDCD
Inchoative									BCDCD

Inspection shows at a glance that plurality is expressible by each of the five iteration phases as already established; and furthermore that the simplest iteration phase, that to which I have assigned the name duplication, is sufficiently catholic to include all the recognized distinctions of sense variety as found in the preceding considerations. The fact that duplication does not reach down to the inchoative sense need not vitiate this conclusion, for in the present state of my notes that usage rests solely upon the example cited in 29 preceding.

Formative iteration.—(Refer to 1, 2, 6, 14, 15, 19, 20, 25, 30.) It is somewhat of a misnomer to call this phase of iteration formative. The word is formed in the primitive, the word is formed even earlier than that, in the seeds out of which root and stem have alike sprung. Yet it is formative in the sense that out of the danger of confusion with other similar stems it establishes the form of the word which shall be accepted as set apart for a given group of significations. Earlier in the course of these studies into the methods of this primordial speech I had occasion to discuss at length¹ determinant compounds. These are words formed by the composition of two stems each of which has several significations among which is one common to both. The resultant compound determines the sense of the word at that common signification. This formative iteration is a special, perhaps not quite so obvious, instance or variety of the determinant compound.

I have already (2) adduced as an example of the formative use of the BB type *nānā* "to hide". The root *na* appears in five uses; a pronoun of the third singular, a sign of past action, an

¹"Principles of Samoan Word Composition", Journal of the Polynesian Society XIV 40.

enclitic demonstrative, "to soothe to quiet", and "to hide". Now if we wish to make it plain to all comprehension that by the *na* we mean to express the idea of concealing we unconsciously set the significations of *na* in double column side by side and slide the one set up and down beside the other until *na* "to hide" comes upon the same line as *na* "to hide" and then at once the sense of *nānā* fixes at "to hide" and we have obtained a word established beyond confusion with the other *na* words, for *na* "to hide" will not make recognizable word-sense when composed with *na* of any other signification.

Plural iteration.—(Refer to 4, 10, 12, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 29.) Iteration is the simplest, because practically pictorial, means of expressing to the sense that which is more than one. We have by no means passed beyond it in our higher culture. As I write these words I find myself pausing to count the strokes of the clock marking the hour passed and chimed away. The teachers in our schools are alert to prevent their charges from doing their sums on their fingers. I recall the severely plain notation of a tribe of Australian aborigines with whom I once associated: *nitcha*, one; *barcoola*, two; *barcoola-nitcha*, three; *barcoola-barcoola*, four; and all beyond four was *yentimarra*, and it might be five or a countless host, five to them being quite as countless.¹ We find nothing philologically out of gear in the once popular lyric

"bang-bang the loud nine-pounders go."

It is in a cycle of speech evolution ages past our Samoan as a primordial speech, yet the English is a throw-back to the primal principle of a BB duplication to indicate the more than one. Any person who has ever enjoyed, even temporarily, the noisy prerogative of honorific artillery can certify that salutes are always odd. Few can recall out of hand to just what odd number of guns a Civil Lord of the Admiralty is by law entitled. The repetition in bang-bang is not the additive repetition of the Australian's *barcoola-barcoola*, it is indicative of a general plural, two bangs stand for all the bangs that might fitly honor the coming of Sir Joseph Porter, K. C. B., to reproduce them all would not be true

¹ It is unintentional if I chance to have imposed a simplified spelling upon the blackfellows, who have none at all. I knew their puny speech only by ear and word of mouth. I have even forgotten their tribal name and all save that I met them in the back blocks behind the Northwest Bend of the Murray.

philology but rather a sample of the artificiality of the college yell. We may take this English example into the Samoan without any difficulty: *pa* is to explode, to be discharged, expressive of the sound of a gun or of thunder; its plural is expressed by the duplication form *pāpā*. Without pursuing this plural sense through all the iteration phases in which it appears, and as has already been noticed it is the only sense which runs through all the forms, we shall find the examination of the preduplication form *tatanu* sufficiently illustrative. This is a plural of *tanu* "to make a downward motion to spread one thing over another in order to cover it", in effect "to bury".¹ We note that for the present we must use the term plural, but it is a Samoan plural. We may have a plural with a singular subject, we may have a plural subject with a singular verb, examples of the confusion which attaches to every attempt to rule a monosyllabic tongue by the categories of the grammar of inflection. In anticipation of a more extended review of plurality in the Samoan I may state here that the more-than-one concept exists independently of subject. Indeed a better appreciation of it is indicated by Tregear in his dictionary of the Mangarevan when he speaks of "plural of the object", yet even that is more specious than real. Most rational of all it is to regard the plurality as an unconditioned attribute of the verb itself, independent of so-called subject, not much more governed by what passes for object save in so far as a logical association inheres in each. This BBC preduplication *tatanu*, then, gives us the more-than-one sense of *tanu*. In the reference just cited we have shown that *tanu* is a composition of *ta* "to be the making of a movement away from the agent and generally downward" and *num* "to spread one thing over another in order to cover it", the compound meaning showing the latter as a result of the action beginning in the former. Now in developing a plural of *tanu* the Samoan is properly regardful of that element of the word which is properly susceptible of plurality. He makes it plain that no amount of repetition can add a plural sense to the resultant covering out of sight, but the element which indicates the action whereby the condition of being out of sight results is susceptible of repetition, therefore of a plural. Accordingly he duplicates *ta* to form a plural in the composite *tanu* just as he uses *tatā* for the plural of the same word in its independent existence. From this comprehension of the diverse nature of the two parts

¹American Journal of Philology XXVII 383.

of the stem the BBC *tatanu* gives yet another proof of the reducibility of dissyllabic stems to monosyllabic roots.

Frequentative iteration.—(Refer to 7 and 23.) Appreciating that the plural sense inheres in the attributive word unconditioned by the number of the subject or of the object it is easy to see that the frequentative is a plural phase of iteration, to the plural with which is associated the multitude of subject or object it stands in the relation of abstract to concrete. In final statement it is the manifestation of pure plural. As such the presence of this phase which so definitely establishes the free existence of plurality in the verb nucleus of the attributive and not, as it has become with us ("a verb agrees with its subject in number") a mere concord of a dependent relation, will be found of great value in the study of the first manifestation and later development of the category of grammatical number at this early stage of speech evolution.

Intensive iteration.—(Refer to 3, 9, 13, 20, 22, 26.) It is not a long step to take to pass from the idea of a repeated action to the idea of a greater degree of such action. The intelligence of an early type of man may leave much to be desired in regard of the logical and reasoning faculties, but his powers of observation are certainly acute. It has not escaped him that the constant dripping wears away the rock, and in such an instance the eye that follows drop by drop forms the concept of frequentative or plural iteration, but the eye that looks upon the stone and sees the result just as surely and naturally reaches the concept of intensive iteration. This is a higher intellectuality; not a very great degree of the logical faculty is involved in the advance, but in discussing the living record of a primordial speech we may properly expect none other than elementary steps of intellectual advance. The intensive connotation of repetition has persisted unchanged to our most modern speech. "Haste, haste, post, haste" was a common enough admonition on the face of letters before government assumed the administration of postal affairs; and the intensive connotation of the duplication was so strong that it has survived the loss even of the form of duplication in our "post-haste". In urgent imperative with us a telling monosyllable is more often than not duplicated, "go! go!", "quick! quick!"; the duplication is not marred by the insertion of a brief word of hortatory value such as is seen in "come, oh come!", or even a small verb as in "hurry, do hurry!" Since a principle so ele-

mental is still vivid in a late analytic speech it is not to be wondered at that it is a living agency in an early isolating speech.

Diminutive iteration.—(Refer to 5, 8, 16, 27.) This iteration phase seems quite as frequent in the Samoan as the plural phases, yet it is hard to reconcile the parallel existence of two employments of the same device so different in object. I confess myself unable to comprehend the psychology through which the same machinery is used to express the diminutive and the intensive, to blow hot and cold. Comparison with our English use, which in other phases has established such agreeable confirmation, here proves misleading. At first glance we see many of our English duplication forms as diminutives, but on closer examination the conditions are seen to be so diverse as to render valueless any inference from the analytic to the isolating. We must realize that our own frequent duplication diminutives are diminutive not by reason of their duplication, but through the way in which they are used, that the diminutive connotation is not in the form but in the manner, that it is altogether external and not internal. The English iteration diminutives are found in or have persisted from the baby talk, the puny speech through which infancy acquires language. If the vocables of the nursery are all diminutives, part of this is due to the specific use of the diminutive to express affection; this is noted to recur at a later seasonal relapse to the instincts of unreasoning brain when the barbarism typified by "oos ickle ducky is oo?" serves as an eminently satisfactory speech to one, or at most two, even though mawkish to all others except such as see a certain philological interest in identifying therein a return to type. In the iteration diminutives of baby talk there is a more or less conscious effort on the part of the grown up to scale things down to the measure of this most recent fellow citizen, it is the fathom fostering the ellwand. Such is by no means the external condition under which the iteration diminutives find employment in Samoan. The diminutive sense is internal and not exterior, it lies in the form itself as differentiating the derived word from its principal. The diminutives run through the whole range of the speech, they are words of the adult in his formal allocutions upon the town green as well as addressed to the children at home. It is to be said in addition that the Samoan, for all his tenderness toward children, has not recognized the necessity of crumbling his speech for their com-

prehension. It has been my pleasure to enjoy abundant opportunity of studying the inner life of the island home, yet my note books disclose no record of baby talk. It may well be that a speech of monosyllables needs no reduction, certainly none is convenient, and therefore each such underlying monosyllabic unit is as easy for the child brain to grasp and to hold as it is for the adult intelligence to employ.

We have seen how easily the intensive iteration is shown to be an extension of the plural. In the same way we may derive the formative iteration by extension from the intensive. Thus, with a few exceptions for which we still find it difficult to account, all our iteration forms reduce in the last analysis to signs of plurality of action and of the diminutive, two sets of meaning which in the present state of our knowledge do not harmonize readily as effluents from a common source.

Similarly, in beginning a systematic classification of the iteration phases, there has been a temporary value in describing variants under such terms as preduplication, subduplication, induplication and conduplication. But we have seen that these phases, manifest only in stems beyond the monosyllable, amount to nothing more than simple duplication of the active member of the composition forms.

Thus in mechanism and function, in form and use, we return to the most simple and elemental principles, and this is as it should be. Monosyllabism, a convenient illustration rather than fit designation of isolating speech, is at the very beginning of the effort to shape sound into speech. Its methods must be of the simplest, for the intellectual development of its users has a long course to run before it can appreciate the purpose of such a delicate instrumentality as the grammatical system of inflected speech.

It may now be asked why duplication largely does not extend beyond the dissyllabic stem.

A duplicated polysyllable is possible, but the increment is always under the tendency to break off by sheer force of gravity, for the spirit of the language is scantily cordial toward mere length of words or involved piecing together of ideas. Yet the principle remains operative and acquires an interesting special use. A repeated word, that is to say a polysyllabic duplication, adds great emphasis, as is shown in *e fa'avavau fa'avavau lava* the equivalent of our similar "forever and ever". In such a

phrase as *vevela vevela ma'aliki* "hot hot cold" the Samoan idiomatically conveys the sense that after continued warmth comes the cold. The absence of connectives or of verb para-deictics which Samoan syntax commonly prescribes is sufficient evidence that these locutions are felt to be duplication just as are *pi'ipi'i* and *tusilusi*.

I count myself fortunate that so much of my illustration from Samoan sources it has been possible to parallel with English usage, for the infant of the highly organized community stands for a brief space in his evolution on the general plane of the infant community. The English which I have so appreciatively cited is not the English of the rhetoricians, little of it has found lodgment in our dictionaries, but it is English none the less. It bears to our literary style some such relation as the Latinity of Plautus bears to that of Tully's philosophical essays. It is the best English we could have for comparison with the Samoan, for it is the folk speech and not ruled by canons of dainty taste, but under the sway of more elemental laws of construction, laws which, operative in only a crude and unfashionable portion of our English, we find to be the basic laws for the creation of Samoan words. It is because of the recognition of the fact that the law is one for the folk English and for the Samoan, which is all a folk speech, that I have drawn so cordially upon this source of the less dignified English. If argument were necessary to show that this English baby talk is not a mere survival a modern instance occurs, one which shows us a new draft from the ancient storehouse of word-creating activity, one of peculiar interest to our present inquiry because the new vocable is set forth upon its career of activity by the instinct vitality of the form alone with no connotation of sense whatever. Not long ago a song swept this land, swept over seas to every remotest land where the English tongue is used. It owed its hearing to the sensuous charm of the loose-jointed syn-copation of its African melody, but once heard it owed its life to one new word and to that word only because it was, in the terms of this study, a duplication. "Just because she made them googoo eyes"—that was what won the verdict before the popular Areopagus of a public that has and exerts the power of the pollice verso to damn or to reward. A googoo eye—up to that time of sudden vogue a googoo was a thing or a quality unknown to our English. It seems to argue a primitive, a goo, yet such a thing had never been heard. Where many a more important

candidate for our speech has failed this meaningless dissyllable burst into life. Thus has come to us the googoo eye, savage and barbaric in essence, senseless yet bursting with significance, the popular triumph of duplication, a throw-back, a plebeian reversion to type.

Toward the better comprehension of this type these studies of duplication have been addressed.

WILLIAM CHURCHILL.

III.—NOTES AND QUERIES ON UTOPIAS IN PLAUTUS.

Rohde¹ has traced the development of prose romances in Greek from erotic narrative and from fanciful stories of adventure by land and sea; the latter element in the compound he derives from a peculiar sort of "Reisedichtung", traces of which he finds in the *Odyssey*, in the adventures of the Argonauts, in the poem of Aristeas, in accounts of travel by Pytheas, Ctesias, and others. In the Hellenistic period ethnographic fiction, as Rohde styles it, became popular: it formed an older stratum in the legends about Alexander attributed to Callisthenes; it served as a framework for the construction of political and philosophical Utopias. Such Utopias appear as a Meropian land in Theopompus's fancy—perhaps under the influence of Plato's Atlantis—, as a country of the Hyperboreans in the fiction of Hecataeus of Abdera, as various happy islands or islands of the blessed located in the north and west, less often in the south and east; fabulous peoples with more or less fanciful names inhabit such regions—the Atacores in the tale of Amometus, the Ophiocani in a story ascribed to one Timocles. The *Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή* of Euhemerus, and the fantastic adventures of Iambulus are reported in some detail by Diodorus. In the second century after Christ such fanciful stories became the subject of a brilliant parody, Lucian's *Ἀληθεὶς Ἱστορία*.

It is apparent from the wide range of experiences in Lucian's parody that the extent of such fiction was much greater than appears from extant fragments and summaries of the Hellenistic period. That the same forces which produced this fiction had some effect upon other types of literature in the same period is a reasonable supposition which has already been confirmed to some extent in the case of comedy. The *Schlaraffenland-motif* of Greek folk-tales, which reappears in descriptions of the islands of the blessed and of other Utopias of this period, has been detected in the old Attic comedy, and in the fragmentary remains

¹ Der griech. Roman² 178–309 (marg., pp. 167–287).

of the later comedy.¹ To the reproductions of this later comedy by Plautus and Terence we should naturally turn for more complete evidence.

I.

Rohde has himself revealed in three passages of a single play of Plautus more or less clear reminiscences of such fiction, or at least of the forces which produced it. The first of these passages (*Trinummus* 549) is very general:² the slave in the play is attempting to prevent the giving away of a farm which constitutes the sole asset of his spendthrift master; he describes the farm as fatally affecting not only the crops and live-stock but the human occupants; Philto, the prospective owner of the farm, retorts:

sed istest ager profecto, ut te audiui loqui,
malos in quem omnis publice mitti decet,
sicut fortunatorum memorant insulas,
quo cuncti qui aetatem egerint caste suam
convenient; contra istoc detrudi maleficos
aequom videtur, qui quidem istius sit modi.

It is obvious that this reference may come from the common store of folk-notions without the intervention of any such literary expression of the idea as, for example, Lucian parodies later (*V. H.* II 5). Indeed the passage shows clearly that Philemon³ was not inspired by the author of any work which Lucian may be satirizing in his description of the islands of the blessed: for Lucian's parody includes a *τῶν ἀρεσίων χῶρος* (*V. H.* II 17, 29), knowledge of which would have made unnecessary a contrast with the *fortunatorum insulae* and would have led rather to a direct comparison with such *infortunatorum insulae* as are suggested by Lucian's description.

A suggestion of influence exerted upon Philemon's *θησαυρός* by any work attacked in Lucian's parody may seem uncalled for; especially when the idea in question is almost a commonplace. But

¹ Zielinski, *Die Märchenkomödie in Athen*. Rohde, *op. cit.* 210 n. (marg.² p. 192, n. 4), who refers to Bergk, *Comm. de rel. com. Att.*, p. 140. For the motif in folk-tale cf. Crusius, *Verh. d. Versamml. deutsch. Philolog. u. Schulmänner* 40 (1889) 36 ff.

² Rohde, *op. cit.* 214, n. 1 (marg., p. 200, n. 1).

³ It is of course by no means certain that the passage is from the Greek original. Zemmrich has shown the universality of the conception of islands of the dead in his dissertation: *Die Toteninseln und verwandte geographische Mythen* (Leiden, 1891). But I know of no positive evidence that points to any native source for the idea as it appears in Republican literature.

the necessity for treating seriously such a suggestion is apparent when we note, in the same scene of the same play, what appears to be a very distinct connection between a source of Lucian's parody and, presumably, Plautus's Greek original.¹ Lucian (V. H. I 24) says of the inhabitants of the moon: *τῇ μάντῳ γε γαστρὶ ὅσα πῆρα χρῶνται τιθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὅσων δέονται. ἀνοικτὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὕτη καὶ πάλιν κλειστή ἐστίν. ἄντερον δὲ οὐδὲ ἦπαρ ἐν αὐτῇ φαίνεται ἢ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι δασεῖα πᾶσα ἔντοσθεν καὶ λάσιός ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ νεογνά, ἐπειδὴν ῥιγῶσιν, ἐς ταύτην ὑποδύεται.* In vs. 422 of the *Trinummus*, Philto, observing that the spendthrift son has sold his house in his father's absence, remarks:

pol opino adfinis noster aedis vendidit;
pater quom peregre veniet, in portast locus,
nisi forte in ventrem filio conreperit.

The situation is the reverse of that in Lucian. Again the source from which Philemon draws may be only general folk-notions, rather than contemporary fiction.²

The third passage in the *Trinummus* shows clearer traces of Utopian fiction, and suggests a literary tradition.³ The requirements of the plot make it necessary to dress up an impostor who pretends to be bringing two letters from the absent father; unfortunately the father returns just as the impostor is approaching to carry out his trick; the father sees through the trick and amuses himself at the expense of the impostor, who is quite unconscious of the father's identity. In the course of the cross-questioning the father inquires what places he has visited in his travels, during which he pretends to have met the father; the *sycophanta* replies (933 ff.):

omnium primum in Pontum advecti ad Arabiam terram sumus.
—eho an etiam Arabiast in Ponto?—est: non illa ubi tus gignitur,
sed ubi apsinthium fit ac cunila gallinacea.
—sed quid ais? quo inde isti porro?—si animum advortes, eloquar.
ad caput amnis, quod de caelo exoritur sub solio Iovis.
—sub solio Iovis?—ita dico.—e caelo?—atque medio quidem.
eho an etiam in caelum escendisti?—immo horiola advecti sumus
usque aqua advorsa per amnem.—eho an tu etiam vidisti Iovem?
—alii di isse ad villam aiebant servis depromptum cibum.
deinde porro . . . —deinde porro nolo quicquam praedices.

¹ Rohde, op. cit. 209, n. (marg., p. 192, n. 4).

² Rohde, l. c., compares the *κίων θαλαττία* described in Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* I 17.

³ Rohde, op. cit. 256, n. 1 (marg., p. 238, n. 1) refers to the passage as an example of "Lügenberichte von Reisenden".

Rohde is doubtless wisely conservative in seeing in this passage only a parody of the τῶν πλεῖζομένων ψευδολογία καὶ τερατεία; he implies, perhaps, that there is no connection with contemporary literature. Possibly I am misled by the Euhemeristic turn at the end of the passage—Juppiter as slave-master dispensing rations at his farm—but in any case there are a few features that remind one of Euhemerus's narrative. Diodorus (V 41 ff.) reports: περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν νήσων τῶν ἐν Ὠκεανῷ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν κεκλιμένης καὶ προσοριζούσης τῇ καλούμενῃ Κεθρυσίᾳ. (4) ταύτης δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος χώρας κατ' ἀντικρὺ νῆσοι κεῖνται πλείους, (42, 4) ἔχει δὲ ἡ Παγχαία καθ' αὐτὴν πολλὰ τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς ἄξια (5) πόλις δ' ἐστὶν ἀξιόλογος ἐν αὐτῇ, προσαγορευομένη μὲν Πανάρα, εὐδαιμονία δὲ διαφέρουσα. οἱ δὲ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες καλοῦνται μὲν ἰκέται τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τριφυλίου, (6) ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχει σταδίους ὡς ἐξήκοντα ἱερὸν Διὸς Τριφυλίου, κείμενον μὲν ἐν χώρᾳ πεδιάδι, (43, 2) πλησίον γὰρ τοῦ τεμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκπίπτει τηλικαύτῃ τῷ μέγεθος πηγῇ γλυκίος ὕδατος ὥστε ποταμὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι πλωτόν. (44, 1) ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὑπῆρχεν ἀξιόλογος (2) . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ δρόμος κατεσκευάστο, (3) . . . ἐπ' ἐσχάτῃ δὲ τοῦ δρόμου τὰς πηγὰς ἔχει λάβρως ἐκχεομένας ὁ προειρημένος ποταμός. ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἡλίου ὕδαρ. (5) τὸ δ' ὑποκείμενον πεδίον ἐπὶ σταδίου διακοσίου καθιερωμένον ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πεδίον ὁρος ἐστὶν ὑψηλόν, καθιερωμένον μὲν θεοῖς, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ Οὐρανοῦ δίφρος καὶ τριφύλιος Ὀλυμπος. (46, 3) μυθολογοῦσι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Κρήτης ὑπάρχειν, ὑπὸ Διὸς ἡγμένοις εἰς τὴν Παγχαίαν, ὅτε κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐβασίλευε τῆς οἰκουμένης. There is to be sure little direct connection between the "water of the sun" that becomes a navigable river with only a plain separating it from a mountain called the δίφρος of Uranus (obviously also the seat of Triphylian Zeus), and the river in our passage that rises from the *solium* of Juppiter in mid-heaven; but there is enough resemblance to warrant the suggestion that Philemon, if we may safely ascribe the verses to him, was as likely to be drawing from a literary source as from any "ἐμπορικά διηγήματα".

2

One other passage in the same play is recognized as a purely Utopian reference, although the interpretation of it has been necessarily vague. The verse in question (928) immediately precedes the passage which has just been discussed. The father, before asking about the travels of the impostor, inquires where

he left Charmides, from whom he pretends to be bringing letters. The question and the answer are given thus in the Palatine MSS:—*sed ipse ubi est?*—*pol illum reliqui ad Rhadamantem in Cecropia insula.*

The variations in B are slight, but important in one respect: that MS reads *ihadamante* and *Cecropio*. The verse as it stands is impossible: it exceeds the limits of a trochaic septenarius. Efforts to emend it were put forth early in the history of modern study of the text. Meursius, regardless of metrical difficulties, simply changed *Cecropia* to *Cercopia* and left the verse hypermetrical; the idea in this reading was carried out better by Guyet, who, accepting *Cercopia*, at the same time expunged *insula*, making the line a satisfactory septenarius. The same idea was expressed in the reading of Fritzsche (*Analecta Plautina*, 9–10), who following Bothe's emendation of *Rhadamantem* to *Rhadamam* (once approved by Ritschl on the analogy of *Calcham* for *Calchantem*: *Opusc.* V 343 = *Prolegg.* LXXXVII, cf. *Opusc.* II 491, n. *Trin.² *prae*f. LXIX), changed *Cecropia* to *Cercopum* and kept *insula* in the verse. Of recent editors Goetz-Schoell in their smaller edition keep the MS-reading, marking the verse as corrupt; so, too, Leo; Brix reads *in Cercopia*, Lindsay in his Oxford text *in Cecropio*, both of course expunging *insula*. (For references to earlier discussions of the verse, cf. *Trinummus*,³ ed. Ritschl-Schoell, appendix critica on vs. 928).

The argument, in addition to the metrical necessity of the change, which leads to the removal of *insula*, is that in the codex vetus B of Plautus the word *insula* has before and after it a dot; this has led to the suspicion that it is a gloss, a suspicion that is naturally strengthened by the fact that the removal of the word helps to make the line metrically correct. The changes which involve a *Cercopia* rest on the fact that *Cecropia*, so far as we know, could refer only to Athens, an unlikely reference even if *insula* is expunged—leaving the verse metrically imperfect—and out of harmony with *Rhadamantem* if that word refers to Rhadamanthus, though this has not been regarded as certain. The change to *Cercopia*,¹ or *Cercopum insula*, has some tangible support: we hear elsewhere of an island of the Cercopes, typical swindlers of

¹ *Cercopia* and *Cecropia* are easily confounded: Hesychius s. v. *Κέρκωψ* explains *Κέρκωψ*. A few modern scholars, indeed, connect Cecrops and Cercops: cf. Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II 1022–3 s. v. *Kekrops*, and the ingenious theory which von Prott has left in outline in his posthumous notes (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* IX [1906] 89): he thinks Cecrops was a sublimated Cercops.

folk-tale (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1302; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II 1166 s. v. Kerkopen), changed into monkeys (Xenagoras ap. Harpocr. s. v. *Κέρκωψ*, and schol. ad Lucian., p. 181, 6 Rabe; Ovid, *Metam.* XIV 90-100). Such a reference is not inappropriate in the context (cf. Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II 1172), but if *Rhadamantem* alludes to Rhadamanthus we have no evidence of any association of the judge in the other world with the island of the Cercopes. Such are the difficulties: they led Ostermayer (*De historia fabulari in com. Plaut.* 53-4) to refrain from any interpretation and to express no positive opinion other than that the verse comes directly from the Greek original.

My own study of the passage has not led to any definitive settlement of the reading or of the interpretation, but several new points of view and some fresh evidence seem worthy of consideration. In the first place the seclusion of *insula* by dots in B (note that the same MS has *Cecropio*) may be significant: it is evident that Lindsay would argue that the original reading was *Cercopio*, easily corrupted to *Cecropio*, that *insula* is a gloss transferred to the text, and that *Cecropio* was changed in some MS to *Cecropia* to harmonize with *insula*. This may be a correct explanation of the variant readings, of the hypermetrical verse, and of the dots in B. But, if we admit the possibility of a rather early corruption in the text, our interpretation of its present condition may be very different but equally plausible. The significance of the dots in B is far from certain; a cretic word is too natural an ending of such trochaic verses to be hastily ejected; the dots may be merely an indication of the hypermetrical verse, and of a sensitiveness to metrical accuracy on the part of a careful copyist. At any rate we must leave open the question raised by this peculiarity of one MS.¹

Furthermore, investigation of Greek proper names fails to show the existence of any other word than Rhadamanthus which has the same stem, or at least which is not immediately connected with Rhadamanthus; and the appearance of Rhadamanthus in Utopian fiction, combined with the Utopian atmosphere of the passage, makes it extremely probable that there is no serious corruption in this word, and that no other person is intended in this reference.

Now, once granting the certainty of Rhadamanthus as the person referred to, any reference to the island of the Cercopes

¹ In C, according to the facsimile, *insula* appears at the beginning of the next line, but C does not preserve the division by verses.

becomes extremely improbable; there is no connection between Rhadamanthus and these swindlers of folk-tale in extant allusions to the story, nor is there any point of contact between the two inherent in what we know of either. Add to this that the geographical references in the immediate context are consistently to Arabia or the vicinity,¹ and it becomes clear, to my own mind at least, that if we can find any evidence associating Rhadamanthus with Arabia, it will be reasonable to infer that the phrase *in Cecropio(a)*, or if it be corrupt, whatever once stood in its place, referred to a place imagined to be in the vicinity of Arabia, possibly to an island off the coast.

There does exist evidence of connection between Rhadamanthus and Arabia. The story is earlier than Pliny the Elder (N. H. 6, 158), who, in speaking of Arabian towns and peoples, mentions the Rhadamaei, and says parenthetically: *et horum origo Rhadamantus putatur, frater Minois*; cf. also 157: *Minaei, a rege Cretae Minoe, ut existimant, originem trahentes*. Nonnus, whose indebtedness to Hellenistic sources directly or indirectly is often evident, is more specific (Dionys. 21, 304):

καὶ καλέσας Ῥαδαμᾶνας ἀλήμονας, οὓς ποτε γαίης
Κρηταίης ἀέκοντας ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἤλασε Μίνως
Ἀρραβίης ἐπὶ πέζαν, ἐπέφραδε νείματι Πείης
πῆξαι νῆμα δοῦρα θαλάσσιον εἰς μῶθον Ἰνδῶν.²

Furthermore, the nominative singular suggested by the form in Nonnus should prevent any conservative editor from changing *Rhadamanthem* to *Rhadamantum*. Possibly, however, this same form in Nonnus may lead to a revival of Bothe's original emendation *Rhadamam*; the equation *Calchas*: *Calcham* :: *Rhadamas*: *Rhadamam* may be now complete. When the longer and

¹ Vs. 845 is comprehensive; Seleucia is consistently referred to (112, 771, 901); for Arabia, cf. 933 ff. For Arabia in fiction cf. Diodorus V 41 ff. (above, p. 58). The mention of *Κρόσωια* in Diodorus V 41 (cf. Ausfeld, *Der griech. Alexanderroman* 168 ff.) suggests that *in Cedrosia* (without *insula*) would be fairly satisfactory from a palaeographical standpoint; but *insula* as a gloss would be unexplained except as a mistaken interpretation, and we have no evidence that Cedrosia was near the part of Arabia inhabited by the mythical or historical Rhadamantes or Rhadamaei of Nonnus or Pliny.

² It is worth noting that in Diodorus's account of Euhemerus's story (above, p. 58), Zeus is said to have led the ancestors of the priests of Triphylian Zeus from Crete to Panchaea, which is located in the ocean off Arabia and Cedrosia, and that the Rhadamantes are led (by Rhadamanthus?) from the same place and to the same general region.

more familiar form was substituted by a copyist, the line became unmetrical, and *insula* was set off by dots to indicate the hyper-metric verse. The original reading would have been

—sed ipse ubi est?—pol illum reliqui ad Rhadamam in Cecropia insula.

Lest anybody should be led by the passage of Nonnus to read

—sed ipse ubi est?—pol illum reliqui ad Rhadaman(t)es in Cecropio.

I should note, first, that the construction with *ad* is not fully substantiated by the examples in Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* s. v. *ad* III Significatio I D 2 = Vol. I, fasc. I, p. 39, and, secondly, that the *Ῥαδαμάνθους κρίσις* is very likely a comic motif (cf. Kock CAF. *ἀδίσποτα* 731, with the passages referred to).

The ejection of *insula* as a gloss, however, and the reading *Cecropio* from the hand of the careful copyist of B are not to be disregarded in our consideration of the possibilities. The geographical reference in either *Cecropia* or *Cecropio* must remain unsettled. But in addition to the authority of B in favor of *Cecropio*, there is a slight bit of evidence which, I think, has been overlooked. Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. *Ἀσσός* writes: *δευτέρα πόλις Αἰολίδος κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἥ Κεκρόπειον*. Now Plautus might turn *Κεκρόπειον* into *Cecropium* (Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* 41 [1886] 311-313), or even into *Cecropium*, if *Seleucia* represents *Σελεύχεια*. As a place-name, then, *Cecropium* is not impossible. To accommodate this name the verse must then be read with hiatus and lengthening of the final syllable of *Rhadamantem*:

—sed ipse ubi est?—pol illum reliqui ad Rhadamantem | in Cecropio.

Of such "hiatus mit Längung" Maurenbrecher quotes nineteen examples from the MSS (Hiatus u. Verschleifung im alten Latein, p. 56-7). Whatever may be said against hiatus of this particular sort, it should be noted that in this verse there is special occasion for it: the effect is much enhanced by a long pause after *Rhadamantem*, followed by the unsatisfactory solution of the mystery in the Utopian reference.

I find myself prepared by this study of the various factors to accept without essential change the reading of the copyist of B, and to reject *insula* as a gloss. If the hiatus is ever proved to be an insuperable obstacle, the reading *Rhadamam* and the retention of *insula* may become more desirable. But in either case it seems to me that no conservative editor should change *Cecropio(a)* to

Cercopio(a), or should for a moment question that the reference in Rhadamantem is to the judge of the other world, and that the form of his name comes from a nominative *Rhadamas*.

3

There is at least one other passage in Plautus that has not hitherto been included among these Utopian references. The *Asinaria* opens with a scene in which Demaenetus crosses the stage conducting his slave Libanus. The slave with comical insistence demands that his master shall bind himself by the most solemn oaths to answer his approaching question with absolute veracity. After the required pledges have been given the slave's question is forthcoming and turns out to be simply (31 ff.):

num me illuc ducis ubi lapis lapidem terit?

The conversation continues with a request from the master for enlightenment and with the slave's solution of the riddle:

quid istuc est? aut ubi istuc est terrarum loci?

—ubi flent nequam homines qui polentam pinsitant,

apud fustitudinas ferricrepinas insulas,

ubi vivos homines mortui incursant boves.

—modo pol percepi, Libane, quid istuc sit loci:

ubi fit polenta, te fortasse dicere.

If Demaenetus had left the riddle unexplained, a reader of Plautus would have no difficulty in discovering its meaning. We are not dependent upon this passage alone for evidence that the slave dreaded the task of turning the hand-mill, and that he was chained to his work and clubbed into faithful performance of his duty; nor is the curious periphrasis in vs. 35, by which the leathern whips are somewhat clumsily suggested, at all foreign to Plautus's style.

There is only one lineament in the comic picture that makes one pause: why is this place of torture referred to as the Club-bruisian Ironrattlian *Islands*?

So far as I know, the only effort to account for *insulas* is in the commentary of Ussing on the play: "*insulas molas appellat in pistrino positas, similitudinem rei, ut ex Pompeianis molis apparet, egregie secutus*". If one contents himself with accepting Ussing's view and does not consult the pictures of Pompeian mills, a picture of a simple upper and nether mill-stone rises in one's mind, and by fancying the upper stone as much smaller than the nether, one derives a satisfactory idea of a veritable island in mid-ocean. The hand-mills found in Pompeii, however, do not

so readily suggest islands. In shape like an hour-glass they rest on bases of varying size and form, but usually of the same diameter as the bottom of the hour-glass; underneath mill and basis is a circular pedestal of greater diameter so that the pedestal extends beyond the mill itself on all sides, not however so far in proportion to the height of the mill as to suggest clearly the ocean surrounding an island.¹ It is not certain that Ussing has in mind the separate mills; from his "in pistrino positas" we may infer that he thinks of a number of such mills disposed in a spacious room like islands dotting the surface of the ocean. That this picture may have been in the poet's mind cannot be denied; it may very well have been part of the concrete experience from which he fashions the description in our passage.² My only contention is that an equally important element in the creation is purely fanciful, and that the combination of concrete experience and vivid fancy contributes a large part of the comic effect produced by the description. The fanciful element in the compound was probably suggested by Plautus's Greek source; the realistic element is largely Roman,³ as is clear from the peculiarly Plautine and Latin adjectives *fustitudinae ferricrepinae*. Certainly an effective incongruity arises from the mingling of a very realistic place of punishment with imaginary islands, probably of perfect peace and happiness. The possibility of such a combination will receive some support if the features of the description harmonize with characteristics of Utopian islands; primarily, of course, they will harmonize with the purely realistic experience in the poet's mind: for we should not forget that the poet had himself worked at the mill (*pace* Leo, Pl. Forsch. 61 ff.).

Some of these features may be described negatively as not inconsistent with what we are told about Utopia in other literature. Such, for example, are the dead oxen that attack living men. Utopia is regularly inhabited by paradoxical animals.⁴ Further-

¹ Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire s. v. mola, reproduce a mill that rests in a broad basin and very well suggests an island. For the Pompeian mills cf. Overbeck-Mau, Pompeii⁴ 385-387, Blümner, Technologie I 27.

² The phrasing reminds one of *fui praeferratus apud molas tribunus vapularis* (Pers. 22), and cf. Ps. 1100.

³ The realistic element may have been suggested by the Greek original: cf. Herondas V 32, and the passages quoted from the lexicographers by Crusius (ed. minor,⁴ p. 44); also Hermann-Blümner, Privatalt. 90, n. 7.

⁴ Our sources of information are secondary, and usually simply state that paradoxical animals were a part of the Utopian fiction: so in Aelian, V. H. III

more, Utopia is often identical with the unknown land that receives us after death, and features of terrestrial and aerial Utopias recur in the subterranean *Schlaraffenland* of Hades:¹ grewsome animals in general,² and oxen in particular,³ are characteristic of the underworld Utopia. The forceful antithesis in *ubi vivos homines mortui incursant boves* might harmonize very well with the visits of living men to this Utopian Hades⁴ which were so commonly reported in Hellenistic fiction, both secular and religious, as well as in the older literature. To prevent misunderstanding let me repeat that I do not contend that such points of contact with the Utopias of contemporary fiction and *Volksphantasie* were at all prominent in the poet's mind, but only that the connotation of *insulas* brought about necessarily a certain consistency with the features of the Utopian islands familiar to the poet and instantly associated with *insulas*.

The fanciful names "Clubbruisian, Ironrattlian", so far as they are fanciful, would certainly not be at odds with the Utopian element in *insulas*.⁵

18 of Theopompus's story, Diodorus V 45 of Euhemerus's *Panchaea*. Diodorus II 58 gives more details, especially about the curious tortoise-like animals, in reporting the adventures of Iambulus; the fanciful creations of Lucian's parody show how constant a feature of Utopia such creatures must have been in Hellenistic fiction: the oxen with horns under their eyes (V. H. II 3) and the horned ox-men, Bucephali (II 44), are in point.

¹ Dieterich, *Nekyia* 25: Als die Vorstellung von dem Totenreich unter der Erde herrschend war, wurden alle jene Herrlichkeiten auch in die Tiefe verlegt, und so hat es ja die attische Komödie so gern dargestellt. Ihr sonnig heiteres Schlaraffenland ist drunten im düsteren Hades.

² Radermacher, *Das Jenseits im Mythos d. Hellenen* 106 ff.

³ Dieterich, op. cit. 25, n. 1, refers to the cattle of Helios appearing later in Hades, to Geryoneus and his herd on Erytheia, to Persephone *βουφόρβη*, and to the primitive conception of the god of death as a herdsman. An interesting fragment from Pherecrates's *Κραπαταλοί* (82 K.) is pertinent; the speaker, a toothless old man, complains that no knife has been put in his kit so that he may eat his beef in Hades:

μάχαιραν ἄρ' ἐνέθηκας ;—οὐ.—τί μ' εἰργασαι;
ἀμάχαιρος ἐπὶ βόεϊα νοστήσω κρέα,
ἄνθρω γέρων, ἀνόδοντας ;

⁴ Note the question addressed to Lucian by Rhadamanthus in the island of the blessed (V. H. II 10): ὁ μὲν ἤρετο τί παθόντες ἐν ζῶντες λεποῦ χωρίον ἐπιβαίημεν. Similarly the speaker in a fragment of Ameipsias (23 K.): εἰ μὴ (so the MSS) θανοῦσαν ἔστι τις τιμὴ κάτω, | καταβώμεν.

⁵ The names, realistically suggesting actual experience, cannot be precisely paralleled, but the range of names in Lucian suggests that the Plautine adjectives would find congenial company in Hellenistic fiction.

There is a certain measure of positive evidence of affinity with folk-notions of Utopia, or more precisely with the phraseology current in ordinary speech in reference to *Nirgendheim*. This evidence appears in the phrase that introduces the whole discussion: num me illuc ducis ubi lapis lapidem terit? In popular usage this where-formula with its paradoxical content introduced references to the land of Nowhere: the evidence is naturally scanty, as is the case with most of the material bearing on folklore in ancient Greece. Crusius in his admirable discussion of Herondas 3, 74-76 (Untersuchungen zu d. Mimiamben d. Herondas 71 ff.) has collected the pertinent material without including our passage. In Herondas the relentless school-master exclaims to the incorrigible youngster whom he is flogging:

ἀλλ' εἰς πονηρός, ἔοτταλ', ὥστε καὶ περὶ
οὐδεὶς σ' ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅπως χάρις
οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγουσιν.

This particular phrase meets us later in Latin literature in Seneca's Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii, in which the emperor on reaching the other world is told that he has come to the place *ubi mures ferrum rodunt* (7).¹ The identification of Utopia with the realm of Hades (which we noted above in another connection) appears again, and expressed in a similar formula, in Callimachus; apparently posing as a Hipponax returned from the dead, the speaker exclaims (Frgs. 92, 85):

ἀκούσασθ' Ἰππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἦκα
ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῶν κολλύβου πεπρήσκουσιν.²

¹ Amusing attempts to locate the land where mice gnaw iron may be found in the ancient writers: Rose, Pseudepigraphus 334 ff.

² The cheapness of things is a stock feature of *Schlaraffenland*: gold is less valuable to the inhabitants of Theopompus's Utopia than iron to ordinary folk (Aelian, V. H. III 18). An interesting parallel to the verses of Callimachus occurs in an epigram by the same author (13 Wil.) if we accept Kaibel's interpretation of Πελλαίου in the last verse as meaning a drachma of Pella and so corresponding to κολλύβου in the fragment above; the epigram represents a passer-by as conversing first with the tombstone, then with the shade of the deceased, who is called up from the dead:

ἦ β' ὑπὸ σοὶ Χαρίδας ἀναπαύεται;—εἰ τὸν Ἀρίμμη
τοῦ Κυρηναίου παῖδα λέγεις, ὑπ' ἐμοί.
—ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε;—πολὺς σκότος.—αἱ δ' ἀνοδοὶ τί;
—φειδός.—ὃ δὲ Πλοῦτων;—μῦθος.—ἀπωλόμεθα.
—οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ἕμμεν ἀλαθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν φθόν
βοῦλει· Πελλαίου βοῆς μέγας εἰν Ἀΐδη.

In Hipponax, the model of Herondas and Callimachus, Crusius thinks we should find many such phrases if more of his verses were preserved. One more example of this where-formula Crusius has recovered from a proverb quoted in Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* IX 161 b: *ὅπου αἱ ἑλάφοι τὰ κέρατα ἀποβάλλουσιν*. Aristotle explains by saying that the deer cast off their horns *ἐν τόποις χαλεποῖς καὶ δυσεξευρίτοις*. But, as Crusius points out, inasmuch as the female of the deer have no horns to lose, we have here another reference to *Nirgendheim*. Our own verse, it seems to me, is but an echo or parody of this where-formula referring to Utopia.¹

It may with some fitness be objected that the Utopian formula is still appropriate if the *insulae* are the mills: yet the association of the where-formula and of *insulae* with Utopia seems to me to make the interpretation which I have suggested for *insulae* almost inevitable; after the hearer has once heard the mysterious formula that from constant usage must have called up in his mind at once the idea of *Nirgendheim*, the islands in question could hardly escape being identified with the islands of fancy. Nor should we expect our author to miss the opportunity for such an effective incongruity as results from the mental juxtaposition of a place of perfect torture and islands of blessed peace and happiness. These are the *Infortunatorum Insulae*.

4

The evidence of Philemon's interest in Utopias is by no means so complete that we should hastily ascribe to him every Utopian reference in Plautus.² In noting, however, a Utopian passage

The consciousness of the mythical character of the under-world *Schlaraffenland*—a mere *ἡδύλογία*—is expressed with fine irony (Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* 19, and n. 1, 2). For the interpretation, cf. Kaibel, *Hermes* 31 (1896) 265.

¹ I have not included much that may be pertinent if we restore the where-formula from many references in proverbs and other literature to the land "where asses and wolves fly through the air, where he-goats are milked and cows are saddled": for such material cf. Crusius, *Verh. d. Versamml. deutsch. Philolog. u. Schulmänner* 40 (1889) 36 ff. The where-formula naturally became stereotyped in such proverbial phrases as Petronius's *facile est autem ubi omnia quadrata currunt*, and the paradoxical idea without the "where" is very frequent, as in Petronius's *dices hic porcos coctos ambulare*. From such colloquial phrases and proverbs Crusius reconstructs a great many features of *Schlaraffenland* as the Greeks and Romans conceived it.

² Least of all a mere reference to "islands" such as we have just discussed in the *Asinaria*. Yet I may be forgiven for reminding myself and others that Demophilus, to whom the original of the *Asinaria* is ascribed in the prologue

from the Aulularia, we may well bear in mind that Blass ascribes to Philemon the fragments in the recently edited Hibeh papyri which are supposed to be from the Greek original of the Aulularia.¹ The lines are spoken by a slave after he has secured possession of a pot of gold (701-702):

Picis divitiis, qui aureos montis colunt,
ego solus supero.

The full treatment of the passage by Fleckeisen in JHB. 143 (1891) 657 ff. makes further discussion unnecessary.

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(vs. 11), is otherwise unknown (but cf. Fleckeisen, JHB. 97 [1868] 213; also Bergk, Rh. Mus. 34 [1880] 313; Wilhelm, Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen 128), and that in earlier days efforts were made to substitute *Diphilus* for *Demophilus* (cf. Asin. ed. Goetz-Schoell, praef. XIX and *apparatus criticus* on vs. 11; Ritschl, Opusc. II 683 n.***). Certainly as much (perhaps no more!) may be said for substituting *Philemo*, especially as the substitution requires no further changes to suit the metre, as the change to *Diphilus* does. The striking similarity between the prologues of the Trinummus and of the Asinaria (especially Asin. 8-12 and Trin. 16-21, in which the points of resemblance cannot be paralleled from other prologues: cf. Leo, Pl. Forsch. 181-183) cannot of course be used as evidence, for these passages came from Plautus or a later source; but the similarity is more easily explained if there is an association of ideas formed by the fact that the Greek author of the two plays is the same person. Nor is the dissimilarity between the two Latin plays an argument against common authorship, though a careful study might reveal in style or in structure positive evidence for or against common authorship. There is, however, not the slightest trace of corruption in vs. 11 of the prologue, so that the error, if there was one, arose early in the transmission of the text, and all traces of it disappeared. Did an original *pilemo* become *deipilemo* (cf. *deicam* of the previous verse) and then *deimopile* or *demopile*, and so *demophilus*? Or is the present reading a survival of disputed authorship resulting in the fusion of the names of the two claimants, *Diphilus* and *Philemon*: they are mentioned together in Most. 1149, and the reading has suffered in a way that may suggest possibilities in our own verse—*dephilo aut philomontes*.

¹Cf. Leo, Hermes 41 (1906) 629, and Blass's rejoinder, Rh. Mus. 62 (1907) 102.

IV.—SIGMATISM IN GREEK DRAMATIC POETRY.

Euripides' excessive use of the letter sigma attracted the attention of the comic poets of Athens and has continued to be the subject of comment in nearly all annotated editions of his plays.

Plato, the comic poet, Heortae, frag. 7, Meineke:

ἐὺ γέ σοι γένοιθ', ἡμῶς δὲ
ἔσωσας ἐκ τῶν σίγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου.

Eubulus, Dionysius, fragmenta 2 and 3:

Εὐριπίδου δ' ἔσωσας ὡς Ἰασί σοι,
.....
Παρθενέσεις ἔξεις μοι χάριν,
καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖσιν ἐγγελῶσι πῆμασιν
τὰ σίγμα συλλέξαντες.

Eustathius to the Iliad 896, 56:

καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία μετὰ τὴν εὕρεσιν τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ τ' ἀντὶ τοῦ σ' ἐπισημαίνεται χαίρειν
ὡς ἀπαλλαγείσα τῶν σιγμάτων Εὐριπίδου.

To the Iliad 1170, 54:

ὁ φιλοσίγματος Εὐριπίδης κόσσαβον ἐν δυὶ σσ' γράφει, ὅτι δὲ τῷ σ' ἔχαιρεν
Εὐριπίδης.

and to the Odyssey 1379, 58:

ὁ τοῦ σίγμα ἥχος λυπεῖ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἔσωσά σ' ὡς Ἰασσι καὶ ἐξῆς τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου.

The verse especially ridiculed is Medea 476:

ἔσωσά σ', ὡς Ἰασσιν Ἑλλήνων δοιοί.

Barnes, in his note to this verse, says, "Versum vero hunc Euripidis ob frequentiam τοῦ σίγμα a Poetis Comicis irrisum, mirisque aliquando in Athenis Theatro cachinnis exceptum aiunt". A similar note could be quoted from Porson, Schaefer,¹ and Elmsley, and from nearly all the various editions down to the edition of Professor Allen revised by Professor Moore, which has this note to the same verse: "A noteworthy example of Euripidean sigmatism".

¹Schaefer's comment is in a note to Dion. Halic., De Comp. Verb. 100-7. "Nemini opinor ignotum esse, quantum antiquis Atticis displicuerint Euripidis σίγματα; quem et Plato et Eubulus ob hanc causam deriserunt". Schaefer quotes this note from the previous edition of Jacob Upton.

The consensus of opinion of commentators is that Euripides was peculiar in his fondness for the letter sigma and that *δ φιλοσίγματος Εὐριπίδης* and "Euripidean sigmatism" are proper designations of a fact; also that Greek Comedy ridiculed and avoided this sigmatism.

The purpose of this paper is to study the use of sigmatism in the complete plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, and to see whether the phrase "Euripidean sigmatism" is a correct or a misleading one.

The particular verse most quoted is *Medea*, 476:

ἔσωά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ἄσσοι.

Here we have seven sigmas, six in the first seven syllables and one in the last. As this is the most famous example, I shall for purposes of comparison make this the standard of sigmatism.

AESCHYLUS.

Aeschylus has thirty-six verses with seven sigmas, and seven verses with more than seven. Noteworthy examples are:

P. V. 679: *δοσοις δεδορκώς τοὺς ἐμὸνς κατὰ στίβους.*

840-2: *σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', Ἴόνιος κεκλήσεται
τῆς σῆς κορείας μνῆμα τοῖς πᾶσιν βροτοῖς.
σημεῖά σοι τάδ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φρενός.*

Seventeen sigmas are thus crowded into three verses.

Sep. 125: *δορυσσοῖς σαγαῖς πύλαις ἐβδόμαις.*

This lyric verse of ten syllables has as many sigmas as the trimeter in *Med.*

Per. 144: *πῶς ἄρα πρῶσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς.*

406: . . . *Περσίδος γλώσσης ῥόδος.*

Ag. 338: *εἰ δ' εὐσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολισσοῦχους θεοὺς.*

1399: *θανυμύζομέν σου γλώσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος.*

Here seven sigmas are crowded into four feet, while there are but six in the same number of feet in the ridiculed verse of Euripides.

Eumen. 754: *ὦ Παλλὰς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμὸνς δόμους.*

This verse so closely resembles in its sigmatism the verse in the *Medea* that we can hardly think that a comic poet was in good faith when he ridiculed this verse in Euripides, since he must have been familiar with the similar sigmatism of Aeschylus. This verse in Eumenides denotes the extreme of gratitude and devotion felt by the rescued Orestes, so that if sigma by its hissing could have

denoted anger or contempt the poet would not have used it; thus the tone read into the sigmas of Medea 476 is false. Earle, in his edition of the Medea, says of verse 476, "The hissing in this and the following verse caused by the frequent sigmas is quite probably meant to be expressive of the speaker's contempt."

SOPHOCLES.

Sophocles has forty-two verses with seven sigmas, eight with eight, and four with nine.

Striking examples of sigmatism are:

Ai. 390: τοὺς τε δισάρχας ἄλκσας βασιλῆς.

Here in eleven syllables are found nine sigmas.

El. 775: προσῆλθε, δοτις τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς γεγώς.

O. R. 425: ἃ σ' ἐξιώσει σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις.

940: τῆς Ἰσθμίας στήσουσιν, ὡς ἠδᾶτ' ἐκεῖ.

1507: μὴδ' ἐξιώσῃς τάσδε τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς.

Phil. 734: μὲν ἄλγος ἰσχυεῖς τῆς παρεστώσης νόσου;

O. C. 411: τῆς σῆς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, σοῖς ὅταν στῶσιν τάφοις.

1342: ὥστ' ἐν δέμοισι τοῖσι σοῖς στήσω σ' ἄγων.

This verse has more sigmas than the one in the Medea, and has seven in seven consecutive syllables, while the Medea has but six in the same number. It is inconceivable that Sophocles would have written this verse for production before an audience that had already voiced its displeasure at a less pronounced sigmatism. Evidently the tradition that the verse in Euripides was received with mockery must have originated long after the production of the Medea. No poet so popular as Sophocles would have adopted the mannerism of another, a mannerism already offensive to the public. The tradition is accordingly false.

EURIPIDES.

Euripides has one-hundred-fifty-eight verses with seven sigmas, thirty-nine with eight, five with nine, and two with ten. The two verses with ten are tetrameters and are Or. 1553, Phoen. 594. In neither of these verses is there a marked sigmatism, as the extra syllables more than compensate for the extra sigmas.

Good examples of sigmatism are:

Alc. 241: λείσσω βασιλέως, δοτις ἀρίστης —.

Bacch. 443: ἀς δ' αὖ σὺ Βάκχας εἰρξας, ἀς συνήρπασας.

Hel. 889: εἰτ' αὖ μὲθ' Ἑρας σῶσα σὺν σῶσω βίον.

Had the verse in the *Medea* been derided for its sigmatism, Euripides could never have dared to employ for the same theatre the sigmatism of this verse in the *Helena*.

Heracl. 25: τοὺς κρείσσοντας σέβοντες ἐξείργουσι γῆς.

432: ἤδη πρὸς ἅκταις θυγες ὡς σεσωμένοι.

H. F. 524: ὡς ἄσμενός σ' ἐσιδὼν ἐς φάος μολλὼν.

I. A. 12: τί δὲ σὺ σκηπῆς ἐκτὸς ἄσσεις;

909: πρὸς γενειάδος δέ, πρὸς σῆς δεξιᾶς, πρὸς μητέρος.

Ion, 386: σὺ δ' οὐτ' ἐσωσας τὸν σὸν θυ σῶσαι σ' ἐχρήν.

This verse just quoted must antedate the ridicule of *Medea* 476.

806: σκηπῆς ἐς ἱερὰς τῆσδε λαθραίως πόσις.

Cycl. 379: δισσοῦς γ' ἀθρήσας κάπιβαστάσας χεροῖν.

295: παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκιδάσκεισθαι σοφούς.

Med. 691: τί φῆς; σαφῶς μοι σὺς φράσον δυσθυμίας.

1149: παίδων μωσαχθεῖσ' εἰσόδους · πόσις δὲ σὺς.

Or. 450: μετάδος φίλοισι σοῖσι σῆς εὐπραξίας.

1553: πρὸς κακῶς πράσσοντας, ὡς σὺ νῦν. Ὁρέστα, δυστυχεῖς.

This verse has ten sigmas, but its length makes the sigmatism very mild.

Phoen. 1089: ἐλθοῦσα τέρψω, τῆσδε γῆς σεσωμένης.

It seems to me that the most strongly marked sigmatism in Euripides is found in I. T. 765:

τὸ σῶμα σώσας τοὺς λόγους σώσεις ἐμοί.

Here are nine sigmas in nine consecutive syllables, and in none of these syllables is the hissing of sigma stopped by its being pronounced in conjunction with another consonant. This verse has all this hissing, yet there can be no notion of "anger" or "contempt" thought of. To anticipate now a point to be discussed later, there are no double sigmas here and none of the sigmatism is of the sort that could be modified by the substitution of double tau. As the *Rhesus* evidently belongs to a later age than the other plays in the editions of Euripides, we might expect the criticism of Plato and Eubulus to be evident in a restricted use of sigma, but the sigmatism of the *Rhesus* does not differ from that of the genuine plays. Cf. *Rhesus* 866:

οὐκ οἶδα τοὺς σοὺς σὺς λέγεις Ὀδυσσεύς.

ARISTOPHANES.

The one definite thing in comments on sigmatism is that Attic Comedy would have none of it, so it is natural to expect a marked falling off in the sigmatism of Aristophanes, but instead of that there is a decided increase.

Aristophanes has one-hundred-twenty-five verses with seven sigmas, twenty-three with eight, six with nine, and two with ten. If we compare this with Euripides, we shall see that he has more verses with nine sigmas in eleven plays than Euripides has in nineteen, and that he has an average of eleven verses with seven sigmas in each play, while the average of Euripides is but eight. Although the plays of Aristophanes abound with parodies of Euripides, and he is often introduced speaking, not a single sigmatic verse is used in a parody of his plays or put in his mouth. Thus we are certain that Euripides lived and died and the *Frogs* was produced before anyone had seriously raised the issue of his use of sigma, else Aristophanes, ever on the alert for anything to fling at Euripides, would have introduced him hissing with sigmas. The following examples will illustrate Aristophanes' use of sigma:

- Nub. 554: ἐκοτρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς.
 926: ἈΔ. ἧς ἐμνήσθης. ΔΙΚ. τῆς σῆς, πόλεως θ' ἦτις σε κτλ.
 959: ἀλλ' ὦ πολλοῖς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἦθεσι χρηστοῖς στεφανώσας.
 Vesp. 557: . . . στρατιῶς τοῖς ξυσσίτοις κτλ.
 672: σὺ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀγαπᾷς τῆς σῆς τοὺς ἀργελοφόρους.
 Pax, 867-9: ἔσωσα τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὥστ'
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς
 ἅπαντας ὄντως ἀσφαλῶς —.
 1101: ὡς οὗτος φοβερὸς τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός.
 Av. 629: ἐπανχῆσας δὲ τοῖσι σοῖς λόγοις.
 1279: ὅσους τ' ἐραστὰς τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἔχεις.
 Lys. 955: τῆς καλλίστης πασῶν ψευσθείς.
 Thes. 61: συγγογγυλίσας καὶ συνοτρέψας. Cf. Lys. 975.
 Ran. 391: τῆς σῆς ἐορτῆς ἀξίως.
 547-8: πῶξ πατάξας μούξεκοψε
 τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς προσθίους;
 999-1000: συνοτείλας, ἀκροῖσι
 χρώμενος τοῖς ἰστίοις.
 1033: Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς, Ἡσίοδος δὲ
 γῆς ἐργασίας.

This especially striking example of sigmatism, ten sigmas in one verse and three in the next two words, is found in the scene in Hades, where the speakers are Dionysus, Aeschylus and Euripides. These sigmas are spoken not by Euripides but by Aeschylus. Aristophanes must have used them in entire ignorance of the fact that repeated sigmas were to be carefully avoided, and that their free use was a decided defect in the style of Euripides. No better proof could be found for the belief that the aversion to

sigmatism is a figment of later erudition, and that the creative dramatic poets had no conception of such a thing.

Plutus, 223: τοὺς ξυγγεώργους κάλεσον, εὐρήσεις δ' ἰσως κτλ.

1201: ἤξει γὰρ ὁ νεανίσκος ὥς σ' εἰς ἐσπέραν.

In the much-criticised verse of the *Medea* six sigmas are used in seven syllables; Aristophanes has here put the same number into five. This verse in the *Plutus* is no parody, but is in the poet's own style, so that it is certain that the quips of comedy must have been unknown or ignored for many years after the death of Euripides. This single verse in itself is sufficient answer to all that is implied by the phrase "Euripidean sigmatism".

The results thus far obtained are as follows:

Aesch.	has	43	verses	with	7	or	more	sigmas,	an	average	of	6	+	to	a	play.
Soph.	"	54	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	8	—	"	"	"
Eurip.	"	214	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	11	+	"	"	"
Aristoph.	"	156	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	14	+	"	"	"

However, it is of little importance whether a writer has a few more or a few less, and one need not give statistics or discuss differences in the use of sigma, when we have such examples as these:

Eum. 754: ὦ Παλλὰς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἑμὸν δόμον.

O. C. 1342: ὥστ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσι σοῖς στήσω σ' ἄγων.

Plutus, 1201: ἤξει γὰρ ὁ νεανίσκος ὥς σ' εἰς ἐσπέραν.

Med. 476: ἰσωσά σ', ὡς ἰσασιν Ἕλληνων δοιοί.

It is perfectly clear that the sigmatism of all four of these poets is essentially the same, and that while certain poets showed their poetic dexterity by writing asigmatic verses (Athenaeus 455 c), the four great dramatic poets had no aversion to the free use of sigma.

Eustathius has this comment to *Iliad* 813, 43 ff.:

Αἰλῖος δὲ Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς κωμικοὺς μάλιστα ἐκκλίνειν πᾶν τὸ ἔχον σιγμὴν λέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι Περικλέα φασὶ πρῶτον ἐκκλίνειν τὸν διὰ τοῦ σ σχηματισμὸν τοῦ στόματος ὥς ἀπρεπὴ καὶ πλατύν, γυμναζόμενον αἰετὸς πρὸς τὸ κάτωπυρον.

This would lead to the belief that the fashion, said to have been set by Pericles and presumably so universally followed by the comic poets of the next generation, was a fashion steadily growing into favor, so that we are to expect that we can trace a diminishing use of sigma in the later plays of Sophocles and Aristophanes, if not in those of "sigma-loving" Euripides. However, it is just in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the last play of Sophocles, and *Plutus*, the last of Aristophanes, that we find the most pronounced

sigmatism. Either the tradition is false, or the fashion set by Pericles was ignored by these dramatic poets. As they wrote for popular approval they could hardly have ignored a canon of taste emanating from Pericles. The tradition concerning Pericles is probably false, and the facts show that the comic poets used sigma quite as freely as any one of the four poets studied. In proportion to their bulk the *Fragmenta Comico-rum Graecorum* show just as free use of sigma as do the plays of Euripides.

The following examples quoted from *Meineke* will suffice:

Theopompus, Hedychares I:

καὶ στήν' ἐφεξῆς κεστρέων νῆστις χορός.

Nicophon, Aph. Gon. I:

σέρφους ἰσως, σκόληκας, ἀκρίδας, πάροννας.

Antiphanes, Epiclerus 4:

οὐδείς, κακῶς δὲ πᾶς τις δὲ σοφῶς λέγει.

Exactly the sigmatism of *Medea* 476.

Philoth. I, 10:

κεστρεύς, λεπισθείς, πασθείς στραφεῖς, χρωσθείς.

Here ten sigmas are crowded into a very cramped trimeter, which in prose would be read as eleven syllables. No verse in the four poets studied heaped up sigmas in the way this verse heaps them.

Eubulus, Pan. 4:

ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὕψαι ἐστῶσας, δσας.

This is the poet who made fun of the sigmas of Euripides, yet he out-sigmas Euripides in this verse, putting seven sigmas in the space Euripides gave to six.

Fabulae Incertae XIX (Eubulus):

ταῖς ξυστίσιν ταῖς χρυσοπάδοις στρώννεται.

No verse in Euripides crowds more sigmas into the same space.

Nicostratus, Syrus 2:

φασὶ στενωπὸν εἰς στενὸν στήσαι τινας.

Alexis, Gal. I, 4:

ὥς φασ', 'Ἀρίστιππος σοφιστὴς εὐφύης.

Hel. 1:

ὥς δοτις αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν σωματῶν.

Cyc. 5:

στήσας, συνάψας καρπίμοις κισσοῦ κλάδοις ἐστεψα.

Diodorus, Epik. 25:

εἰς τὰς θυσίας ταύτας παρασίτους.

Amphis., Dith. II, 2:

ὥς ἐστ' ἐραστής, δοτις.

The sigmatism of *Medea* 476.

These quotations are sufficient to show that the comic poets do not materially differ in their usage of sigmatism from the four poets studied above. It seems impossible that a theory so wide of the facts could ever have originated. The free use of sigma in both tragic and comic poetry might lead to the belief that something else is intended than the sigmatism I have investigated, and that it is the use of double sigma for double tau that is meant, but in no one of the passages ridiculed in Euripides is there a single verse where double tau might be used for double sigma, and in the discussion of this matter by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *De Comp. Verb.* 100:

ἀχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ, καὶ εἰ πλεονάσειε, σφόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς, ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός. Τῶν γοῦν παλαιῶν σπανίως ἐχρῶντό τινες αὐτῷ καὶ πεφυλαγμένως· εἰσι δὲ οἱ ἀσίγμους φθὰς δλας ἐποιοῦν,

there is no mention of double sigma, but it is the sigmatism here studied which is condemned.

It is Lasus¹ of Hermione, the so-called teacher of Pindar, who won a certain kind of fame by producing asigmatic verses; but it was evidently a species of poetic gymnastics such as was later achieved by the poets of the *Ἰλιάς λειπογράμματος* and the *Ὀδύσσεια λειπογράμματος*, where the trick was to write the first book of each poem without α, the second without β, and so on.² Pindar seems to have had no aversion to sigma, as these few examples will show:

O. VII, 34: βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χρυσταῖς νηάδεσσι.

68: ἐξοπίσω γέρας ἐσσεσθαι.

XII, 16: Κνωσίας σ' ἡμερσε πάτρας.

P. III, 70: δς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς πραδὲς ἀστοῖς.

IV, 27: μήδεσιν ἀνοπάσαντες ἄμοις.

60: χρησμὸς ὠρθωσεν μελίσας Δελφίδος.

VIII, 80: νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὧ' ριστόμενες, δάμασας.

Here eleven syllables have nine sigmas.

XII, 16: σιλάσαις Μεδοίσας νίδς Δανάας.

N. VII, 72: γλῶσσαν, δς ἐξέπεμψας παλαισμάτων.

I. II, 35: δισκήσαις ἀκοντίσσαιμι τοσοῦθ' ὅσον.

Pindar is clearly not of those who shrank from sigmatism. Homer was a great source of sorrow to Eustathius because of his too free use of this despised letter (cf. any of the passages quoted above). If Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides,

¹ Athenaeus 455 c.

² Suidas, sub *Νέτωρ Δαρανδεὺς ἐκ Δυκίας*.

Aristophanes and the Comic Poets knew nothing of the necessity of avoiding sigma, or at least did not put this knowledge into practise, there seems to have been a large field exempt in this regard from the working of the precepts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the later commentators.

CONCLUSION.

The origin of the belief that the comic poets carefully avoided the free use of sigma and that Euripides was a peculiar sinner in this regard is to be found in the passages first quoted above, where Plato and Eubulus make a joke out of the sigmas of Medea 476. It was only a joke, and Eubulus himself did not shrink from a more lavish use of sigma, as has been already shown; while Plato, in the very play in which he raises a laugh at the sigmatism of Euripides, has a verse with exactly the same number of sigmas as the verse ridiculed, Heortae, frag. 5, Meineke:

καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς σχάσασθε καὶ τὰς δμφάκας.

This is another of the jokes in regard to Euripides from the comic poets which has found its way into the learning of later ages; and that which was only a bit of nonsense, and intended as such, has been received as a piece of genuine literary criticism.

The phrases *ὁ φιλοσίγματος* and "Euripidean sigmatism", which rest on the assumption that Euripides in a peculiar way marred his style by an excessive use of sigma, have no basis of truth to support them. Here is one more illustration of the way the reputation of Euripides has suffered by scholars taking as sober fact an empty joke of the comic stage.

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V.—THE ETYMOLOGY OF ΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ.

The Vedic noun *purogavá* is usually translated by 'leader', as though it meant originally, 'going in front'. The word labors under the disadvantage of being surrounded by quite a number of seductive synonyms which determine well enough its general meaning, but at the same time tend to efface its interesting individual traits. For instance, in Rig-Veda 10, 110, 11 we have a word *purogā*, a compound of *purā* 'in front', and *gā* 'go'. This obviously means, 'going in front', 'leader': *agnir devānām abhavat purogāh*, 'Agni became the leader of the gods'. Similarly in Māitrāyaṇī Samhitā 4, 4, 13, *indro devānām abhavat purogāh*, 'Indra became the leader of the gods'. Or, in Rig-Veda 3, 2, 8 we have the word *purohita*, from *purā* 'in front', and *dhā* 'put', which means 'spiritual leader', 'chaplain': *agnir devānām abhavat purohitah*, 'Agni became the chaplain of the gods'. Once more, we have *puractār* 'going in front', 'leader', from *purā* 'in front' and *i* 'go'; e. g., Rig-Veda 1, 76, 2: *agne . . . ādadhah sū puractā bhāvā nah*, 'O Agni, pray, be thou our unerring guide'!

Under conditions such as these *purogavá* seemed a perfect synonym in passages like the following two: Atharva-Veda 12, 1, 40, *indra etu purogavāh*, 'May Indra go as guide'! Or Kāuṣika-Sūtra 104, 2, *indro no astu purogavaḥ*, 'May Indra be our guide'! In Āitareya-Brahmaṇa 1, 13, 4 the Talmudist, in fact, explains *puractār* by *purogava*. The result was that *purogavá* was also analysed as meaning 'going in front', and that *gava* was derived from a verb *gu* 'go'.¹ This is the way the word is treated in the Lexicons and Translations, and also in the very abundant references devoted to it in treatises on Comparative Grammar. The effect is enhanced by the usual misleading superficiality of the native Hindu commentators, who may be counted on to derive *purogavá* from *gam* 'go'. So, e. g., Sayana to Rig-Veda 10, 85, 8 glosses the word with *purogantar* and

¹For an attempt to vindicate an Indo-European root *g^{ue}* 'go', by the side of Indo-European *g^{ue}m* 'go', see Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, p. 150, note 3.

purato gantar; Mahidhara to Vājasaneyi-Samhitā by *purogama* and *agragāmin*. All mean about the same thing, 'go in front'.

And yet *gava* should give us pause. In Atharva-Veda 9, 6, 39 *adhigavā* means 'derived from the cow'; *anugavā* means 'following the cows'; *saṃgavā* is a fairly common word, meaning 'cow-gathering time', 'a certain time in the morning'; *brahma-gavī* is 'the Brahman's cow'. See also *puṃgava* 'bull', 'hero'; *sugava* 'strong steer', etc. It would seem, therefore, that *purogavā* contains the same *gava*, and that it means 'fore-steer', or 'leading steer'. At first sight such an animal could be imagined as the leader of a herd, something like a bell-wether. But a passage in Āitareya-Brahmaṇa 6, 35, 11 seems to show that *purogava* is 'fore-steer attached to a cart'. That is to say a 'leader' is attached in front of a span of yoked oxen, in order that the team may be more easily directed. The fore-steer guides; the yoke follows. The passage in question is: *dakṣiṇā vāi yajñānāṃ purogavī yathā vā idam ano 'purogavaṃ riṣyati, evaṃ hāiva yajño 'dakṣiṇo riṣyati*, 'The fee to the priests is the fore-steer of the sacrifice. Just as a cart here comes to grief without a fore-steer, thus the sacrifice comes to grief if it is not accompanied by a fee to the priests'.

Evidently such a word could and would quickly lapse into the secondary meanings of 'leader', 'guide', 'advance agent', and the like. So, e. g., Rig-Veda 10, 85, 8: *sūryāy aṣvīnā varāgnir āsit purogavāḥ*, 'The Aṣvins were the wooers of Sūryā, Agni was the leader (of the procession)'. Or Atharva-Veda 18, 4, 44: *pitāraḥ purogavāḥ . . . ite tvā vahanti suktāṃ u lokāṃ*, 'The Fathers (Manes), the fore-runners,¹ . . . they carry thee to the world of the pious.' Here, as in every other instance, *purogavā* may be used figuratively, although it is really impossible to say whether or not the authors still had in mind the primary meaning, any more than in the applied uses of the 'bell-wether', 'leithammel', or Hebrew *aīl*, plural *ilīm*, which means both 'ram' and 'chief'.² The Vedic word *prāṣṭi*,³ 'side-horse', that is, a horse helping to pull at the side of a team, similarly passes over to the meaning 'side-man', or 'assistant'; see the Lexicons. In one place, at least, Rig-Veda 10, 137, 7, we really must render *purogavā*

¹ That is, the pioneers of heaven.

² See Haupt, American Journal of Semitic Languages, XX 156; XXII 251.

³ *Prāṣṭi* = *prā-ṣṭi*, from *prā*, 'forth', and *ṣṭi*, 'being'; cf. *abhi-ṣṭi*, *upa-ṣṭi*, and *pāri-ṣṭi*.

literally. The passage is: *jihvā vācāḥ purogavā*, 'The tongue is the fore-steer of speech'; the applied translation, 'The tongue is the fore-runner of speech', seems rather insipid.

In English, 'leader', or 'fore-horse', is the horse at the head which guides the rest of the team. The figurative uses of fore-horse are the same as those of *purogavā*; see the Dictionary of the English Philological Society, s. v. As an instance, Shakespeare, All's Well, II, i. 30: 'I shall stay here the fore-horse to a smocke', that is, ushering in and squiring ladies. In America 'spike-team' is the designation of a team consisting of three horses,¹ or other draft-animals, two of which are at the pole while the third leads. See the Century Dictionary, and Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, s. v.

I think that the foregoing explanation of *purogavā* contains the key to the etymology of *πρίσβυς*; Doric *πρίσγυς*; Cretan *πρίγυς*; Boeotian *πρίσγίης*.² The order in the development of the meanings of the word is not very clear. The old Epic feminine *πρίσβᾱ* seems to mean 'distinguished', 'august'; e. g., Il. 19, 91: *πρίσβα Διὸς θυγατήρ Ἄρη*, 'Fate, the august daughter of Zeus'. Other important meanings of the word are, 'chief', 'ambassador', 'elder', 'reverend'. The general impression of scholars as to the semantic evolution of the word is, that it began with 'old'. So, recently, Brugmann, *Kurzgefasste Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 473, dealing with *πρίε*, 'before', comments as follows: **pres* in *πρίε-βυς* 'old' (im alter vorausgehend). Thirty years earlier, Bezzenberger, in his *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprache* IV 345, had essentially the same explanation: *πρίε-βυς* 'old', literally 'going before'. Indeed, as far as I know, nothing important or interesting has ever been said about the derivation of the word aside from this very analysis in *πρίε*- 'before', and *-βυς*, *-γυς* 'going'.

The reader will guess that I regard the stems *-γυ-* and *-βυ-* in composition with *πρίε-*, as the dialectically various Greek representatives of the Indo-European stem *gʷu* (Proto-Hellenic *γFυ*), the weakest stem to the strongest Indo-European stem *gʷou* 'bull'.³ Semantically *πρίε-γFυ-* is the equivalent of Vedic *puro-gavā*, meaning originally 'leading steer', or 'fore-steer'. An early

¹Another designation of the same arrangement is 'unicorn'; see the Century Dictionary, s. v.

²Cf. Gustav Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*³, p. 184.

³See the author in this Journal, Vol. XVII, p. 424.

Indo-European agricultural practice is at the base of the word: to a team of yoked oxen a leading steer was fastened in front for easier guidance of the team, making up a 'spike-team'. That such a word is predestined to metonymic use Vedic *purogavā* shows very clearly, and shows how. The exact order in which the secondary meanings developed in Greek will probably never appear quite clearly; enough that the total of the meanings of the word and its derivatives are easily derivable from the sense of 'leader' as applied in English to a 'fore-horse'. The declension was perhaps originally -γυ-s, feminine -βᾶ (for γῤᾶ), followed by analogical filling out of the paradigm which yielded both -γυ-s and -βυ-s; see Brugmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik* I², p. 595. For πρεσ-βᾶ see Bezzenberger's interesting suggestion, in *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* VII 73; cf. also J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen*, p. 57.

The weak stem *gʷu* 'bull' reminds me of weak stem-forms of Sanskrit *pāṇu* 'cattle' (Indo-European *péh₂u*). They are present in Vedic *kṣu* 'cattle', *kṣu-mānt* 'rich in cattle', *puru-kṣu* 'having much cattle', and, I believe, also in *virapṣin* for **vira-pṣu-in* 'rich in men and cattle'. Of this elsewhere.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

VI.—FELSSPAR—FELDSPAR.

With unusual unanimity English and German dictionaries and encyclopaedias unite in deriving this modern word of frequent occurrence from 'Feld' a field, and 'Spath' a lamellated crumbly, slaty, very soft, and heavy stone (Körner). J. D. Dana, who is painstaking and careful in his orthography of names of minerals, and is properly accepted as an authority on this subject by English speaking mineralogists, says in his 'System of Mineralogy' (6th ed., Wiley, N. Y., 1892, p. 315) 'Felspar, *bad orthog.* dating from Kirwan'. Nevertheless it is undeniable that this mineral is not found in fields, i. e. farmed land, more frequently than any other, whereas it is the most important constituent of the rock (Fels) which forms by chains the skeletons of continents. Kluge, while holding the root of 'Feld' unknown, gives an intermediate word 'Fjall' related to the O. H. G. 'Feld', and also to the N. H. G. Fels. (Etym. Wörtl. etc., 1894). Indeed, the soil of a field is but the ground-up fragments of rocks, with some added organic matter. Grimm connects 'Feld' with similar roots in O. H. G., niederl., etc., but believes 'Fels' specifically a high German word not found in Gothic, Frieslandic, nor other tongues but introduced by Luther. Professor Hermann Collitz, to whom I referred the subject of this note, thought 'Felsspath' " ** a very interesting, in fact, the only satisfactory explanation of 'Feldspath' which has, so far, been given. **" (letter of Oct. 29, 1907).

As regards the second part of this compound word, 'Spath', its meaning as given by Körner above is as far from the fact as is the occurrence of the mineral in fields, supposed to be indicated by the first part of the word. None of the common spars such as calc spar, iron spar, fluor spar, etc., would conform to the description given by Grimm of a 'blättrich brechendes Gestein'. In so far as 'Spath' or 'Spar' may be supposed to be connected with 'Spalten' there is no objection to it, because all the spars have cleavage in definite directions, but not in lamellae like mica, as is suggested by 'blättrich brechend'.

Prof. Collitz is kind enough to call my attention to Oskar Schade's 'Altdeutsches Wörterbuch' (2d ed. Halle, 1872-82)

in which the original meaning of spât, found in late O. H. G. and early M. H. G. is 'alum' (!); and he adds that Schleicher's identification of M. H. G. 'spât' with Sanskrit 'Sphaṭṭi', 'alum' is acceptable. Schade assumes that the word is of Iranian origin and that it was carried, together with improved methods of winning alum, to Europe and India. Still the etymology of the word evades detection.

In answer to my suggestion that 'Spath' might possibly be derived from '(ge)späht', that which was spied or seen; alluding to the high lustre of the facets of this mineral which reflect light from many points in an otherwise indistinguishable rock of which they are components (this brilliant lustre being a characteristic of all the spars); Prof. Collitz demurred because "a noun formed with suffix 't' from the root Späh would have preserved the radical 'h'".

Prof. Collitz points out that "in O. H. G. (or N. H. G.) Latin glosses *spatt* also occurs as a name of 'nitrum' (saltpeter), and in the compound grünpatt, of 'viridis eris' (i. e. verdigris)."

This is very significant of the original reason for connecting these entirely different objects together by the single word 'Alum'.

Calc spar (calcium carbonate), iron spar (iron carbonate), fluor spar (calcium fluoride), nitrum or saltpeter (potassium nitrate), verdigris (copper carbonate; the real verdigris, copper acetate is not meant here), are all very different from each other, and from alum (hydrated aluminum-potassium-sulphate): but all are still more unlike feldspar (aluminum-potassium silicate) in hardness, tenacity, solubility, structure, cleavage, mode of occurrence, etc. In one respect, however, they resemble each other, namely in possessing a strong vitreous lustre; and this one quality in common, which it is true would be the first to arrest the attention, has been the cause of associating them.

PERSIFOR FRAZER.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Latin Language. By CHARLES E. BENNETT. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

The Latin Language by Charles E. Bennett is a revision of the author's "Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar". Like its predecessor it can fairly lay claim to treat of "subjects not covered in any Latin Grammar published in America". Its merit consists in presenting clearly and concisely a scientific exposition of the Latin Language to such students as have no or next to no knowledge of the related languages. About forty additional pages are to be found in the new work: a trifle more than half of these are devoted to the chapter on syntax; on the other hand a few pages have been left out, including those by Elmer on the "Use of Moods in Relative Clauses". I may call attention to the fact that the numbering of the sections of both books is substantially the same.

As in the "Appendix" so also in the "Latin Language", Professor Bennett's weakness regarding sounds and inflections is evident. Further, he does not seem to have consulted the latest and best books on these subjects. To be specific, barring the mere mention of page 5, there is no reference in the whole book to Brugmann's *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. By consulting it a good many errors would have been avoided. And surely it was in place to at least make mention of Walde's *Etymological Dictionary*. It is true that in the revision some errors of the "Appendix" have been corrected. For example, § 104 is bettered by dropping the assumption that *sʒ* and *sex* stand for earlier **svai* and **svex* respectively; phonetically this is impossible.¹ Naturally §§ 183, 6 and 401 (= 394 of the "Appendix") are correspondingly improved. Moreover, § 126 is decidedly improved in every respect. The explanation of the termination *-tis* in § 233 is also more acceptable. Still again, §§ 238, 241, which treat of the terminations *-tur* and *-ntur* respectively, are bettered by omitting all discussion. Further, §§ 261, 262 are properly corrected regarding the etymologies of the prepositions *ā* and *ad* respectively.

Unfortunately, however, a good many errors have been overlooked. Thus in § 36, 2 we are told that Plautus and Terence frequently "employ as short, many syllables which in classical poetry would be invariably long by position". This is quite true; but as examples are cited *juvĕntus*, *Mostellaria* 30, *Curculio*

¹ On IE. doublets as *sʒ-*, *s-*, see Brugmann, *Demonstr.*, p. 31.

38; *volūntās*, Trinummus 1166, etc.; we then have this statement: "These cases are to be explained by the fact that the vowel was short and the following consonants failed to 'make position'". The cited examples are generally explained as cases of shortening by the iambic law, in as much as the syllable containing the *e* of *juventus*, etc. is also used as a long by these authors; e. g., at Captivi 69, 470. The point is, that vowels long by nature "in position" are never, or very rarely, subject to the law of iambic shortening. In this way the *e* of *juventus* is shown to be short by nature. But Mr. Bennett does not regard the scansion of *juvēntus* as due to such shortening, as is clear from his discussion of instances where vowels long by nature are used as shorts: "these cases are of a peculiar sort and may be explained on metrical grounds or by the iambic nature of the words, as in the examples cited. Cf. § 87. 3". En passant, it may be remarked that § 87. 3 [so also in the Appendix] is a blunder for § 88, 3.

In § 46, 4 b Oscan SAA(N)HTOM is quoted in connection with Latin SÁNCTA. First, the Oscan word should have been cited in clarendon as is customary for words written in the national alphabet; secondly, we have -*úm* and not -*om*; thirdly, there should be no bracketed N as is shown by Umbrian *sahta*, *satam*, *sahatam*, and by the equation of Umbrian *šihitu* (with *ihi* graphically for *i*) and Latin *cinctōs*; see Buck, Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian, § 73. To sum up, the Oscan word should be written *sahtúm*. It may be here mentioned that as regards the Italic dialects, Mr. Bennett is sparing in his citations, there being only eight in all: doubtless because most of his readers are apt to be ignorant of them; yet, now that Buck's excellent manual is published, we may confidently expect that the number of those who are acquainted with them will rapidly increase.

The section dealing with words containing a long vowel before two consonants, § 52, has *ārdeō*, etc., in their number: in as much as Lindsay, Sommer, and Brugmann (Grundriss I¹, §§ 240, 2), 930; K. Verg. Gr., § 310 but curiously *ārdus* in § 346) consider the initial *a* as short, it would have been well to have placed the word in § 53—the list of words in which the quantity of a vowel before two consonants is in dispute—and there to have discussed the arguments for and against *ā*-. In the same section note *sīnciput*: this, we are told, stands for *sēmi* + *caput*; i. e., *sīnciput* for **sēnciput*, by vowel-assimilation for which we are referred to § 90. In that section we learn that *possibly* we have vowel assimilation in the case of *filius*, *suspcio*, and *subtilis*. But such an assimilation of *ē* to *i* is quite problematic, and at least not conclusively demonstrated: see Brugmann, Grundriss I¹, p. 505, footnote 1, p. 836; K. Verg. Gr., § 100 anm.; Buck, A. J. P. 17, 270 as cited by Brugmann. It is true that Sommer (Lat. L. u. Fl., pp. 77, 115) accepts this sequence, but his explanation of *sīnciput* is the same as Brugmann's; namely, *sēmi* + *caput* became **sēnciput*, whence **sēnciput* by the law of shortening a long vowel before a nasal +

consonant; and then the *z* became *i* as it was before *u* + a consonant. See Brugmann, *Grundriss I*, §§ 121, 134; K. Verg. Gr., pp. 216, 218; Sommer, *Lat. L. u. Fl.*, pp. 77, 147. Just so with *alna*, the long *u* of which Mr. Bennett tries to justify by Gr. ἄλινη. Does IE. *ō* become *u* in Latin? Apparently in two words, *fūr* and *cūr*; the rule is that long *ō* remains in Latin. On *fūr* and *cūr*, see Sommer, *Lat. L. u. Fl.*, § 60, 2. Suppose we start with a prototype **ōlenā*. This certainly would appear in Latin as *alna* through the stages **ōlna*, **ōlna*. The shortening of a long vowel before *l* + a consonant, and the change of *ō* to *u* before *l* + a consonant (except *l*) are too well known to require illustration. But, as a matter of fact, it is perfectly possible to derive the *u* of *alna* from an IE. *ō* and not *ō*, and this is generally done. Under *urō* we have *ustus* with initial long *u*. Even if the Romance languages postulate this, yet in view of *ostili* we must allow *ū*- for *ustus* in Classical Latin; for the initial *o*- of *ostili* points distinctly to a short open *ū*. On the Romance forms see Sommer, *l. c.*, p. 644. Moreover, under *urō* for the explanation of *ussz* we learn that it is a doublet of *usz* exactly as *Jüppiter* is of *Jupiter*, etc. Such is not the ordinary view; it is far better to assume that *usz* is due to the pp. *ustus* as *gëssz* is due to *gëstus*; and this is Sommer's explanation (p. 603). Precisely in the same manner the *u* of *jussz* is to be explained (Brugmann, *K. Verg. Gr.*, p. 89, Sommer, *l. c.*, p. 602). Let us turn now to *undecim*; the justification for the *u* is *anus*: but it is in place to note that certain Romance languages postulate *ünd*-. Again we are told under *firmus* that the *i* to which the Romance points is a reduction of an earlier *i*. The truth is, *firmus* and *firmus* are on a par with *dignus* and *dignus*; that is, in certain circles or strata of society short vowels were lengthened before *r* followed by a consonant. Cf. Sommer, *l. c.*, p. 135; Brugmann, *K. Verg. Gr.*, p. 219; and Mr. Bennett in § 53 under *arca*.

In § 53—the section containing a list of words “whose hidden quantities are in dispute”—we have *axis*: *ū* Marx. The *u* is a typographical blunder for *ā* which the “Appendix” has. Add proof for the long *i* of *cinctus* (under *cingō*) is also Umbrian *sihitu*. Under *cunctor* we are told that Marx “whose treatment of this word is unintelligible” holds that we have *u* not *ū*: and rightly; though Mr. Bennett is sceptical as to whether a short vowel is lengthened before *nct* (see § 46 end), such a phonetic sequence is practically universally accepted. Indeed it is difficult to escape such a conclusion from the relation of *cingō* to *cinctus*; for how otherwise is the long *i* to be accounted for? The authorities for the *u* of *nūncupō* are stated to be Lewis and Marx “who connect with *nōmen*”. Mr. Bennett should have pointed out that in point of fact the first *u* of *nūncupō* is short, particularly as in § 77 we are told that *ō* remains unchanged in Latin. That *nūncupō* is etymologically connected with *nōmen* is beyond dispute; but that does not show that the first *u* is long: on the

contrary we must assume **nōmi-c-* became **nōmc-*, whence **nōnc-*, and finally *nūnc-*. Cf. the remarks above on *ulna* and *sinciput*, and see Brugmann, *Grundriss I*², pp. 142, 143, 149 and Sommer, l. c., § 60.

We are told in § 73, 2b that *e* "sometimes before *n* or *m* + a consonant" becomes *i*. Among the examples given to illustrate this are *viginti* for **vigenti* and *simplex* for **sem-plex*: it may be pointed out that the *i* of *viginti* is for *e* by vowel-assimilation; see Sommer, l. c., p. 74; Brugmann, *K. Verg. Gr.*, p. 238. To explain the *i* of *simplex* is difficult; it is at least possibly due to the analogy of *singuli* (so Sommer); that here *i* phonetically stands for *ē* is highly improbable; cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss I*², p. 122. The rule, by the way, should be given thus: before *n* + a consonant *e* becomes *i*. This would include *lignum* and *dignus*, though Mr. Bennett is sceptical (see § 20, 4) as to whether *gn* is *wn* [*B*'s *agn* is misleading].

On page 91, footnote 1, we are given to understand that IE. *ə* develops "variously in the different Indo-European languages,—as *ā*, *ē*, *i*, *ō*". This statement is quite misleading. IE. *ə* becomes *i* in the Aryan branch; otherwise it is treated precisely as IE. *ā* (the *e* of *θερός* and the *o* of *δορός* are certainly analogical in spite of Hirt). Thus if IE. *ə* develops as *o* in the Slavic languages, so does IE. *ā*.

In § 73, 4 an IE. prototype **svesor* is given as a nom. sing. It should be **svesōr*.

We are told in § 86 that *-ōi* generally becomes *-ō* in Latin but perhaps *-oi* in NUMASIOI. That the change of *-ōi* to *-ō* is not a specific Latin one is shown by Vestinian which has the dat. sing. of *ō*-stems in *-ō*. As we have the doublets **-āi*, *ā* in the dat. sing. of *ā*-stems, so we have the doublets **-ōi*, *ō* in the *ō*-stems. See Sommer, l. c., § 205; Brugmann, *K. Verg. Gr.*, § 465 Anm. 1. Accordingly § 127 must also be corrected.

Among the examples in which a final *i* has been lost (§ 93, 1) *ob* is to be found. For this a prototype **obi* is set up. It is true that *ob* may be the phonetic correspondent to Skt. *abhī* and Old Bulgarian *obb*; but since no cognates of these are as yet found in the other Italic dialects, such an assumption is highly improbable. We must rather assume that *ob* is for **opi* (Oscan *ūp*), the intermediate stage being **op[i]*, with *b* for *p* generalized from cases where it was phonetic; e. g., before sonant consonants: for this, *ab* for **ap[o]* is a complete parallel. It may be added that Mr. Bennett's explanation in this paragraph is in direct contradiction to the correct explanation in § 280. Note also that in the "Appendix" the contradiction exists likewise.

In § 94, 2 we are told IE. palatal *k* becomes *qu* in *queror*: in the cited word we have IE. *kv-* (using Bennett's symbols), not merely *k*; see Brugmann, *Grundriss I*², § 355. *Queō* is misjudged.

The end of § 95, 2 reads "*lēvir* for **dēvir* (dialectal?) for **latvir*; Gr. *δα(F)ήρ*". In the first place such a form as **δαFήρ* never could have existed; **δαFήρ* is the prototype of *δαήρ*; cf. Skt.

děvár-, Old Bulgarian *dvěrb* (a transfer to the *i*-declension); for the phonology involved; cf. *dei* as contrasted with Cyprian *alFei*. Secondly, it is hard to understand why **laivir* is set up as the prototype of **dēvir*; it is doubtless a slip for **daivir*. Thirdly, the typographical form is very confused. Lastly, mention should be made that the *i* of the last syllable is for **e* (earlier **ē*) by the analogy of *vir*. To sum up, the following should be substituted for the part of the section under discussion: *lēvir* for **dēvir* (probably dialectal); this stands for **daivir*; cf. Gr. *δαῖρ* for **daifēp*; the *i* of the last syllable is for **e*, earlier **ē*, by the analogy of *vir*.

We are told in § 97, 3A that the 'root' of *anser* is **ghāns-*; it should be given as **ghans-*; cf. Sanskrit *haṁsa-s*.

Though § 104 is bettered by leaving out the supposed change of *sv-* to *s-*, yet when it is assumed that an initial *s* is lost in *lorus* and *tego* by specific Latin law a serious error remains. The fact that such doublets as *tegō* and *ortyo* are not due to the phonetic law of any individual Indo-European language, but are inherited IE. forms, is too well known to make it worth while to even cite the pertinent passages in the works of Brugmann, Sommer, etc. Moreover, that the initial *d* of *dimus*, *dēs*, *diennium* comes from *dv-* by phonetic law in archaic Latin is not so; it has been conclusively shown that they come from simple *d-*.¹ That we have *d* instead of *b* by the analogy of *duo* and *duplex* as Sommer (l. c., p. 229) thinks is not convincing in view of Gr. *di-* which does not come from **dfi-*. Against the assumption that they are dialectal is the fact that there are no certain examples of the change of *dv-* to *d-* in either Oscan or Umbrian; cf. Brugmann, IF. XVIII 531.² Similarly *dirus* is not for **dv-*. On *dvellum* in the poets see Sommer, p. 228.

In § 106, 3 a prototype **ulena* is set up for *ulna*; unquestionably this is wrong: see my remarks above on § 52.

We read in § 108, 3 "*sobrinus* for **sosr-inus* (**sosr-*, from **sosor*, earlier form of *soror*; see § 104. 2b)". There is no such section in the book. From the reference given in the "Appendix", I infer that § 103, 5 is the section meant.

From § 123 we are to understand that the IE. acc. pl. of *ā*-stems was **-āns* and that this became *-ās* in Latin by specific Latin law. It seems strange to see such an error. The IE. acc. pl. of *ā*-stems was **-ās*, as conclusively shown by Sanskrit *-ās* and Gothic *-ōs*. It is quite probable that this **-ās* came from a pre-Indo-European **-āns*, but we are not concerned with the pre-Indo-European form. See Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., p. 392; Sommer, l. c., p. 361. The forms with *-ns* to which Oscan-Umbrian, the Greek dialects, and Slavic point, are new formations after **-ons* of the *o*-stems.

Discussing the dat. sing. of *i*-stems (§ 151), Mr. Bennett tells us

¹ Brugmann, IF. XVIII 531, and the literature there cited.

² Yet there are no absolutely convincing examples to show that *dv-* became *b-* in either Oscan or Umbrian.

that *-ei* + *-ai* contracted to *-ei*, whence *-i*. If he knows an exact parallel for such a contraction, he certainly should have cited it. The accepted explanation of the Latin dat. sing. of *i*-stems is that it is for **-ai*, borrowed from the consonant stems or that it is a locative singular in origin, for **-ēi*. The last hypothesis is to my mind the more probable, in view of Oscan **Funtreī**; moreover, it is highly probable that the dat. sing. of the Latin consonant stems of the 3d declension is not a dative in origin but a locative, taken over from *i*-stems; cf. Oscan **medikeī, patereī**.

In § 183, 7 we have this sentence, "The Indo-European form was **septm*, which regularly developed in Latin as **septem*". Probably the asterisk of this last is due to the **septem* of the "Appendix"; but it is worthy of note that the explanation of *septem* in § 102, 1 of the "Appendix" is in accordance with the revision in §§ 102, 1; 187, 7 but in direct contradiction to § 183, 7 of the "Appendix".

We read in § 183, 11 "For *tridecim* we should expect **tridecim*. . . . The *ē* remains unexplained". In as much as Lindsay, Stolz, Sommer, and Brugmann consider the first *e* of *tredecim* long, it certainly was incumbent upon Mr. Bennett to cite authority for *tridecim*. If we have *tridecim* the *trē-* is to be judged as the *trē-* of *trē-centi*; i. e., that it stands for **tri-* with vowel assimilation. The prototype would then be **tridekm̥*; for this Avestan lends its support. See Gr. Ir. Ph. I¹, § 210.

We learn in § 183, 12 that the *vi* of **vikm̥ti* comes from an earlier **dvi*. Scarcely, as connection with Sanskrit *u-bhāu*, Old Bulgarian *vъ- torъ* forbid such an assumption. See Sommer, p. 497; Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., § 443, Anm. 1. The assumption that we have *g* for *c* in *viginti* and *digitus* by specific Latin phonetic law is wrong.

In the next sub-section we are told that Lat. *-gintā* is for **-gontā* by the analogy of *viginti*, and that this **-gontā* is from IE. **-kontā*. The IE. prototype should be **-kontz*; Brugmann, § 443, Anm. 1; Sommer, pp. 497, 498. To separate *quadrā* from *quattuor* is highly improbable in spite of the phonetic difficulty which exists also in *quadru-*.

The IE. prototype of Latin *centum* is not **cplóm* as stated in § 183, 14, but **kplóm*;¹ cf. Lithuanian *szimtas*. Gr. *ἐ-κατόν* has not *ē-* for *ē-* (so for *-ē-*) but for *ā-*. On the word see Brugmann, IF. XXI 8 ff.

How Mr. Bennett in § 183, 16 can adhere to Fay's explanation of *mille* after the discussion by Sommer in IF. X 216 ff.; XI 323 (in spite of Fay, ibidem XI 320-323) is difficult to understand. See now Brugmann, IF. XXI 10-13.

In § 187, 3 we learn that **meghoi* or **meghei*, the prototype of Latin *mihi* is a locative. Not so; in the IE. period it was a dative, whatever it may have been in pre-Indo-European times: we are not concerned with that.

¹ Mr. Bennett is not consistent in the use of *c* or *k* for IE. palatal *k̑*.

The explanation of Early Latin *mēd* and Classical Latin *mē* in § 187, 4 fails because *mēd* as accusative is found before *mē* occurs as ablative. Similarly regarding *tēd*, *tē* (§ 188, 4) and *sēd*, *sē* (§ 189, 3) as accusatives. It is best to say with Brugmann (K. Verg. Gr., § 519, Anm. 1) that the forms are unexplained.

It is rather inconsistent to write in § 190 Homeric Greek *τε(F)ός* but Homeric Greek *ιFός*.

In § 200 we are told that imperfects in *-bam*, futures in *-bō*, and the passive in *-r* are peculiar to Latin and Celtic. Firstly, the passive in *-r* is found in other Italic dialects;¹ e. g., Oscan *sakarater*, *vincler*, etc.; Umbrian *emantur*, *ferar*, etc.; Paelignian *upsaseter*; Marrucian *ferenter*. Secondly, the phonetic equivalents of imperfects in *-bam* existed in the other Italic dialects as is shown by Oscan *fufans* 'erant'. Thirdly, the phonetic equivalent of the *-bō* future exists in Faliscan; e. g., *carefo* 'carebo'. [And the Oscan-Umbrian *f-* perfect may be compared; Buck, § 227.] Fourthly, there is a phonetic difficulty in connecting the Celtic *b* future with the Latin; see Sommer, l. c., p. 573, footnote.

Why **i-nl* (§ 202, 2) is the theoretic primitive form for Latin *eunt* is unclear.² The theoretic primitive form was certainly **jenti*; cf. Skt. *yānti*. See Sommer, § 361 for the explanation of Latin *eunt*.

In § 202, 3 we are told that Latin *sum*, etc., originally had a theoretic inflection,

<i>*es-ŋ</i>	<i>*s-mos</i>
<i>*es-s</i>	<i>*s-tis</i>
<i>*es-t</i>	<i>*s-ŋt</i> ,

and later that *sum*, *sumus*, and *sunt* may represent a special thematic formation. Any such theoretic form as **s-ŋt* is completely illusory. Oscan *set*, *sent*, Umbrian *sent*, it is true, might come from this; but Doric Greek *ἐρι*, Gothic *sind*, Sanskrit *sānti* postulate an IE. **senti*, and the Oscan and Umbrian forms phonetically can come from this. There is no reason why we should set up a special prototype to account for them. Regarding Latin *sunt*, I am inclined to regard it with Sommer, p. 576 as a special Latin new formation rather than consider it as coming from a **sonti*, thus uniting it with Russian Church Slavonic *sqtb* (cf. Old Bulgarian *sqtb*) with Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., § 780. For in Latin **-ont* (historical *-unt*) everywhere was extended at the expense of **-ent*. Of course with the assumption that Latin *sunt* comes from IE. **sonti*, the history of *sum* and *sumus* is much simplified. And this leads me to say that whether a **es-m*, or not, be the ultimate starting point for Latin *sum*, in an elementary book such as Bennett's, it would have been sufficient to have given Italic **som* (cf. Oscan *sūm*) as the starting point. Till we find in some other Italic dialect an equivalent of Latin *sumus*, the

¹ Mr. Bennett notices this in § 235.

² In as much as the IE. prototype **jenti* is correctly given in a footnote, **int* is all the more inexplicable.

exact origin of this **som* must necessarily remain obscure. Sommer's explanation involves the assumption that **-emo-* became **-omo-* in the Italic period; and the evidence for this change is scanty for Oscan-Umbrian. If we dared to assume that Oscan **set**, **sent**, Umbrian *sent* are not primitive formations but rather analogical products for **sont* (earlier **sontī*), of course then we should combine them with Latin *sunt*, Russian Church Slavic *sątb* under an IE. **sontī*; and at the same time the history of *sum* and *sumus* would be cleared up. For the support of this assumption it may be urged that in Oscan-Umbrian *-ent* was everywhere extended at the expense of *-ont* (cf. Buck, § 204, 3), and so no more stress should be laid on Oscan **set**, **sent**, Umbrian *sent* than on Latin *sunt*, earlier *sont*. Few scholars, however, will assent to the above in as much as the Oscan-Umbrian forms can come phonetically from a **senti*, which must be assumed irrespective of the Italic dialects.

It would have been much more to the point to have cited Marrucian *feret* to show that Latin *fert* comes from the thematic conjugation than to rely on the evidence of Sanskrit and Greek (for that matter on that of Old Bulgarian, Gothic, etc.). For as a matter of principle, it is proper first to consider the evidence of the *nearest* related languages, and secondly that of those more *remotely* related. But here as elsewhere in general, Mr. Bennett has been rather too sparing of the Italic dialects.

It is unfortunate that § 203, 5, which treats of the *ne/no* class of verbs, is so full of errors that to correct them would be practically rewriting the entire section. It may be noted, however, that the Latin verbs *sternō*, *temnō*, *linō*, etc. have nothing to do with the Indo-European *neu/nu* verbs, but represent the Indo-European *ne/no* class. *sternuō* and *minuō* are relics of the *neu/nu* class. See Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., §§ 668, 674; Sommer, l. c., p. 545.

In § 203, 7, which treats of the *jo* class, Mr. Bennett has entirely omitted the *ǵ: ǵo-* verbs. It may be added that Gr. ἀπόω is no support for holding *arō* is for **aroō*. See Brugmann, Griech. Gr.², p. 278; K. Verg. Gr., pp. 501, 502; Hirt, Gr., L. u. Fl., § 418. On Latin *aegrōtus*, see Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., p. 532 and the literature there cited.

The explanation of the 3d sing. of the perfect, *-it*, is not quite correct; see Sommer, pp. 617, 618. Any attempt to make **vidi* (a middle form) the basis,¹ must fail on account of the evidence of Oscan *-ed*, Earliest Latin *-ed*, Early Latin *-id*, *-it*: Early Latin *-eit* occurs later than *-id*, *-it*; and this *-id*, *-it* is found at a time when *ei* had not yet become *i*. Early Latin *-eit* (*-it* in Plautus) is due to the analogy of the 1st person singular.

We are told in § 218 that Early Latin *sient* is an analogical formation, Classical Latin *sint* **sint* representing the original type. As a matter of fact *sient* is for **siī* + *ent*, representing the original type; see Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., § 780; Sommer,

¹ In spite of Brugmann, Griech. Gr.², § 419, Anm.

p. 577. Umbrian *sins* is on a par with Latin *sint*: it is an analogical new-formation. Oscan *osii[ns]* does indeed point to a prototype **siġent* with analogical *ē*; and Early Latin *sient* might phonetically come from this, but Classical Latin *sint* is not found till after *sient*; so in any case it is not to be united with Umbrian *sins* under a prototype **stnt*; both the Latin and Umbrian form are parallel separate developments: admitting this, there is no reason for not considering Oscan *osii[ns]* to be a new formation quite apart from Latin *sient*.¹

That the future sense of the imperative in *-tō* is a special Latin development, as Mr. Bennett says in § 225, is incorrect; see Sommer, § 349; Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., § 749.

The explanation of the archaic infinitive in *-ier* in § 246 should not have been reported as it is futile, for it is incredible to assume that forms such as *biber*, *tanger* existed in Early Latin. The section is improved by dropping out the view of some who hold *-ier* is for *-i + ar*.

Note that the etymology of *cum* in § 269 is not given; cf. Oscan *com*, *kūm*, etc.

Although § 271 is bettered by leaving out the assumption that *dē* is for **dēd* as *dē* occurs in CIL. I 196, it is curious to read that *dē* "is obscure in formation and in its relationship". It corresponds exactly to Old Irish *dí* **dē*; see Brugmann, K. Verg. Gr., § 605, 3.

The reference in § 274 to § 225. 3 should be corrected to § 255. 3.

That *prae* (§ 283) is not "very likely a dative from *prā-*" is shown by Lithuanian *prẽ* which then would appear as **prai*.

I abstain from a detailed criticism of the chapter on syntax for the reason that comparative syntax is a field in which I feel less independent than in sounds and inflection. But a few comments may be acceptable. First one of a general nature: a good many references have been added to the Cornell Studies. That the goal-notion was the fundamental force of the accusative as stated in § 311 is unconvincing. The development from this to the direct object is very forced. The parallel in Spanish is insufficient. It is to be noted that Mr. Bennett in § 325 still considers the genitive after *memini* comes from association with *memor* in spite of the remarks of Hale, TAPA., 1900, pp. 148, 149. In § 354, 1 it would have been well to add Avestan and Old Persian also keep the subjunctive and optative apart. The designation of Sanskrit as "Old Indian" in § 356 is extremely unfortunate. Mr. Bennett elsewhere uses the term "Sanskrit", and few students would appreciate the fact that Sanskrit and "Old Indian" are identical, in as much as "Old Indian" is a term not used in English. If he desired to use an equivalent of German *altindisch* in its restricted sense, he should have chosen "Vedic Sanskrit". Reference should have been given in § 349, 3 (the section dealing with *refert* and *interest*) to Brugmann, IF. XXI 200. In § 399

¹ Exactly as Avestan *hyān* 'sint'.

we are told that the subjunctive in Indirect Questions is a late development in Latin syntax, Plautus and Terence frequently employing the indicative in such sentences. For this very reason it would have been well to have mentioned that the construction nevertheless occurs in Umbrian; see Buck, § 316. It may be noted that § 404 is apparently new.

If I have spent much space in pointing out errors in Mr. Bennett's book, or in suggesting improvements, it has not been done from any lack of appreciation of its real merit, but in the hopes that the "*Latin Language*" will speedily have another edition with these blemishes removed in order that the work may more completely meet the needs for which it is intended.

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The Cults of the Greek States. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. Five Volumes. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Henry Frowde, 1907. 8°. Vol. III = pp. XII + 393; IV = pp. VIII + 454.

It is some eleven years since the first two volumes of this work appeared, the first dealing with Cronus, Zeus, Hera, Athena, and the second with Artemis, Hecate and Aphrodite. A third volume was to appear soon afterwards. But it has expanded into a third and fourth, and there is to be a fifth which will treat of the worship of Hermes, Dionysus, and the minor cults. Dr. Farnell has already collected the material for the chapter on hero-worship, but it does not appear in the present volumes and will probably be reserved for a separate work. The delay in the publication, however, is not to be regretted, since it has allowed Dr. Farnell to profit by the wealth of epigraphical and archaeological material discovered in the excavations of the last eleven years which have thrown much light on the history of Greek cults. He has also been able to acquaint himself with many works which he did not use for his first two volumes and has had time more ripely to reconsider many questions. He now gives us more ethnologic and anthropologic discussion and shows greater knowledge of the works of English and German scholars, especially Usener, whose *Griechische Götternamen* was not available in his earlier work.

Dr. Farnell's treatment is eminently sane and cautious. He does not start with any definite preconceived theory as do so many of the articles in Roscher's *Lexicon* and so many special treatises on Greek religion; but he reviews all the evidence, literary and archaeological, for each cult separately, traces the worship in its various forms through the different cities, and draws his conclusions afterwards; not that Dr. Farnell is so severely inductive as not to be willing to discuss the theories of others. On the contrary he occupies too much space with discussion of German theories and with combating the opinions of other scholars,

especially those of Frazer. This gives the book a polemic and controversial tone. Dr. Farnell has little patience with notions of original animism or fetishism or totemism, and simply follows the chronological method, tracing the progress from the more primitive to the more advanced religious thought and presenting with great ingenuity and clearness all the evidence on any particular question so that scholars have a chance to judge for themselves what the origin of any ritual or cult was.

Dr. Farnell makes a very exhaustive study of cult-epithets and ritual, and we hope that the fifth volume will contain a good index to the wealth of material in the whole work and, what is also much needed, a list of the cult-epithets. The lists in Roscher and Robert are unsatisfactory. To each section on a particular cult the present work attaches two archaeological chapters, the first dealing with the cult monuments and the second with ideal art types. These are illustrated by eighty-six excellent plates, including three of coins. To the discussion of each cult is also appended a list of references to Greek and Latin sources, literary and epigraphical and sometimes numismatic, and a geographical register. These are very valuable and on the whole reasonably exhaustive. There are but few omissions and errors, and those mainly in coins and inscriptions. The reference 262 for a cult of Demeter at Sinope given on pages 337 and 372 of Vol. III is not to be found. In Vol. III, p. 373 one would expect a reference to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (cf. Schrader-Wiegand, Priene, p. 147 f.). In Vol. IV, p. 91, 85a, a coin-type of Sinope with a seated Poseidon is noted but nothing is said about the coin-type with a standing Poseidon. In Vol. IV, p. 433, we have *per contra*, a coin-type of Sinope with a standing Apollo, and nothing is said about the one with a seated Apollo (cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 266, 267). Nor is there any reference to the cult of Poseidon Heliconius at Sinope (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge³, 603). The references for Apollo *προστάτης* at Olbia (IV, p. 372) could have been increased by a use of Miss Hirst, The Cults of Olbia (J. H. S. XXII, p. 252 f.) and of Latyshev, Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux. On the same page there should be a reference to I. G. VII (C. I. G. Sept. I) 40 as well as to C. I. G. Sept. I 39. The new designation and numbering now used for the Greek Corpus, moreover, is nowhere adopted by Dr. Farnell. This impedes the work of reference for those who use only the new numbering.

Chapter I of Vol. III deals with Ge, who was not always worshipped in anthropomorphic form though art assisted such conceptions. It was difficult for the higher anthropomorphic religion to attach itself to so materialistic a name. But Ge had many emanations such as Themis, Pandora, Aglaurus, Rhea-Cybele and brightest of all Demeter. With the last of these, the most fascinating of all worships in Hellenic religion chapter II deals, and with fine success. It far surpasses any of the ency-

clopaedia articles on Demeter and discusses everything which is known about her cults with great care and with complete mastery of the sources. Dr. Farnell thinks Δη is not a dialect-variant for ρῆ but perhaps akin to the Creton Δηαί = barley. But the term "Earth-mother" sums up most of the ideas associated with Demeter. Her connection with Ge is shown by such epithets as χαμύνη, ἀνησιδώρα, καρποφόρος, χθονία. As Earth-goddess Demeter is more than a mere corn-goddess. No doubt this latter idea belonged to the earliest conception of Demeter and the Homeric and Hesiodic poems recognize her as the corn-goddess alone. She was, however, never absolutely identified with the corn-sheaf itself nor evolved from it. She was no simple corn-fetish, as Frazer thinks, but her cult embraced the much wider range of conceptions involved in Ge. Many festivals and cults show her agrarian character but the chthonian cults of Demeter at Hermione, Sparta, Boeotia, Elis, Paros, Cnidus, Cyzicus, Syracuse and elsewhere make her appear rather as the great goddess of the lower world, here again demonstrating her original identity with Earth. Even the theriomorphic cult of the horse-headed Demeter at Phigalia and her epithet μέλαινα show traces of a worship of Demeter as an Earth-goddess. But there is no idea of totemism, for we hear of no tribe which claimed affinity with the horse. The Arcadian cult is to be traced to Boeotia and the north where Poseidon the horse-god is prominent and from whom Demeter probably took over an equine form in order to become the mother of his horse progeny. But Demeter was not only an agrarian and chthonic divinity. Her ethnic and political epithets show her civic and social importance and why she was associated with the Delphic amphictyony. But the epithet θεσμοφόρος and the festival of the Thesmophoria have nothing to do with law or marriage. The Thesmophoria was no celebration of human marriage, for men were universally excluded. The main object was to further agrarian and human fecundity. Pp. 105-106 Dr. Farnell offers a new suggestion for θεσμοφόρος. He thinks that it originally bore the sense of "the bringer of treasure or riches". He does not accept Miss Harrison's matriarchal theory by which she accounts for the Thesmophoria. The supervision of this festival was restricted to women for the general and natural reason that their part in the mystery of reproduction is so obvious physically that it brings them into closer symbolic connection with the Earth which also receives seed, enlarges it, and brings it to growth above the soil.

The treatment of the Eleusinia and other mysteries, pp. 126-214, is equally thorough and exhaustive. Dr. Farnell combats Jevons' and Frazer's theory of a sacramental communion and Foucart's belief that the hierophant taught magic formulae by which the soul might avoid the dangers of hell. His conclusions may best be stated in his own words, p. 197. "The solemn fast and preparation, the mystic food eaten and drunk, the moving passion-

play, the extreme sanctity of the *lepá* revealed, all these influences could induce in the worshipper, not indeed the sense of absolute union with the divine nature such as the christian sacrament or the hermit's reverie or the Maenad's frenzy might give, but at least the feeling of intimacy and friendship with the deities, and a strong current of sympathy was established by the mystic contact. These deities . . . were the powers that governed the world beyond the grave: those who had won their friendship by initiation in this life would by the simple logic of faith regard themselves as certain to win blessing at their hands in the next".

Passing to the succeeding chapters we find the third given to the Monuments and the fourth to the Ideal Types of Demeter-Kore. They show that Dr. Farnell is a skilled archaeologist, well acquainted with all illustrations of this cult, and an excellent art critic. Chapter V is an interesting account of the cults of Hades whose personality probably emerged in pre-Homeric times as the nether counterpart of Zeus himself. But his worship never attained any great significance and there are few monuments which represent him. In these as in the cults the ill-omened "Hades" was carefully avoided. In chapter VI the cults of the Mother of the Gods and Rhea-Cybele are discussed and it is shown how the Greeks always had a prejudice against the Phrygian cult because of their opposition to violent religious ecstasy. But it was taken up by the later Orphic sects and affected the private religious life without becoming formally national. It had large vogue in Asia Minor but its greatest triumphs were in Rome. In this cult Dr. Farnell says that there is a hint at the conception of a virgin-mother but that it was not propagated as a clear theological dogma till christianity came.

Volume IV, the last we have as yet, devotes the first ninety-seven pages to Poseidon and pages 98-454 to Apollo. Poseidon was a backward deity and never intimately associated with the intellectual advance of Greece. But his ritual and cult are of importance for early Greek ethnography and as evidence of early migrations. The cult of Poseidon Hippios was widely prevalent but probably originated among the Minyans of Thessaly and from there spread especially to Delphi and Boeotia where the Minyans probably came in contact with Ionians. The proof of this is the epithet Heliconius, which, according to Dr. Farnell, means that Poseidon was the god of Helicon and of an Ionic confederacy near-by. When the Minyans were driven further south, they of course took their god with them. In Attica Poseidon and Erechtheus were not identical as many scholars have believed. Erechtheus belonged to the pre-Ionic community and was distinct from Poseidon who belonged mainly to the Ionic and partly to the Minyan migration.

In his treatment of Apollo Dr. Farnell also lays great stress on the ethnographic side. He first discusses the etymology of the

name and finds that even the derivation of Apollo from ἀπᾶλλα, a Doric word meaning "assembly", has its difficulties. Deserted by etymology he turns to legend and ritual and comes to the conclusion that Apollo was originally not a god of political meetings but the god of flocks and herds and of a race of hunters of wolfs and boars. The epithet Λύκειος must be derived from λύκος = wolf and not from an assumed form λύκη = light. Even the name of Lycia arose from an early Hellenic migration of worshippers of Apollo Λύκειος, which started from Argos and moved via Crete and Rhodes. Dr. Farnell rejects the theory of Wilamowitz that Apollo is a deity of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Asia Minor and argues that he came from the North by a double route, one by Tempe, the other by Dodona. The Hyperboreans were not a distinct people at all but ministrants of Apollo who performed certain sacred functions for North Hellas. He adopts the brilliant theory of Ahrens that Ὑπερβόρειοι is a lengthening of Ὑπέρβοροι, which equals Ὑπέρφθοροι, those who carry the cereal offerings from one community to another. The central point, however, of the earliest Hyperborean or North Greek Apolline ritual was Delphi and thither were brought the first Hyperborean offerings along the sacred way from Tempe. Later, Delos became the goal of the offerings.

The epithets of Apollo are very carefully studied. He is a pastoral deity, a god of agriculture, a maritime god, a social, ethical and political god, the divine leader of migrations, a god of law, of medicine, of prophecy, and the patron of the intellectual life. But according to Dr. Farnell he is not the sun-god, a theory which some scholars will be slow to give up in view of the epithet Φαίβορ and the goddess Φαίβη. Pp. 179-218 give an excellent presentation of Delphi and its influence on Greek religion and morality. Chapter V treats of Apolline ritual and festivals. Sacramental communion is rare and where it does occur, there is no evidence for Frazer's idea of a slain god. Nor is there anything totemistic in the ritual of Apollo Lykeios or even of Apollo Smintheus "who relieves the husbandman from the plague of field-mice",¹ since there is no trace of a wolf or mouse-tribe, and Apollo was not regarded as incarnate in the wolf or mouse. Chapter VI on the Monuments and Chapter VII on the

¹Another solution of the Smintheus question which is in line with the universally recognized function of the rat as a pestilence carrier is suggested by the following passage, to which the attention of the Editor was first called by Professor William Hand Browne.

Dr. W. J. Simpson, Croonian Lecture on Plague cited by writer in Blackwood's Magazine, Plague in India, Oct. 1907, p. 582 f., says: 'There is in the British Museum a coin of the Emperor Lucius Verus, struck at Pergamum in Asia Minor during a plague epidemic and representing Aesculapius with a rat at his feet and a small human figure standing by with arms outstretched in the attitude of fear and worship'. 'In the same collection', Dr. Simpson says: 'there is a medallion of the Emperor Antoninus struck in commemoration of the erection of a temple to Aesculapius on the Tiberine island

Ideal Types are very valuable for the history of art. The types are chosen with discriminating care and in cases of dispute about art-matters Dr. Farnell always shows sound judgment. For example, the view of Waldstein, which so many English and American archaeologists accept that the "Apollo on the Omphalos" is a boxer is rejected; and rightly, since the Torlonia copy actually has a quiver carved by its side.

Few errors of fact occur in these noble pages such as the statement (IV, p. 218) that the Pythaistae watched from the Acropolis wall for the gleam from Harma. Strabo 404 expressly says it was from the wall between the Pythium and Olympieum, that is, the city-wall. Vol. IV, p. 318, l. 6 f. there is a confusion of right and left hands in the description of an Apollo. Misprints, too, are rare, though some of them are irritating; III, p. 17, l. 14 has Tergamene for Pergamene; p. 34, l. 13 twelfth of Poseidon for twelfth of Poseideon; p. 265, l. 7 Pheitoi for Rheitoi; p. 278 Demophon for Damophon; IV, p. 127, l. 23 maintainth at for maintain that; III, pp. 245, 253, 278, IV, p. 66, etc., Kertsch for Kertch; IV, p. 65 and p. 68, ll. 24, 28 Ocricoli for Otricoli.

These two volumes, then, constitute a rich contribution to the wide subject with which they deal. They display the immense learning of the author, his broad knowledge of literature, philology, folk-lore and archaeology, including inscriptions, sculpture, ceramics and numismatics. They are thorough-going in their investigations, keen in their analysis of material, and full of sane unfaddish general perceptions and judgments. The work as a whole is, in fact, the standard one on Greek cults in English and compares favorably with Gruppe's epoch-making *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* and with the articles in the dictionaries of Daremberg et Saglio, Pauly-Wissowa and Roscher. It should be in the library of or at least accessible to every student of Greek religion, history, and archaeology.

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at Rome. Plague was epidemic at Rome and a mission was sent to the temple of Aesculapius at Epidamur to ask for advice. The advice given by the Aesculapian priests was apparently to destroy the rats, for on the reverse side of the coin is the return of the mission with a serpent, being welcomed by the river god'.

'Snakes', adds the writer in Blackwood, 'are destroyers of rats, and in Asia Minor and elsewhere harmless snakes were kept in houses and temples, no doubt, for that purpose as well as objects of worship'. Cf. Amm. Marcell. XXIII 26, 24. As medical *μικρόνοι* Asklepios and his father were one, and a new meaning is given to the proverb *μὴς πίττης γέβεται*.—B. L. G.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. X.

247-252. H. Krüger, Bemerkungen über den Sprachgebrauch der Kaiserkonstitutionen im Codex Justinianus. The writer is planning a vocabulary to the Codex Just., and has collected material for the letters a, b, c, and h. The article discusses the words *ambages*, *ambiguus*, *ambiguitas*, *aperio*, *apertius*, *apertissimus*, *appellatorius*, *attamen*, *elogium* and *evidentissimus*.

253-272. C. H. Moore, Die medizinischen Rezepte in den *Miscellanea Tironiana*. An examination intended to determine the words and forms which should be added to the lexicons, with additional matter relating to text-criticism and interpretation. Schmitz in his edition of the *Notae* did not observe that these receipts are by different hands and from different sources.

273-278. F. Leo, *Sub divo columine*. This phrase, which occurs in *Commentarii* of the Arval Brethren, is interpreted as = *sub dio et columine*, "unter Himmel und Höhe", *columen* referring to the roof of the open hall or *pronaos*. In *Plaut. Most.* 765 for *sub sudo columine* the writer would read *sub diu columine*, in the same general sense.

278. G. Landgraf, *Nucula* (i. e. *nugula*): *somnia* (zu IX. 398). This word is the diminutive of *nugae*, which is used by *Mart. Cap.* 1. 2. The existence of a neuter plural of this form beside *nugulae* is testified to by the glosses (cf. *ALL.* IX. 398) as well as by the *Anonym. De dubiis nominibus*, p. 582. 22.

279-281. P. Menge, *Acervalis*—*acervus*. *Lexicon* articles.

281. A. Köhler, *Die Allitteration tectus—tutus*. Occurs in *Cic. ad Fam.* 10. 8. 5 (*Plancus*). Other examples of the alliteration of words formed on these two stems are cited from writers of different epochs.

282. E. Wölfflin, *Galbanus*. *Galbianus*. The former is the correct formation from *Galba*, which according to *Suetonius* (*Galb.* 3) is the Gallic equivalent for *praepinguis*. The form *Galbianus* arose in the *sermo castrensis* and was a party designation; with *Galbianos* (*Tac. Hist.* 1. 51) cf. *Mariani*, *Pompeiani*, etc. It was afterwards extended in its force, and *horrea Galbiana*, as well as *horrea Galbana*, is found in inscriptions.

283-285. O. Hey, *Acesis*—*acetum*. *Lexicon* articles.



286. E. Wölfflin, *Equus* = *equus*. Unquestionable examples of this usage are found in the *Bell. Hisp.*, which on account of the imitations of Ennius by the author of this work (cf. *ALL.* VIII. 596) tend to confirm the statement of Nonius that Ennius used *equus* in the sense of *equus*. It is found also in Gregory of Tours and in Minucius Felix.

287-292. *Miscellen.* L. Havet, *Salueto*. With one exception of a peculiar nature (*Men.* 1076), allowing two emendations of his text, Plautus uses this form only in replies to salutations, *salve* being used in the salutation itself.

A. Köhler, *Zum metaphorischen coquere*. In *Sen. Controv.* II. 1 for *quocere* of *codd.* A and V Köhler would read *coquere*, used in the same metaphorical sense as in *Enn. ap. Cic. Cato Maior* 1. 1, *Verg.* and *Silius*. Plautus has this metaphorical use in *Trin.* 225 in connection with *macerare*, which is also used metaphorically in *Sen. Controv.* IV. *præf.* 2.

K. Lessing, *A und ab in der Historia Augusta*. Seven certain exceptions to the rule that *ab* is used before vowels and a before consonants, with a discussion of four doubtful passages. The seven exceptions occur before *d*, *s*, *r* and *t*.

H. Blase, *Modo si*. This order for *si modo* (cf. *ALL.* X. 112 fol.) is found in Plautus, Propertius and Ovid, as well as in the Juristic writers of African origin. It is therefore an archaism which came into African Latin as a survival, or through the influence of the early poets. The Augustan poets probably used it for metrical reasons.

W. v. Gümbel, *Viride Appianum*. This term, found in *Plin. N. H.* 35. 48, is a geographical one.

293-312. *Review of the Literature for 1895, 1896.*

312. E. Wölfflin, *Vom Thesaurus*. A request for lexical and grammatical works.

313-343. H. Blase, *Zur Geschichte der Futura und des Konjunktivs des Perfects im Lateinischen*. The so-called conditional future of Spanish, Portuguese and Wallachian is a combination of the Latin *fut. perf.* and *perf. subj.* The question is raised whether this union of the two forms, so far as their signification is concerned, existed in Latin. Lindskog has shown that in Plautus and Terence sentences which contain a threat have the future *perf.* in the protasis if the threat implies a prohibition, the present if it implies a command. This rule is followed in later Latin, though the instances are less numerous than in comedy. The clauses with *pres.* and *fut.* in the apodosis and *pres. subj.* in the protasis not merely superseded the form *si sit* — *sit*, but gained on the forms with *indic. protases*. Late Latin used the *subj. protasis* almost exclusively, both with the *pres. subj.* and with the form which is sometimes called *futurum II*

(fut. perf. ind.) and sometimes perfect subjunctive or the subjunctive of *futurum II* (fut. perf. subj.). In reality the latter form had the same function that it has in Romance, namely that of a conditional of the present or of the future. It also displaced the indicative in conditions of repeated action. The development of the fut. perf. with *fuero* (for *ero*) is discussed, as well as the use of the fut. perf. for the future in special words, such as *fuero*, *habuero*, *potuero*, *voluero*, etc. This was due to an exaggeration of the effort to give the exact force of tense relations and is found also in the other periphrastic tenses. Traces of the fusion of the fut. perf. and the perf. subj. are found in early and in classical Latin.

343. E. Wölfflin, *Manus tollere* = *mirari*. Examples from Cicero, Catullus and Arnobius.

344. A. Funck, *Sub sudo*. Questions the reading of Leo in Plaut. *Most.* 765 (cf. ALL. X. 273) on palaeographical grounds and because *sub sudo*, like *sub divo*, is used elliptically.

344. A. Funck, *Usque ad quod*. This phrase, found in August. *Conf.* 3. 7. 12, is nearer to the French *jusqu'à ce que* than that suggested by Thielmann, ALL. VI. 505.

345-353. A. Roosen, *Zur Bedeutung und Schreibung der Partikel "etiamnunc"*. *Nunc* is for *num-ce* (cf. *tum*, *tunc*), but had almost entirely displaced the simple form at the beginning of the literary period. *Etiam* is also a compound word which had come to be thought of as a simplex. The original meaning of *etiamnunc* was "even now", "also now". In later times *nunc* lost its force, as in *etiamnunc hodie*, Plin. N. H. 25. 85. The word, however, has two meanings: *etiam (nunc)* which is post-Augustan, and *(etiam) nunc*, which is found in Latin of all periods. As regards the orthography, all cases of the former must be written as one word; and the same thing seems to be true of the latter. *Etiamnum* is not found in prose and should be written in poetry only where the meter demands that form. ¶

354. R. Fuchs, *Vulgärlateinisches felgerola* = **filicarula*. This word occurs in a gloss in the *Epistula Vindici* preserved in cod. *Dresdensis* Dc 185. It is explanatory of *polypodium* and appears in French as *fougerole*.

355-360. H. Krüger, *Fides als vox media*. Supports this view, expressed in 1890, against the arguments of Pernice and Usener.

360. B. Kübler, *Storia*. A third instance of this word, in the sense of a mat (cf. *σπορέννυμ*) in Bell. Afr. 47. 5 through emendation of *scopis* (cod. Scalig.) for which the better MSS read *coriis* and *copiis*.

361-366. O. Schlutter, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Glossographie. III*. A continuation of the articles on pp. 11 fol. and 187 ff.

366. A. Sonny, Ambro. Bambalo. In ambro (= turpis vitae homo) Paul. Fest. p. 17 we have the Greek ἄβρων (from ἄβρος) with a parasitic m. Bambalo (= ψαλλιστής) is for *babalo, also with a parasitic m; cf. babulus Apul. Met. 4. 14, and babulo, Ter. Ad. 915 (see ALL. VIII. 494).

367-376. E. Wölfflin, Zur Differenzierung der lat. Partikeln. The tendency of foreigners in speaking Latin was to use a particular word for each idea, rather than to use the same word in different senses. This affected the vocabulary of the Romance languages as compared with that of Latin. Thus in France and Italy magis became an adversative particle (mais, ma) while plus was used in comparative expressions instead of magis. The writer discusses the history of ut, dum, quod, etc. from this standpoint.

376. G. Landgraf, Der Accusativ der Beziehung nach Adjectiven. The only example from archaic Latin (see ALL. X. 209) in Plaut. Pseud. 785, si quispiam det qui manus gravior siet, disappears if qui is taken as instrumental abl. and manus as nom. sing., which is probably the correct interpretation.

377-384. A. Sonny, Gerraie und gerro. Ardilio. Mutto. Mutinus Titinus. Tappo. Gerro is not derived from gerraie, but is the name of a stock character in the Sicilian comedy. Ardilio, Mutto and Tappo are explained in the same way. Mutinus is connected with mutto and the correct explanation of Titinus is that given by Bücheler in ALL. II. 119 fol. and 508. The forms Tutinus and Tutunus are due to assimilation with Mutinus.

384. F. Stolz, Nachtrag zu Arch. X. 151 ff. G. Wissowa, De dis Romanorum indigetibus et novensidibus disputatio, derives indiges from indu- and the root gen and separates it from indigitare and indigitamenta. If this view is correct, the original force of the word was lost and its meaning was extended.

385-390. J. v. d. Vliet, Lexikalisches zu den Metamorphosen des Apulejus und zu Sidonius Apollinaris. Notes on Argumentum: Symbol; Cuiuscemodi; Foris mit Accus.; Ex forma; Gremium=acervus; Partes, Ueberreste der Mahlzeit; Sero, gestern Abend; Succiduus=successivus, continuus; and Volaticus.

390. E. Lease, Nec non et. Additions to the examples collected by Kübler, ALL. VIII. 181**.

391-402. G. Landgraf, Der Accusativ der Richtung. Treated in two divisions: 1. after verbs of motion; 2. after verbal nouns. The origin of the former construction is to be sought in the expressions corresponding to domum and rus ire, which are common to the Indo-Germanic languages. The attempt of the grammarians to restrict the use in Latin to names of Greek lands

or to islands and small divisions of territory is a mistaken one. This is especially true of the popular speech. Many writers avoid the acc. of direction with designations of place or use it only occasionally, while on the other hand there is hardly a name of a country that is not found without a preposition in some writer. The rule of the grammarians has had a bad influence on text-criticism. Examples of an acc. with verbal nouns are rare, though alterations in the texts may have obliterated some. Plautus's use of substantives in -tio with an acc. is derived from the colloquial language. In the case of substantives in -tio and -tus from verbs of motion the accusatives are designations of place, with one exception, *Truc. 622, quid tibi hanc aditios?* Such expressions as *adventus Romam*, *Liv. 22. 61. 13*, though never numerous, occur at all periods. From this developed the acc. denoting the end of the motion expressed by the verb.

403-412. H. Stadler, *Dioscorides als Quelle Isidors*. *Dioscorides* is one of the principal sources for chapters 7-11 of Book XVII. Although this has been noted before, it has not been fully treated, while the citations are to *Saracenus* and are frequently wrong. The writer gives a series of parallel columns, with the most noteworthy instances marked with an *. There follows a detailed examination of selected passages. The question is then raised what translation of *D.* was used by *Isidore*, since he did not have access to the original Greek. The pseud. -*D.*, *De herbis feminis*, is not based on *Isidore*, nor was it one of his sources in its present form. He must have used an earlier and fuller version than exists at present.

412. A. Souter, *Aus Augustin*. Four new words and an additional example of *ex invicem*.

413-426. E. Wölfflin, *Proben der vulgärlateinischen Mulomedicina Chironis*. A publication of selected chapters from *cod. Monacensis Lat. 243*, with a discussion of the language and style.

427-434. E. Wölfflin, *Firmicus Maternus*. An outline, with some additional notes, of the dissertation of C. H. Moore, in which the identity of the author of the *Mathesis* with that of the *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* is established, mainly through an examination of the language and style of the two works.

435-452. *Miscellen*. F. Leo, *Superne, supernus*. In *Hor. Epod. 1. 29* *nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi Circaea tangat moenia*, if *superni* is the correct reading, it is the earliest instance of the use of the word. The adv. *superne*, which has good MSS authority, is common in *Horace*. Full notes on the use of the adjective and of the adverb are given. *Clausula*. In *Moretum 15* *clausae* is an adjective used as a substantive, the meaning of the passage being that the man finds the keyhole of the door with his light, which shines through the keyhole.

E. Hauler, *Lexikalisches aus einem Palimpsestsermonar der Ambrosiana*. Corrections of the publication of the *Sermones* in cod. Ambros. O. 136 sup. by Mai in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita* (Romae, 1828) III, 240-247, with notes on word formation and syntax.

W. M. Lindsay, *Die jüngst gefundene Kollation der Turnebus-Hs. des Plautus*. The collation of the lost cod. Turnebi (T), discovered by L. in the margin of an edition of the sixteenth century in the Bodleian Library, is accompanied by a collation of another inferior MS in the same hand, so that it is not easy in some cases to decide whether a variant reading goes back to T or to the other MS. Neither collation is directly from the MS which it represents, but both are from a later one, probably of the sixteenth century, which may have been copied by Turnebus himself. The collation, though indirect, is of great value in questions of orthography and in the text-criticism of B, C, and D, for though from the same archetype, T is free from some errors which arose in the immediate predecessor of B, C, and D. It is of value for the student of grammar as well as for the establishment of the text of Plautus.

H. A. Sanders, *Zu den Miscellanea Tironiana*. An examination of "Abschnitt IV" with the idea of determining the date of the treatise by an examination of the sources used. It must fall after the time of Isidore and thus need not be considered for the *Thesaurus*.

B. Kübler, *Focaria*. A discussion of the position of the *focaria* (soldier's concubine) arguing for the permanency of the relationship against the contrary view of Meyer.

E. Ludwig, *Isse—Ipse*. *Isse* and *issa* are well attested vulgar forms of *ipse* and *ipsa*. In Sedulius Pasch. carm. I. 310 *esse* is for *isse*, and *ipse* should be read in the text and *esse* cited in the apparatus criticus as a variant of this.

E. Wölflin, *Senus = sinus*. In Cic. ad Fam. 7. 1. 1 *senum* is a vulgar form for *sinum*. The writer thinks that vulgar forms should be admitted into the text of letters of Cicero addressed to friends living outside of Rome.

L. Havet, *Reuirdescere*. Would read this form for *reuirescere* in Cic. Prov. Cons. 34, on rhythmical grounds.

G. Ries, *Eques = equus*. In Frontin. Strat. 2. 5. 31 the context suggests that *equites* has this meaning.

E. Wölflin, *Vitio mit Gen. = propter*. *Vitio* is used as the opposite of *merito* and *beneficio* (see ALL. I. 174 ff. and VIII. 590 ff.) Between these extremes *opera* serves as a *vox media*, e. g. in Catull. 3. 17.

453-464. Review of the Literature for 1896 and 1897.

465-486. J. C. Rolfe, A, ab, abs. Notes on the form and word order, with a collection of the officia servorum, etc. found in inscriptions.

486. E. Wölfflin, Zur Latinität des Augustus (sponte sua). This order, which is found in the epic poets Lucr. and Verg., is surprising in Mon. Ancyr. 5. 4 in view of the lack of poetic coloring in the language of Augustus (see ALL. X. 149). It may be explained by the fact that Livy uses sponte sua in 10. 25. 12 and 27. 11. 3, which should be added to the examples given in ALL. X. 138. The emperor's high opinion of Livy is well known.

487-505. J. C. Rolfe, A, ab, abs. Lexicon article.

506. F. Paulsen, Propter bei Tacitus. The usage of Tacitus (see ALL. I. 161), as well as the sense of the passage, suggests that the only example of causal propter (Hist. 1. 65) is an error for pro.

506. M. Ihm, Marsianus. *Μαρσιανός* (Jour. Hell. Stud. IV. 26) is for Marsianus, not for Marcianus, and hence throws no light on the pronunciation of Latin c, as was inferred by Eckinger, Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften, p. 103.

507-522. W. Heraeus, Zu den lateinischen Glossen. Further criticisms of the article of Landgraf in ALL. IX. 355-446.

523-527. L. Havet, Pararius, substantif. This word is not derived from parare, as the lexicons state, but from par. Its meaning is shown by its use in Sen. De Ben. III. 15. 2. Since the passage is incomplete, the text is carefully examined. The pararii seem to have served as intermediaries between a borrower and a lender.

528. A. Sonny, Soppio, -onis bei Catull. Support for this reading in 37. 10 and of Schöll's conjecture on Petr. 22 is derived from CIL. IV. 1700. In the passage of Catullus sopionibus is to be taken as a dat. with scribam.

529-532. A. Funck, Accorporo — accubitus. Lexicon articles.

532. M. Petschenig, Indeklinabiles vetus bei Ortsnamen. Examples are cited from Additamentum ad Marcellinum comitem ad a. 536 n. 6 and ad a. 538 n. 7, which confirm the reading in Vict. Vitensis I. 51, who furnishes the earliest example.

533-550. Miscellen. E. Wölfflin, An Herrn Dr. W. Kroll und unsere Leser. A reply to Kroll's article on Das afrikanisches Latein (Rh. Mus. LII. 569 ff.). Si quid = quicquid. Examples showing that si quid was not used in a conditional sense, but as the equivalent of quicquid.

A. Souter, Addenda Lexicis Latinis. Mainly from Augustine.

H. Blase, *Beteuerungsformeln im Lateinischen*. The future and the pres. subj. are from one root and the former is used in wishes in early Latin, as well as in the formula *ita me amabit* (*amabunt*), which is found eleven times in Plautus and three times in Terence. This is followed by a comparative clause with *ut*, then by an independent clause in parataxis, and in one case there is ellipsis of the future. The subjunctive form *amet* (*ament*) occurs twenty-four times in Plautus and twenty-one times in Terence. The future, which is found only in Plautus and Terence, was the older use, but it lost ground between the time of Plautus and that of Terence. A variety of expressions, which do not become formulas, appear in class. and later Latin, but the formula with *ament* is not found in Cicero or in any subsequent writer. Petronius has a large number of examples of protestations in the subjunctive followed by comparative clauses with *ut*, but neither he nor any archaistic writer of the second century has *ita di ament*. The favorite expressions in class. and Silver Latin are with *moriari*, *dispeream*, etc. *Si vivo* in connection with a future occurs in early Latin, and an independent *vivo* in the Latin of the Vulgate. *Inferias mittere*. In *Dict. Cret.* v. 13, 5 (cf. *ALL.* X. 399).

P. Geyer, *Cremo* = *κρεμάννυμι*, *suspendo*. The word has this sense in Vegetius, *De Arte veterinaria*, i. 26. 4 (see *ALL.* X. 424). The word occurs in a similar sense in the *Passio Perpetuae*. We may infer, if this is the meaning of *cremo* in Vegetius, that the ancients were familiar with the method of curing injuries by suspension in a sling.

W. Schmitz, *Sanna*. *Sanna* may be compared with the word *γέππα* (*ALL.* X. 378) since it meant at first *τὸ αἰδοῖον* and then a scornful gesture. A list of words of a jesting and mocking nature is cited from *Comm. Not. Tir.* tab. 62, 4-16.

L. D. Vasconcellos, *Mons sacer bei Olisipo*. The monte Tagro of Varro, *R. R.* 2. 1. 19 may be monte sacro.

M. Ihm, *Transfluminianus*. Found in a bill of sale on papyrus of the year 166 A. D., no. 229 in the British Museum. Since the papyrus came from Seleucia Pieriae, the river referred to is the Euphrates, the river of the neighborhood, a usage to which parallels are cited. *Strigo*. To be added to the appellatives in -o, -onis which are used as personal names (*ALL.* IX. 592). It is the cognomen of Callidius, a well known potter of Arretium.

W. M. Lindsay, *Ablativ red bei Plautus*. In addition to *med*, *ted*, sed the abl. of *res* must be read with a *d* in *Aul.* 141, *Merc.* 629, *Pseud.* 19, to avoid hiatus.

E. Wölfflin, *Zur Regula Benedicti*. The orthography of the *Regula* is neither strictly in accordance with the rules of the grammarians nor invariably consistent. One must aim at that

of the earliest MSS. Among these must be included that of the *Sermonum de regulis* (8th or 9th century) in CGL. V. 412 fol. Examples are cited of the help given by this.

551-569. Review of the Literature for 1897 and 1898.

570-571. Necrology. Georg Schepfs.

573-623. Index to Volumes I-X.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Edited by JOHANNES HOOPS.

Volume XXXV 1. O. Jespersen, *The History of the English Language: its Relation as a Science to other Subjects*. An address delivered at the St. Louis Exposition. The author shows at some length the extent to which the study of the English language has suffered from the dominance of the concepts and terminology of Latin grammar. "The exaggerated importance attached to Latin is also injurious to the study of English if it causes forms and constructions to be *valued* according to a Latin standard. Some authors, Milton and Dryden among them, have impaired their English prose by thinking too much of Latin syntax instead of trusting to their natural linguistic instinct; and similarly some grammarians are apt to despise such English idioms as are contrary to Latin rules". Jespersen emphasizes the present desirability of studying the relation of French loan-words in English to their French originals.

G. Sarrazin, *New Studies in Beowulf* (begun in Engl. Studien XXIII 221). V. *Beowulf's Comrades*. A discussion of the points of correspondence between Beowulf and the legend of Bödhvarr Bjarki as told by Saxo. The relations of Beowulf to his sword Hrunting are similar to those of Bjarki to his comrade Höttir, sometime his rival. Höttir's name is changed to Hjalti, and Hjalti corresponds to the sword Beowulf used against Grendel's mother at the bottom of the sea.

K. D. Bülbring, *The Lay Folk's Mass-Book in the MS at the Advocates Library, Edinburgh*. A diplomatic reprint. The same version was printed in 1843 by Turnbull, but not accurately. Dr. Gerould, in his filiation of the six versions (Engl. Studien XXXIII 1 ff.), had not been able to compare Turnbull's version with the MS.

W. Franz, *The Formation of Words in Shakespeare*. The author treats his subject in four sections: Prefixes, Suffixes, Compounds, the Substantive Use of Verbs.

The most important reviews discuss the following works: the fourth volume of G. C. Macaulay's edition of Gower, by H. Spies; W. W. Greg's edition of the interlude, *Godly Queene Hester* (1561), by Holthausen, who adds a number of notes on the text; a new edition of Cazamian's *Le Roman Social en Angleterre*, by Koepfel.

2. J. Laidler, *A History of the Pastoral Drama in England* until 1700. A descriptive list, not a history, of more important pastoral plays during the time designated. The discussion of origins lacks both order and penetration.

Henry Reynolds' *Tale of Narcissus*, edited by J. S. Starkey. A poetic paraphrase of Ovid's account, now reprinted for the first time from the edition of 1632. The author wrote also an essay on poetry.

W. J. Lawrence, *A Forgotten Restoration Playhouse*. Chap-puzeau in his *Europe Vivante* (1667) speaks of three theatres in London. Two are easily identified; the third was probably the old Phoenix or Cockpit in Drury Lane, hitherto thought to have been abandoned at the Restoration, but, according to the author, remodeled and used perhaps by George Jolly, or Joliffe, and his company for two or three years after the Restoration. Chap-puzeau's observations were probably made in 1665. Writing again in 1668 he mentions but two theatres, whence it is likely that the Cockpit had been closed. It was unlicensed much of the time, and was forced to struggle with blackmail and threatened interference of officers. Pepys occasionally went there before 1661.

Miscellanea. Swaen continues his *Contributions to OE. Lexicography* with five pages of notes from Byrhtferth's *Handboc* (*Anglia* VIII 298-337).

3. J. Weightman, *Vowel-leveling in Early Kentish; and the Use of the Symbol ϵ in OE. Charters*. The author shows that ϵ in the ninth century Kentish stands for \tilde{a} , i-umlaut of \tilde{a} and \tilde{a} , \tilde{a} + breaking combination + i , e , ea before an open consonant, and in one example for i-umlaut of o , u ; but it never represents original \tilde{e} . "From this it would appear that the leveling of the old long narrow and wide sounds, . . . complete in the earliest MKt., had already begun before the end of the ninth century".

P. Leendertz, Jr., *The Sources of the Oldest ME. Version of the Assumptio Mariae*. Gierth's study (*Engl. Studien* VII 10) finds the source of this poem in the account of the Assumption ascribed to St. John, but the present writer shows good reason for supposing that later versions of this apocryphal account furnished the ME. poet with certain details, or that, more likely, he used a later version which has not survived.

F. Brie, *On the History and Tradition of the Havelok Legend*. The author first reviews, and in part revises, the statements of previous writers on this subject. His discussion centres about the Anglo-Norman version in the so-called *Brut d'Angleterre*, whose date he shows to have been 1250-1300, which is earlier than has been hitherto supposed. The Havelok story in the *Brut* comes from a lost version of Wace's *Roman de Brut*, which

in turn goes back to Gaimar. But certain traits and details not found in Gaimar point strongly to the influence upon the Brut of a lost English poem on Havelok, older than the surviving ME. romance. Brie corrects or confirms certain statements of his predecessors regarding the later versions in the *Scala Chronica* (1355-62), and the *Eulogium Historiarum* (1866). He prints also three new texts: (1) an earlier and purer version of the Havelok Legend as told in the Brut than that printed by Madden; it is found in Rawlinson MS D, 329; (2) a version discovered by Brie in an anonymous Latin chronicle of the thirteenth century (from Cotton MS Dom. A, II), which comes directly from Gaimar; (3) a hitherto unknown English version of 1480 from Lambeth MS 84.

H. Willert, *The Gerund*. An attempt to distinguish more accurately than grammarians of modern English have done between the gerund and the verbal noun.

This number contains an exhaustive review of Borst's *Die Gradadverbien im Englischen* by Stoffel, and a reprint by Bang of the *Thrie Tailles of the Thrie Priests of Peblis* (composed between 1488 and 1520), an analogue of *Everyman*. It is reprinted, with queries regarding its origin, from Laing-Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*.

Volume XXXVI 1. M. Förster, *A North English Version of the Distichia Catonis*. Two versions of this text, which consists of some 600 lines, are here printed: (1) Rawlinson MS G, 59; (2) MS Δ, IV 1 of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. The first is consistently Midland; the second shows many Northern peculiarities.

C. W. Wallace, *New Shakespeare Documents*. An accurate reprint of three concerning a suit in chancery between Shakespeare and other plaintiffs, and Matthew Bacon. It was brought the year before Shakespeare died, and disputed benefits arising from certain property in Blackfriars.

A. Greeff, *Byron's Lucifer*. Critics are of various opinions as to the poet's moral intentions in the portrait of Lucifer in *Cain*—whether he is the Tempter and Betrayer of man (according to Scott, Goethe, Koepfel, and even Byron's own statement); or whether he is the Light-bringer and Spirit of Truth (Brandes, Kraeger); or the High Priest of Scepticism (Ackermann). Greeff reviews the whole case, and finds that Byron, in his off-hand manner of composition, has carelessly wavered between the first two conceptions and left the resulting inconsistency uncorrected.

A. Western, *On the Use of English Adverbs*. A good discussion of the difference between the adverb as a modifier of a single word and the adverb as a modifier of a whole idea or sentence. Various classes of the latter are defined and discussed.

In conclusion the author says: "No other Teutonic language has developed to the same degree the faculty of expressing so much by a single adverb as English". And again: "It is largely to the free and easy use of adverbs that English owes its terseness and picturesqueness of expression".

P. J. van Draat, *After*. The author gives a list of verbs and verbal nouns in modern English which are both perfective and imperfective in signification (cf. his studies in the loss of the prefix *ge-*, in Engl. Studien XXXI 353 ff.; XXXII 371 ff.). The list includes words of both Germanic and Romance origin, and shows that words originally perfective took in time also the other function, and *vice versa*. The double function, though Germanic in origin, is not always due to the loss of the prefix *ge-*. In some cases it begins as late as Middle English times, and the mere construction of sentences is enough to force upon a word the new function. The article concludes with interesting remarks, abundantly illustrated, on the influence of *after*, conj., upon the tense of the verb.

The reviews include favorable and discerning notices of the following studies: Glogge's edition of the Leyden Gloss, by Kern; van der Gaaf's study of The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in Middle English, by Franz; Brotanek's edition of George Mason's Seventeenth Century Grammaire Angloise, by A. Western. Koch reviews, with interesting comment, a number of recent studies in Chaucer. He gives particular attention to those by Bilderbeck, Tatlock, and Lowes.

Miscellanea. W. H. Williams explains several difficult idioms in Ralph Roister Doister with the help of citations from contemporary texts.

2. G. H. Gerould, Social and Historical Reminiscences in the Middle English Athelston. Apropos of the oath of brotherhood taken by the four messengers, the author cites many illustrations from history and literature, to show the prevalence of the custom among Germanic peoples of the Middle Ages. The relations of the king and the archbishop in the romance are thought to reflect the historical relations of Henry II and Becket, antedating the version we possess by nearly two centuries; the author traces many interesting parallels.

E. M. Wright, Notes on Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. The English Dialect Dictionary is laid under contribution to explain the meaning of some fifty words in this difficult text.

Van der Gaaf, Miracles and Mysteries in Southeast Yorkshire. The author gives an interesting account of a "holy sepulchre" in the church at Patrington, Yorkshire, once used in the Easter mysteries, with remarks on the acting of Biblical plays in remote villages. A photograph accompanies the article.

R. Petsch, *Hamlet among the Pirates*. An attempt to explain certain obscurities of motive involved in this part of the play.

A. L. Stiefel, *The Question of the Sources of Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas*. Chiefly a criticism of Guskar's alleged twenty-nine sources of the play.

J. Ellinger, *The Present Participle in Gerundive Use*. A few notes upon the distinction between the participle and the gerund in modern English suggested by Willert's article in the preceding volume (Engl. Studien XXXV 372 ff.).

Two reviews deserve mention: F. Mebus gives a detailed and favorable critique of W. H. Browne's edition of Rauf Coilyear; and H. Gerschmann pronounces judgment at great length upon Evans' *Der Bestrafte Brudermord: sein Verhältniss zu Hamlet*.

Miscellanea. Forster discusses *frægn*, Andreas 255, and shows that the OE. dictionaries should add the entry "*fregen*, subst., *question*". Hoops controverts Kastner's emendation of *prestes thre*, Cant. Tales, Prol. 164, to *prest estre* (presbyter domesticus). Bang points out two passages in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humor*, in which Jonson is evidently indebted to Hoby's English version of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. They are Act V, Sc. 2, ll. 3430 ff.; Act III, Sc. 7 and 8, especially ll. 3345 ff.

3. K. G. T. Webster, *Arthur and Charlemagne*. The article is a study in the Celtic origins of mediaeval romance. It begins with some conjecture towards the reconstruction of the ballad of King Arthur and King Cornwall. The second part is an attempt to show, by this ballad and its MHG. and Irish analogues, that the lovers of Guinevere (in this case King Cornwall) often had juster claim upon Guinevere's love than has been supposed. They are in certain significant cases men whose wife she had been in a previous period or state of her existence. King Cornwall is shown to have been originally an other-world king, from whom Guinevere, originally a *fee* of Celtic legend, was won by Arthur, and by whom she was claimed in turn. Such a Celtic other-world king as Cornwall seems also to have been Hugo of Constantinople, in the Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople.

H. Hecht, *Recent Publications relating to the Scotch-English Ballads*. The title indicates the nature of this article. It reviews briefly the various publications of recent years, summarizes the important theories, and states the problems that should forthwith engross the attention of those who are interested in the study of ballads. Examples of such aids as this article to orientation are too few, and yet the present need of them is great. Qualified experts cannot render a greater service with the slight expenditure of energy which such articles require, than to prepare similar

statements of the achievements, activity, and possibilities in their respective fields. Fortunately the work has been well begun in this country, and an excellent example set by Professor Lane Cooper's paper on Wordsworth in the forthcoming number of the Publications of the Modern Language Association.

W. Bang and H. de Vocht, Classical and Humanist Sources of Earlier Dramatists. The article cites a few significant parallels between Lyly and Erasmus; between Thomas Heywood and Athenaeus, Ludovicus Caelius, Donatus, and Phil. Camerarius; and between Ford and Parthenios of Nikaia.

H. Ulrich, Corrections of a Recent German Version of Robinson Crusoe.

Miscellanea. The most important note is from M. Förster on two published OE. inscriptions. He discusses the Chronology and Dialect of the first (south door of Kirkdale Church in the North Riding of Yorkshire), and the interpretation of the second (door of the south transept of Breamore Church, Hampshire).

W. Bank describes a copy of Varchi's L'Hercolano (Venice, 1580) in the University Library at Louvain, which was presented by an unknown Robert Smith to Florio and his friends, among whom may have been Jonson, Ford, and Marston.

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ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΩΜΑ.

Eupolis ap. Poll. 10, 136 (1, 530 Mein. 1, 329 K.).

ἐγὼ δὲ γε στίξω σε βελόναισιν τρισίν

The branding of fugitive slaves in the forehead is often mentioned. Cf. Ar. Av. 760, *εἰ δὲ τυγχάνεις τις ὑμῶν δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος*, and the commentators; and the title of the play (*Ταξίαρχοι*) suggested to Hemsterhuis that the same punishment may have been administered to deserters from the army. Bothe thinks that Phormion is threatening Bacchos; but Kock adds: *quid tamen tria illa stigmata sibi velint nescio*. If the brand consisted of the $\Delta = \text{δραπέτης}$, no especial branding-iron would be necessary, for the *τρεῖς βελόναι* \wedge would represent the three sides of $\Delta = \text{δραπέτης}$, just as two *βελόναι* would answer for the English T = thief.

B. L. G.

BRIEF MENTION.

The doctoral dissertation has become a familiar target for writers on university work. The requirement of a dissertation is said 'to be based on the absurd theory that original production is the right discipline and the only test of scholarship' (The Nation, Dec. 26, 1907) and the character of that 'original production' is open, and in many cases lays itself open to merriment. There is a certain injustice in all this and I have often been tempted to take the shield of faith wherewith to quench the fiery darts of the adversary, as we may translate τοῦ ποτηρίου. The shield must be a tough leathern shield of the Mycenaean pattern, an ἀσπίς ἀμφιβρότη. Nay, as I was brought up to believe in the doctoral dissertation, I am a manner of shield myself. Long endurance guarantees the toughness and large charity the amplitude. And having dealt in fire-works myself in earlier days, I know how they are made. There is a whole arsenal of them at hand from Aristophanes' flight of arrows that he discharges at the scant performance of the λαβηραὶ τέχνης, from Caligula's *harena sine calce*, from Persius' gibe at the man who would wed above his state, and so on and so on down to Vischer's mockery of the *furor arithmeticus* of the statisticians (A. J. P. XIII 123). But it is much easier to sneer at anything than to understand everything and forgive everything. However, there is after all no need of this comprehensive charity and Professor Heidel has recently vindicated in the Classical Quarterly I 243 the character of the American dissertation, with which the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY is chiefly concerned here. Whenever a definite addition is made to the sum of our knowledge, even in the modest form of an exhaustive statement or of a new grouping of admitted facts, the training has been gained for the writer and a certain advance has been registered for the circuit of our studies. Admitted facts, did I say? There is so much that is taken for granted in philological and linguistic tradition, so many formulae afloat that need mooring or sinking that even the novice can render acceptable service.

One chapter of such a study would have to do with the influence of the doctoral dissertation upon the doctorand's career, and would seek the answer to the question how far it serves to determine the range of the student's subsequent activity. If activity means publication, then, in many cases, at least, the shrift would be short. If I myself had died, as I came near doing, between 1853 and 1867, my sole published contribution to the 'literature' of the department would have been my doctoral dissertation,

'De Porphyrii Studiis Homericis'. True, the man is or ought to be more than his books, but to push the inquiry beyond the limits of print and study the effect of the doctoral dissertation on the scholar as a teacher would involve a collection and a sifting of documents, such as any one competent for the task would hardly care to undertake for the sake of the possible results. But some of us go on and on for better, for worse, and in the hope that my experience may be of some service to those who are engaged actively or passively in this line of work, I will record it here, regardless, as usual, of the charge of egotism (A. J. P. XXV 490). *Brief Mention* is my seat on the backdoorsill of the Journal and readers and contributors may be thankful that I seldom invade the *μύραρον*, reserved for more adventurous spirits, not to say, suitors.

The average healthy student being in what may be called the petticoat stage of love is ready to undertake anything that the maturer go-between, the *μαία προμήστρια* of the Theaetetus, may suggest. The fourth semester or the fifth semester comes, the examination looms up on the horizon, the delightful discursiveness must cease. It is time for the bachelor to be wedded to his dissertation, name as yet unknown, dowry an uncertain quantity; time to enter upon the estate aptly but profanely defined as 'la canalisation de l'amour'. Arrived at that period, I began to look about me. Doubtless Ritschl would have helped me, for he was one of the most helpful of men and, as he was in the swing of his epigraphical work (A. J. P. XXVIII 232) I might have been sent to woo some such Muse as captivated my friend and fellow-student, Emil Hübner, whose dissertation, *Quaestiones Onomatologicae Latinae* (1854) proved to be the first fruits of an abundant yield. But I knew Bernays better and in my need I turned to him. As an Aristotelian scholar, Bernays was interested in Aristotle's Homeric work and suggested a hunt through the Homeric scholia with a view to gaining some light on Aristotle's contributions to Homeric study. Said contributions seemed to my impatient spirit rather jejune, and the task beyond my resources; and finding that Porphyry, the transmitter of Aristotle, was easier game I followed the line of least resistance and with a gay appeal to Horace's 'parabilem amo Venerem facilemque' I plunged resolutely into the scholia. 'Qu'on est bien à vingt ans', as we used to sing in those days. All this is deplorable, but it has enabled me to understand better the weaknesses of those for whom in after years I became more or less responsible. What would have become of me, if I had had as my guide a man who insisted on a personal interest aroused by some fair theme to be encountered in a wide range of study? (*Essays and Studies*, p. 120). I should simply have regarded him as a male Hannah More and classed his counsel with 'Coelebs in Search of a Wife'.

In due time I emerged with my dissertation, which was accepted as a *specimen eruditionis* by Karl Friedrich Hermann, erudite, if ever man was, had the honour of a passing notice at the hands of Bernhardt, and nearly thirty years ago the distinction of a contemptuous kick at the heels of Diels as he leaped into fame in his *Doxographi* (A. J. P. I 241, 514). I have long since forgiven the illustrious scholar whom I have delighted to honour in person (A. J. P. XXIII 345, XXV 478) and by proxy (A. J. P. XXIV 456-465). There is an epidemic of subjects as of other diseases and the Porphyry was in the air. Shortly after I had printed my dissertation, one JULIUS WOLLENBERG, whose name does not appear in Poekel's *Schriftstellerlexikon*, had his say *De Porphyrii studiis philologis* (1854), and yet others fell ill of Porphyrius-Malchus, that naughty heathen who bore the same name at home as the varlet, whose ear was smitten off by the perfervid apostle. At last the microbe seized on SCHRADER, whose works on the Porphyrian scholia have actually called forth a protest against the expenditure of so much thought and labour on so infructuous a theme.

My dissertation did not make me a Grecian, for at that period with all my love for things Greek, perhaps because of my love for things Greek, I despaired and justly despaired of ever being worthy of the noble name of Hellenist. Most assuredly it did not make me a student of Neo-Platonism nor yet a Homerist except so far as every Grecian must be a thrall of Homer's. But it did give me a relish for the scholia from which I have extracted a good deal of amusement, from time to time, and a weakness for the *ἱστορικοί* and *λυτικοί*, ancient and modern. One pupil of mine has handled some of the Aristotelian questions that I left on one side, and another has discussed the *Τρωικός* of Dion Chrysostomos, that sophistic echo of the old debates of Alexandria and Pergamum; and while I have made no personal contribution to Homeric literature, I never read a new book on Homer—no one can read them all,—without an itching to make an abstract of it. But being of an impressionable nature and having no special views of my own on any subject except Greek syntax and all that Greek syntax implies, I am carried about with every wind of doctrine, as my various reviews in the *Journal* have shown, in which I appear now as a disciple of Terret (A. J. P. XX 87-90), now as a follower of Robert (A. J. P. XXII 467 foll.), now as an admirer of Bréal (A. J. P. XXIV 353 foll., XXVIII 208 foll.¹)

¹A. J. P. XXIV, p. 356, l. 21, read *βασιλεὶ τ' ἀγαθῷ κρατερῶ τ' αἰχμητῇ* instead of the changeling that some wicked fairy has foisted upon the *Journal*. The familiar quotation, Γ 179, is correctly printed in the youthful essay (*Southern Methodist Quarterly*, Jan., 1855) which I had in mind, and I can imagine the fine old printer Robert Estienne saying to his *prote* in like case: *μεγα ἔργον δ σὴ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις*. An enemy of Buloz once suggested to the editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* that he change the title of that eminently respectable periodical from *Revue* to *Bévue*, and I am awaiting a similar suggestion from some good-natured friend of the *American Journal of Philology*.

Not that I did not start with a fine set of ready-made views of the separatist order, then the fashionable form of unbelief, and though in practice I am now little better than a Unitarian I have never lost my interest in the syntactical stratification of the Homeric poems. One of the few books I bought for my little Homeric library in those far off days was Giseke's treatise,¹ in which the author stakes off the books of the Iliad by the prepositions, and to this day I am fascinated by every new disquisition of the sort; such f. i. as Hentze's (A. J. P. XXVIII 342), in which he distinguishes the Odyssean elements in the Iliad with the help of the varying use of the final particles, though I have not yet found time to compare his results with those of Geddes, which form the subject of a paper in an early volume of the Journal (A. J. P. I 32 foll.).

'Du sollst nicht Sanskritwurzeln klaben' was one of the ten commandments of the Ritschl school, by which my youth was dominated, but I could not shut my eyes to the light that streamed in from the new science, and I began at an early day to appropriate the certain results of comparative grammar. The rise of the Junggrammatiker—who now are old—disturbed me greatly, but I staggered on. Then the oracles multiplied, and I knew not whether to follow the voice of Delphi or the mandates of the Branchidae, and every now and then these oracles would violate the conventional gender of some Greek noun or generate some Frankenstein of a Greek tense, and the spirit of rebellion was stirred in me. So when Brugmann, to whom I once submitted uncomplainingly, bade me go back to *'Αρπείδος* in Homer (A. J. P. XIX 115) after I had been rejoicing for years in the dactylic movement of those long patronymics, I set up the standard of revolt. Pindar's *'Αρπείδας* was good enough for me, and I still refuse to consider of a genitive (A. J. P. XXIII 22, XXVIII 237). So once the reproduction of the original text of Homer exercised a great charm on my susceptible soul and once I should have hailed with satisfaction such a text as Professor STERRETT has recently given us in his Iliad. Not only should I have enjoyed his commentary, steeped as it is in the light of Asia Minor—which he knows so well—but I should have welcomed the abolition of 'contraction and distraction'; for *ἀράσσας* does seem more sensible than *ἀράσσης*, but the nearer I approach the limbo where Aristarchos dwells, the more conservative do I become, and I harmonize my position as to the Homeric text with the position which I have never forsaken as to spelling reform. If I were to edit Pindar again, even the ghost of the digamma would disappear.

¹Giseke, Die allmälliche Entstehung der Gesänge der Ilias, aus Unterschieden im Gebrauch der Präpositionen nachgewiesen. Göttingen, 1853.

In some things, however, I have been fairly consistent and I have never been a heliolater. "Twenty years ago", says ANDREW LANG in the preface to *Homer and his Age*, "the philological theory of the Solar Myth was preached as 'scientific' in the books, primers and lectures of popular science. To-day its place knows it no more". This being so, it comforts me to remember that much more than twenty years ago I not only joined in the laughter that greeted Littledale's famous article in the *Kottabos* on the Oxford Solar Myth, but utterly scouted Paley's solar interpretation of the *Odyssey*, which I illustrated by a detailed application of the same principles to Eumaïos (A. J. P. XXVII 359), just as Littledale illustrated the solar myth by an application of it to Max Müller himself. The Ballad Theory fared no better at my hands and I have recently resurrected in the *Pathfinder* for June, 1907, the Ballad of the Swineherd in which I did despite to the memory of Dr. Maginn. Nor is my attitude altogether that of the *poco curante* order. I am deeply, nay vitally interested in the maintenance of Homeric study among the young, and if possible, a revival of the days when the boys acted the books as they read them, the Third Iliad being naturally a prime favorite as I remember. Hence my kind notice of Terret. The famous Professor Baur of Tübingen was conservative enough when he preached to his country congregation, and I understand that the German clergy do not fash the minds of the 'andächtige Gemeinde' by disquisitions on the Jahvist and the Elohist and Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah. There is, as I have said, a solidarity of orthodoxy, and that is the reason why I drew my parallels for Terret's attitude toward the Homeric Question from Biblical literature. There is also a solidarity of heterodoxy and in his brilliant book, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Professor GILBERT MURRAY has given a whole chapter to J, E and P, those familiar symbols of Old Testament criticism. Now my prayer is that Homer may hold his own. To be sure, if one may judge by the translations that are coming out every few weeks, there is no loss of interest in some quarters but while the translators and their partisans form a considerable public, I am not satisfied with that concession. So long as the Greek Homer lives, there is no real danger to the perpetuity of the studies, which seem to be threatened by the advance of modern life. A Hellenist, who has long since said with Lord Brougham at Cannes, *Spes et Fortuna valet* or rather with the unknown anthologist, 'Ελπίς καὶ σὺ Τύχη μέγα χαίπετε, ought not to care, and yet I cannot think it is well to talk to beginners about the Homeric Question and even in conferences with more advanced students I do my best to reconcile in my sophistic fashion science and religion. But I have recently read that the failure of Sunday School instruction nowadays is distinctly due to the failure of the teacher to deal with the problems of Biblical exegesis in the modern fashion, and I may be hopelessly wrong.

This somewhat light-hearted comment on the grave subject of the doctoral dissertation with the excurrent remarks on the practical problems of Homeric study was ready for the printer some weeks ago, and was to have been followed up in print as it was followed in MS by a brief discussion of the difficulties of a Unitarian as revealed in *Homer und Horaz im Gymnasialunterricht* (Munich, Beck) which tells us how the author Dr. OSKAR JÄGER, a Gymnasialdirektor, a. D., used to handle his classes. This was succeeded by some notes on the memorable lectures of Professor MURRAY, to which I have already referred, and the end was to have been a grateful acknowledgment of the crowning service rendered to Homeric study by America's leading Homerist, THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR. There would have been no formal review. There is no lack, there will be no lack of formal reviews of SEYMOUR's *magnum opus*, but the *Life of the Homeric Age* is so full of his personality that it sorts well with the prevalent tone of *Brief Mention*, so much of which was written to his address. Nor would he have been offended by the liberties I had taken, for we are both Americans. Among the analogues between Sicily and America, Mr. Freeman does not mention the saving grace of humour, the ἀλῶν ἑρὸν σῶμα, common to those islanders and these continentals, and there is much in the stately volume that only an American could have written. In his *Greek Anthology*, Mr. Mackail thinks to sum us up in a sentence, when he speaks of 'the grave and logical monstrosity of American humour'. We Americans are more complex than that and SEYMOUR was more complex than that and more elusive. But light-hearted comment and friendly banter were rudely checked by the end of the year which brought with it an end to a life that was full of sunshine, a sunshine that often cheered the loneliness of my own homestretch. We are all a manner of mummers. 'Off comes the mask. Remains the dead stark fact'. Many tributes have been paid to the scholar, the teacher, the friend. Many will yet be paid. Here there can only be *Brief Mention* of the friend, borrowed from a brief mention centuries old:

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟΙ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΗC ΜΝΗΜΗΙΟΝ ΕCΘΛΕ <ΞΙΜΩΠΕ>
 Η ΛΙΘΟC Η ΜΙΚΡΗ ΤΗC ΜΕΓΑΛΗC ΦΙΛΙΗC.

The waves raised by Didymos (A. J. P. XXV 478) have not subsided yet; and there is an elaborate treatise by FOUCART, *Étude sur Didymos, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* XXXVIII, 1^{re} Partie, that deserves notice, but a greater than Didymos is here; and the Chalkenteric interpreter of Pindar must give way to the poet himself; for the *Fifth Volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by GRENFELL and HUNT, holds large fragments of Pindar's lost Paean and even Corinna's

lilting song that has come back to us from the Berlin Papyri (*Griechische Dichterfragmente. Zweite Hälfte. Lyrische u. Dramatische Fragmente. Bearbeitet von W. SCHUBART u. U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF*. Weidmann) is drowned by the organ voice of her defeated rival. There is much else in this Oxyrhynchus volume, an interesting fragment of an uncanonical gospel, page after page of a lost historian, identified by E. Meyer and Wilamowitz with Theopompos, by Blass with Kratippos, best remembered for what he said about the speeches in Thukydides (D. Hal. de Thuc., c. 16), of whose work this substantial fragment might be considered a continuation. Then there is a new text of Plato's Symposium 200 B—223 D, full of the depressing lessons that the papyri never fail to bring to those who have been brought up on the sincere milk of criticism, full of cheer for the hearts of those who are given to the strong drink of mixed texts (A. J. P. XXV 114). There is also a new text of Isokrates, Panegyricus, §§ 21—115. Here surely is wealth enough for days of enjoyment and weeks and weeks of work and pages and pages of more or less obvious comment in *Brief Mention*. But in this number Pindar shall be the only sufferer.

Quite apart from the natural interest of a Pindarist in these fragments there is also a special fitness in following the mention of SEYMOUR with that of Pindar, for SEYMOUR was a Pindaric scholar of note and Bornemann who had not a good word to throw away on my edition had nothing but well-earned praise for SEYMOUR's *Select Odes* (Berliner P. Wochenschrift, 27. Juni, 1885); and one thinks sadly how our lost friend would have greeted the new poems. In these dark days for classical scholarship when so many lights have suddenly gone out, it is well that the first words of the recovered Paean should be words of cheer, *πρὶν ὀδυνηρὰ γήραος σχ[εδόν] μολεῖν πρὶν τις εὐθυμία σκιαζέτω νόημ' ἄκοτον*. The shadow is not the shadow of Herondas: *τὸ γὰρ γήρας ἡμᾶς καθέλκει χῆ σκιῇ παρέστηκεν*. It is the shade so welcome to the Greek. It is the shade of the *σκιερὸν φύτευμα* of the Third Olympian, the *δμφαλὸς σκιάεις* of Delphi (VI 17). Long before these lines can see the light more competent scholars than I will have anticipated all I shall have to say, but as in the case of Timotheos (A. J. P. XXIV 221) I will not withhold my virginal impressions because they may recall to others the delight of the first encounter. Up to this time we have had scant fragments of Pindar's Paean. But scant as they are, they bear the stamp of the poet. Pindaric are the grand compounds, *Δωδωναίῃ μεγάσθενες, ἀριστοτέχνα πάτερ*, Pindaric the melancholy reflexion on the limits of human wisdom; and one of them is especially precious because it dovetails into an Oxyrhynchus fragment and proves that we have Pindar's own Paean before us. For the style is simple; and when unidentified lyric fragments of simple style are found, some scholars are

tempted to think of Bakchylides. The *τεθμός* of lyric art as of epic art reaches into so many details that internal evidence cannot be trusted implicitly, if it can ever be trusted implicitly. If all Pindar were as simple as these fragments of the Paeans, there would have been no complaint of his obscurity, no need to defend his hardness; and we cannot help wondering at Eustathios' judgment of the Epinikia (I. E. xiv). 'More popular were they', he says, 'than the others because they addressed themselves more to human interests; the myths were fewer and the obscurity was less'. One of my critics thrust aside contemptuously the explanation I gave. 'That which embodies the truest, inliest life of a people comes down, the rest perishes and passes over into new forms'. The real reason, it seems, is that the Epinikia stood first in the *ιδέα*. 'Ah weel!' as Jebb says in his letters when he does not care to pursue a subject. Certain it is that these Paeans are, so to speak, saturated with the Epinikia. The myths are told in the same staccato fashion as in the Epinikia. Even the details of Pindaric syntax are the same, and the resonant Pindaric compounds are not lacking. And yet when we say 'Pindaric compounds', are we prepared to draw the line between the heritage of the epic and the mintage of the poet? Have we a safe criterion by which to decide between a Bakchylidean and a Pindaric compound? So natural are some of the *ἀπαξ εἰρημένα* in these fragments that we can hardly believe our eyes when we find that they are not registered in the thesaurus, such as *γλυκυμάχανος* II 80, *ελαχύνωτος* IV 14, *ελακμπυξ* III 15, *ισόρυθμος* Fr. 90, 2. Less obvious are or seem to be *θεμίζενος* VI 131, *κλυτόμαντις* VI 2, Fr. 129-31, 22, *ναυπρίτανις* VI 130, *οικόθετος* I 4. In line with *φιλησιμωλε* O. 14, 14 is *φιλησισιμόφανος* I 8. But the whole subject of compounds, especially from the aesthetic point of view needs much more study than has been bestowed on it. We quote at second hand Anthony Brewer's 'The learned Greek, rich in fit epithets, blest in the lovely marriage of pure words', and yet know very little about the history of these lovely marriages and what makes marriages less frequent and less blest.

Pindar being a masculine ancient does not hesitate to repeat himself even within a small compass, and this may help one in the ticklish task of restoration. 'Every writer', says Beeching, quoted by VERITY in his note on *Shakespeare's Coriolanus* V 3, 'knows the perverse facility with which a phrase once used presents itself again; and Shakespeare seems to have been not a little liable to this literary habit. It is not uncommon for him to use a word or phrase twice in a single play and never afterwards'. The modern writer trained to the quest of *ποικιλία* is apt to go over his composition and change the word or phrase sometimes for the worse, heedless of Pascal's warning: 'Quand dans un discours on trouve des mots répétés

et qu' essayant de les corriger, on les trouve si propres qu'on gâterait le discours, il les faut laisser'. Cf. Drerup, Isocr. LXXVI, and if Pindar does not hesitate to repeat within a brief compass (see Schroeder, Proleg. II 94), we may imagine that he is sublimely indifferent as to the use of words or phrases employed outside the context. Self-ravellings are the best materials for darning a text as for darning stockings. If he says V 48: *μελιγάρι* . . . *ὀμφῆ*, why should he not have said III 12: *αἰδοῖαις ἐν εὐπλε[κίσιν ὀμφῇ] μελιγάρι*, *ὀμφῇ* rather than the *φωνῇ* of the editors. Of course, the editors, who have had the advantage of Mr. BURY's help, himself a well-known Pindaric scholar (A. J. P. XI 528, XIII 385), are quite alive to the echoes, if we may call them so of the *Epinikia*, as, indeed, it was their first duty to compare these fragments with the rest of Pindar's workmanship. But one of their restorations, for which they could find no warrant in Pindar, is to my mind utterly indefensible.

The text of II 96 runs: *ὣε καλέοντι μοῦσαι [Πίνδο]ν ἀν' εὐδομον ἄμφι τε Παρ[υσσ]αῖσι | πέ[τρ]αις ὑψηλαῖς θαμὰ Δ[ελφ]ῶν | [ἐλ]κώπι[δε]ς ἱστάμεναι χορόν | [ταχύ]ποδα π[αρ]θείνοι χαλ- [κίῃ] κελαδ[εὺν]τι γλυκεῖν αὐδῇ | [νόμ]ον* with the rendering: 'The songs invoke (Apollo) on fragrant Pindus and by the lofty rocks of Parnassus the glancing-eyed maidens of Delphi set the fleet-footed dance and sing a sweet strain with resonant voice'. Biceps Parnassus, it will be noted, matches its double peak with the double sigma, of which it is reft in so many editions of Pindar. *χαλκή* grates on the editors' nerves, though they defend it after a fashion. 'χλα[], which might be read', they say, 'gives no possible word'. Ask Dr. Verrall who will doubtless elicit something from *κεχλαδῶς* (O. 9, 2). Cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 484. But why [*Πίνδο*]ν? The woods of Pindos may be fragrant. The woods of other Greek mountains are fragrant, but Pindos is so remote and [*Κρίσα*]ν so near. Krisa was the seat of the hippodrome, and so we should have both ends of Delphi represented, the race-course and the *μυχός*, for *ἀμφί*, the 'both sides' preposition (I. E. xcix) is the very preposition for the *Παρνάσσου πέτραι* of the Phaidriades. It is no valid objection against calling Krisa *εὐδομος* that there was a decree against planting trees in the plain. That decree—if such decree there was—could hardly have had its sway over the whole stretch from Itéa to Kastri, and when one rides through the olive groves, marvellous to-day for their vigor, one becomes incredulous as to the whole thing, because of Pausanias' remark that the soil may not have been suited to arboriculture (10, 37, 5: *ἢ ἔκ τινος ἀρᾶς ἢ ἀχρεῖον τὴν γῆν ἐς δένδρων τροφήν εἰδότες*). Was there no *ἄλσος* by the hippodrome, no laurel grove for the wreaths, no beds of flowers which the Greeks prized for the 'nosegays' they yielded, no *θυόεις βωμός*?

Dissidences among the interpreters we must expect, each man being fully persuaded in his own mind. So to me *καίρη καταβαίνων* II 34 is strong confirmation for my rendering of *μέτρον κατάβαινε* O. 8, 78. Comp. also VI 60: *καταβάντ(α) ἦλθον*, by the way, seems to be used in the same sense VI 9, and that assumption would simplify the interpretation of VII 13 [τ]υφλα[ι γὰρ] ἀνδρῶν φρένες | [δ]στις ἀνευθ' Ἑλικωνιάδων | βαθείαν ἐλθόντων [= τῶν ἐλθόντων = τῶν καταβάντων] ἱρεν[ῆ] σ[οφίας] ὁδόν, where the editors object to the arbitrary simplification *σοφίας ὁδόν*. *σοφίας*, the plural, might be used in the half-bad sense that is prone to attach itself to the plural of an abstract and then we should have a contrast between the favour of the Muses and the vain efforts of mere human wit—a characteristically Pindaric thought. The editors seem to incline to the interpretation of *καταβαίων* that I have advocated, but the same scholars translate *ὕψικόμεν*—'Ελένη VI 95: 'high-coiffed Helen', in which they follow Fennell on P. 4, 172: *ὕψιχαίται* (of the sons of Poseidon). There is, I must admit, a pretty touch in the conceit that Helen, who in her Spartan home once gathered her hair into the simple Laconian knot, made famous by Horace, had acquired Oriental tastes in the court of Priam and clung to the high coiffure as a *souvenir de Troie* or should we say? a *souvenir de Paris*, after she was restored to Menelaos. But after all as a daughter of the gods she was divinely tall as well as divinely fair, *καλή τε μεγάλη τε*, like her cousins, the sons of Poseidon; and if she was tall, then her hair was high and lifted up after the familiar *οἰζῶνος* pattern. See, if need be, the commentators on Soph. O. R. 846.

Pindar's pride in Aigina—one is tempted to call it pride of kindred—which is so marked a feature of the Epinikia (I. E. xix), comes out distinctly in the Sixth Paean. 'The abrupt transition (VI 123) to Aegina', say the editors, 'is in the Pindaric manner'. Like Herakles, Aigina and the Aiakidai were always near the poet. It is in this Paean that Pindar commits the offence, to which he refers in N. 7, 50 and part of VI was already known from the scholia and classified by Schroeder among the Prosodia, a venial error. The story of Neoptolemos is told in both poems and might tempt comment, but we are thinking of Aigina now. V 123 [ὄνο]μακλύτα γ' ἐνεσσι Δωριεῖ | μ[ε]δέουσα [πρό]ντφ | νᾶσος, & Διὸς Ἑλλανίου φαιεννὸν ἄστρον. *μεδέουσα* is a word we associate with divinity, and one recalls Alkaios' invocation of Hermes: *χαῖρε Κυλλάνης ὁ μέγας*; and *Δωριεὺς πόσιος* sounds like a rebuke to the pretensions of Athens who would fain have made an Attic lake of the Aegean. But this poem was written before 461, the date of the Seventh Nemean. The Eighth Olympian, the date of which is 460 'is full of prayers, but Aigina was near the point when she would be past praying for'. In VI we have another Pindaric bridal, another scene in which Pindar shows that I was not so far wrong in calling him a manner of Frauenlob (Intr. O. 9). Naughty

La Fontaine says of the sex: Ses oreilles sont chastes, Quoique ses yeux soient fripons; and we note the same delicacy of touch in VI 137 that we have in P. 9. Aigina, bride of Zeus and Kyrene, bride of Apollo, are alike treated with due reverence. 'And golden tresses of the air veiled the shaded ridge whereon was spread the bridal couch of Zeus and Aigina'. Just here, it is true, the MS breaks off as do the eighteenth century novelists, who drop the curtain with ostentatious indecency, but we may trust Pindar for the sequel at this point.

The *pannus purpureus* most frequently aired in the press is what has been called the Praise of the Simple Life. The words are put in the mouth of a Keian as the Paean (IV) is for the Keians. Would not Simonides have sufficed or even Bakchylides for the modest islanders? But the modest islanders, contrary to Pindar's own advice, *ἐπάπταινον τὰ πόρρω*, and nobody would serve their turn except the great Theban poet. But perhaps Simonides was dead, Bakchylides could not measure himself with Pindar and there seems to be a note of condescension in the tribute Pindar pays to the fame of Keos in the art of the Muses: *διαγιγνώσκομαι μὲν ἀρεταῖς ἀέθλων Ἑλλανίσιν, | διαγιγνώσκομαι δὲ καὶ Μοῖσαν παρέχων* *ἄλκας*, though Prodikos, the Keian, might have told us that *ἄλκας* is undertranslated by the editors, who render it, 'some display of the Muses' art'. But what has become of the enmity between Pindar and the Keian pair, of which so much has been made. Or are we simply to say that Pindar was courtier enough not to wound the Keians, a gentle folk and doubtless sensitive as well as gentle, for it was sensitiveness that made suicide so fashionable among them—the aged professors on the island following the plan recommended by the late Max Müller (A. J. P. XX 460)? The Praise of the Simple Life is matched by the simplicity of the metres which resemble in their movement those of the Pindaric odes, once called logaoedic and still called logaoedic by the editors, who have not the fear of the recent metricians before their eyes. That is perhaps as much as it is safe for an old fashioned man to say. Enoplians are all the rage and the verses will be scanned as enoplians, and others doubtless will emphasize the choriambic movement, and yet others will go fishing for antispasts. *ἴητε δάλιε παῖδ'.*

At various times in the history of the Journal I have made room for biographical sketches, outrunning the lines of a mere necrology. Ritschl (A. J. P. V 339–355), Whitney (XV 271–298), Curtius (XIX 121–137), have each in his turn taken the place which would otherwise have been occupied by syntactical logarithms or semasiological studies. There is a special section of the *Jahresbericht* that is given up to such memoirs and I look upon them with great favour as means of grace. If by chance a man should think more highly of himself than he ought to think, the record of those consecrated lives will shame self-conceit or

stimulate to more determined effort. And recognizing in the life that was closed with the closing year a stretch of faithful work that might serve as a lesson to the younger generation, I intended to set apart in an early number of the Journal a certain space for a memoir of THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, such as only an intimate could have furnished. But those who were nearest to him in life and work have decided otherwise, and the reader of the Journal must seek elsewhere the story of the scholar, who wrought his way without haste and without rest, without self-assertion or self-advertisement to the front rank of American Hellenists and the undisputed headship of American Homerists. This decision came after the *Brief Mention* of this number was closed and I stop the press to add a supplementary note to the tribute I have already paid. SEYMOUR was known on both sides of the water as a Homerist. Jebb, chary of compliments, acknowledged in the Preface to his Homer his indebtedness to SEYMOUR, and when I undertook to write the articles on Greek Literature in Johnson's Cyclopaedia, it was SEYMOUR that saved me from what was for me a hopeless task. The article on Homer is his. He was much else besides a Homerist, though Homerist in its full sense means almost everything; and glimpses of the range of his studies were gained by the world outside his class-room, through his occasional articles, critical and other. In the early days of his productive work he was attracted by Pindar, and when the *Select Odes of Pindar* to which I have already referred came out, the choice was so admirable and the notes so scholarly that I felt there was little room in the college world for the edition of the Olympians and Pythians, which I then had in hand. It was his generous insistence that encouraged me to keep on or else my Pindar might have been stowed away in the same *columbarium* that holds my commentaries on Xenophon's Hellenica, the Frogs of Aristophanes and the Symposium of Plato. So I became a Pindarist, after a fashion, he a Homerist of high degree, each being subdued to what he worked in; for your Pindarist is almost necessarily egotistical and your Homerist is, or ought to be, impersonal. True, attempts have been made to disengage the personality of Homer from the Homeric poems and the quest of the SEYMOUR that underlies the *Life of the Homeric Age* would be a curious and instructive problem. One thing is evident enough. He was thoroughly national, national according to the dominant type. The mere fact that the Bible stands so much in the foreground of his book is an American trait, and American is the touch of whimsicality that so often offends our kin across the sea, and SEYMOUR might have spoken of kin across the sea with better right than many of us, whose Anglo-Saxon blood is tempered by Gallic and Teutonic strains. 'My thoughts are my doxies', says Diderot, 'Mes pensées ce sont mes catins', and British propriety incarnate in Mr. HOUSMAN frowns on American metaphor and American slang (Cl. R. 1903, p. 466) in the serious business of philological exegesis and presumably philological invective. The charge of metaphor can

readily be sustained as it could be sustained even against Voltaire, but at least some of us are as much opposed to slang as was the late Mr. Pater, who is said to have found room enough for his wonderful manage in the paddock of Johnson's Dictionary.

And then SEYMOUR was American as well as Homeric in his tolerance. He was not the man to flick Buchholz, the genius of inexactitude, for assuring you that Pindar uses *σέβρος* of animals only (O. 6, 22) and for making *ἀλογος* epicene (A. J. P. XXIII 20). When he reviewed Pater's Plato he manifested nothing of the testiness that some people have shown at that eminent writer's morbid refinement of style, his lack of sinewy strength and his sovereign disregard of Greek grammar (A. J. P. XV 93). In one of the last things that SEYMOUR wrote, perhaps the last thing (Cl. Phil. III 106), a review of that delightful book, *Pour mieux connaître Homère*, instead of touching up Bréal on a minor point (A. J. P. XXVIII 210) he simply says: 'About a dozen clear cases of oscitancy might be noted but no one would urge them against Mr. Bréal's scholarship'. The healthy microbes, he seems to say, in optimistic fashion, would kill the others. Few men so critical, so well furnished for criticism by wide knowledge and sober judgment have ever shown themselves so charitable, and, in the case of every work of 'long breath' it is but fair to recall, as he did, the conditions of all human endeavour. (A. J. P. XXVIII 231). There comes a time to every maker of a book when he feels an imperative desire to drop his burden, to lay it down as Robert Louis Stevenson laid himself down 'with a will'; times when after prolonged study one feels as if one were a saturated solution. But no sooner does the fierce light of print beat upon the tome than the author is mad to rewrite it, as Gomperz has said (A. J. P. XXIII 471). Hence the small editions of German books and the cruel way in which one scholar mulcts all the other scholars for his own inadvertences. If I were hard enough, I might publish a supplementary volume of the Journal devoted solely to a record of the retractions and corrections rendered necessary by the progress of doctrine and the process of resipiscence. For my own sins I always make atonement at the earliest opportunity. It is a part of the discipline necessary to the promotion of humility, a manner of ensample to the infallible flock. But as for the others it would have been better to emulate SEYMOUR's spirit, such a spirit as seems to have animated the lamented Hauvette, of whom Théodore Reinach has said: Dans un temps qui déifie la lutte et où la haine s'insinue partout, il fut un homme de paix, un doux et un sage. There are four lines of Goethe that come back to me whenever I have been called in my long life to part with a friend forever,

Nicht in das Grab, nicht über's Grab verschwendet
Ein edler Mann der Sehnsucht hohen Werth,
Er kehrt in sich zurück und findet staunend
In seinem Busen das Verlorene wieder.

If that could only come true for all the friends of our lost scholar.

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ERRATUM.

For ἡμᾶς, p. 119, l. 32, read ἡμέας. Moral: When reading proof, think of the dialect and not of yourself.

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WHOLE No. 114.

I.—ON THE SOURCE OF BEN JONSON'S SONG,

'STILL TO BE NEAT.'

Every lover of English poetry is familiar with those famous verses of Ben Jonson,—

Still to be neat, still to be dressed,
As you were going to a feast;
Still to be powdered, still perfumed:
Lady, it is to be presumed,
Though art's hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all is not sound.

Give me a look, give me a face,
That makes simplicity a grace:
Robes loosely flowing, hair as free:
Such sweet neglect more taketh me,
Than all the adulteries of art:
They strike mine eyes but not my heart.

This song is sung by Clerimont's page in *Epicoene*, or the Silent Woman (Act I, Scene 1), which may have been published as early as 1609.¹ Since that time it has made its appearance in numerous English anthologies and more than once has received the compliment of imitation. Herrick, for example, as Gifford tells us in his note,—“has founded two or three little poems on it”

¹The earliest text extant is in the Folio of 1616. For an account of the various editions see Aurelia Henry, ‘*Epicoene*, or the Silent Woman, etc’ (Yale Studies in English, XXXI), N. Y., Holt, 1906, *Introd.*, p. 9 ff.

²This phrase of Gifford's has been repeated several times since he first wrote it, but an examination of Herrick's poems shows that the only one in any sense founded upon Jonson's lyric is the “*Delight in Disorder*”, which is

of more than usual sweetness: and, what the reader will be less prepared to hear, Flecknoe, the mythological father of Shadwell, has caught a gleam of common sense and poetry from it. The following is the conclusion of his 'Address to the Dutchess of Richmond':

'Poor beauties! whom a look, a glance,
May sometimes make seem fair by chance;
Or curious dress, or artful care,
Cause to look fairer than they are!
Give me the eyes, give me the face,
To which no art can add a grace;
And me the looks, no garb nor dress,
Can ever make more fair, or less.'

It is well known that of all the English writers who have become famous Ben Jonson is the most striking illustration of Professor Gildersleeve's remark (Introd. to Persius, p. 16) that, "in literature as in life, the greatest borrowers are often the richest men." Scene after scene in the best plays of Jonson is hardly more than a transfusion from the vast store of his multifarious reading. The same is often true of his songs, for instance, the 'Ode to Celia' and 'Drink to me only with thine eyes'. The most striking example, however, is the 'Still to be neat, still to be dressed' or as it is sometimes called, 'The Sweet Neglect.'

The first to point out the source of this song was the Rev. John Upton. In his "Remarks on three plays of Benjamin Jonson,

regularly mentioned in this connection. It may be that Gifford had in mind such lines as these,—

Be she shewing in her dresse,
Like a civill Wilderness;
That the curious may detect
Order in a sweet neglect.

The last of these lines is clearly a reminiscence of Jonson, but, otherwise, the poem in which they occur—Herrick calls it "What kind of Mistresse he would have"—has nothing whatever in common with the 'Still to be neat'. The same may be said of "Art above Nature, to Julia", and "Clothes do but cheat and cousen us", the only other pieces capable of being considered in this connection at all. In fact, the former represents quite the contrary mood and the latter is plainly an echo of Martial XI 104, 7-8,—

Fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant:
At mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet.

viz. *Volpone*, or *The Fox*: *Epicoene*, or the *Silent Woman*: and *The Alchemist*", London, Hawkins, 1749,¹ pp. 57-58, Upton says:

"This song is very happily imitated from the following poem which I found at the end of an edition of *Petronius*: the verses there printed are known to the learned by the title of *Priapeia Carmina*,

Semper munditias, semper, Basilisca, decores,
Semper compositas arte decente comas,
Et comptos semper vultus, unguentaque semper,
Omnia sollicita compta videre manu,
Non amo. Neglectim mihi se quae comit amica
Se det; et ornatus simplicitate valet.
Vincula ne cures capitis discussa soluti,
Nec ceram in faciem: mel habet illa suum.
Fingere se semper, non est confidere amori:
Quid quod saepe decor, cum prohibetur, adest?

I write these remarks without the use of a library to consult proper books; otherwise the reader should have my observations on some of the passages in this poem, which I consider faulty."

Several old editions of *Petronius* contain this epigram but it is impossible to say which one of them Upton had before him. None of those available to me contains the text as he quotes it. The nearest approach to it (e. g., in the corrupt form, '*Basilisca*' for *Basilissa*) among those I have examined is the text found in the *variorum Petronius* printed at Lyons in 1608, p. 177. However that may be, it will be seen by the most casual observer that Upton found in these distichs the source of Jonson's inspiration.

The first edition of Jonson by Peter Whalley appeared in 1756.² No previous edition of the poet's works, so far as I am aware, had been supplied with a commentary. In his note on this song (Vol. II, p. 420) Whalley says:

¹ I owe this title to my friend Professor Bright. Afterwards, I examined the copy in the British Museum and found that it had been published without the author's name. Doubtless, this is the reason why it escaped the attention of the writer of the article on Upton in the *National Dictionary of Biography*. It is the earliest and still remains one of the most important contributions to the question of Jonson's indebtedness to the Classics.

² Reprinted by Stockdale in his issue of the works of Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, London, 1811. For Whalley and his work see Gifford's Introduction (Vol. I, p. 182 ff., of Cunningham's revision of 1875) and the *Dictionary of Biography*, s. v. Whalley had himself intended to issue a revised edition of his Jonson. After his death, which occurred in 1791 or 1792, all the materials he had gathered for that purpose were passed over to Gifford by his literary executor.

"This elegant little madrigal is a very happy imitation of the following little Latin poem :

Semper munditias, semper, Basillisa, decores,
Semper compositas arte recente comas,
Et comptos semper cultus, unguentaque semper,
Omnia sollicita compta videre manu,
Non amo. Neglectim mihi se quae comit amica
Se det ; et ornatus simplicitate valet.
Vincula ne cures capitis discussa soluti,
Nec ceram in faciem : mel habet illa suum.
Fingere se semper, non est confidere amori ;
Quid quod saepe decor, cum prohibetur, adest ?

The learned may find these verses amongst those which are printed at the end of the variorum edition of Petronius. Mr. Upton imagines there are some passages faulty in this poem : I have given it as I find it in the notes of Colomesius on some passages of Quintilian, printed in his *Opuscula* :¹ he tells us, *Hi versus sic legendi sunt licet alio abeat ingeniosissimus Nicolaus Heinsius ad Ovidium, Tom. I, p. 394.*"

It will be seen that Whalley has added something to the information given by Upton and that he had made some attempt to examine the question for himself. It is quite evident, however, that his ignorance of the editions of Petronius was more extensive than he himself was aware of, otherwise, he would hardly have said that these verses were to be found 'at the end of the variorum edition of Petronius.' There were a number of variorum editions

¹ Pauli Colomesii *Opuscula*, Paris, Mabre-Cramoisy, 1668, p. 220. Commenting on Quintilian, II 5, *Inustas comas acu comentibus*, Colomesius says,—

Ejusmodi cultum jure improbat Auctor venustissimi hujus Epigrammatis. The remainder of his note is quoted by Whalley. It is, perhaps worth observing, however, that he did not give the poem exactly as he found it in the notes of Colomesius. At all events, in the edition of the *Opuscula* just mentioned, which is now before me, I find a comma after *comit* in line 5, and *Sedet* instead of *Se det* in line 6.

² Edition of 1652 ; in this and all succeeding editions of Heinsius' Ovid with commentary the epigram and his remarks upon it form a part of his note on *Ars Amat.* III 216. It is also quoted by Burmann ad loc. in his variorum edition of Ovid, Amsterdam, 1727. Referring to the verse under discussion, Heinsius says,—

Ceterum huc allusit auctor epigrammatis in *Catalectis Petronianis*, venusti sane, sed valde depravati. Adscribam illud, quomodo emendandum censeo. The text which follows is marked by two or three drastic emendations which have not received the sanction of later scholarship.

of Petronius and several of them, including the one by Burmann (2nd Ed., Amsterdam, 1743), which at this time was the latest and best, did not contain the "*Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii*", the collection of fugitive pieces in which this poem was included.

So far as I am aware, no further reference to Upton's discovery was made until the publication of Gifford's first edition of Jonson in 1816. His long note on the "Sweet Neglect", a portion of which has already been quoted, reappears without change in the revision of Gifford by Cunningham, London, Bickers, 1875, Vol. III, p. 337-338.¹

Gifford begins his note by quoting Upton's reference. His observation that Upton's *Priapeia Carmina* should be corrected to *Errones Venerii* shows that he must have taken the pains to look up the reference in some old edition of Petronius. It is to be observed, however, that the text of the Latin verses which he subjoins is the same as that which we find in Whalley and that the only other place in which Whalley's text was to be found was the *Opuscula* of Colomesius² to which Whalley himself refers in his note.

The remainder of Gifford's note so far as it bears upon the point with which we are now concerned is as follows:

"It seems from this that Upton was ignorant of the author of these verses. They were written by Jean Bonnefons (Bonnefonius) and make part of what he calls his *Pancharis*. Bonnefons was born about the middle of the 16th century at Clermont in Auvergne, where he cultivated Latin poetry with considerable success. He affected to imitate Catullus; there was one, however, whom he followed more closely, though 'he made no boast of it'; this was Johannes Secundus. Bonnefons died in 1614."

The important thing here, of course, is the statement that the author of Upton's epigram was Bonnefons. The statement is positive but I may say at once that it is entirely without foundation. It is evident that in this particular instance Gifford was unfortunately trusting to his memory and was so convinced of the accuracy of his impression that verification of it did not appear to be necessary. Five minutes with Bonnefons would have shown him his mistake. Indeed, his mistake suggests in

¹ This was the 2nd edition of Cunningham's revision. The 1st edition appeared in 1871.

² With the differences mentioned in note 5.

itself that in spite of his correction of Upton, he had paid little or no attention to the tradition of the poem in the available editions of Petronius. This alone would have been sufficient to dispel his illusion regarding its authorship.

Of course, it is by no means surprising that Gifford or, for that matter, any other commentator, should have made a mistake of this kind. The very best of memories is, at times, a mischievous trickster. It is a little surprising, however, to discover that from 1816 to 1900, a period of no less than 84 years, Gifford's statement was accepted at its face value by every person who had occasion to refer to the subject at all.¹ That such could have been the case is a tribute to the well earned fame of one who viewed even at the long range of nearly a century still looms large among the best editors of English classics. It also shows, I fear, that no commentary is as interesting to the reader nor as frequently tested by him as the writer of it would like to believe. One would have expected, however, that in spite of Gifford's note, a man as widely read in the classics as the late J. Addington Symonds would have recognized this poem at sight and could have told where it is now to be found. Nevertheless, in his volume on Ben Jonson (*English Worthies*, ed. by Andrew Lang, London, Longmans, 1886), p. 134, he says:

"Another felicitous translation, this time from the Latin verses of a French humanist, Jean Bonnefons, has found a permanent place in English anthologies. 'Still to be neat, still to be dressed' was the model for several of Herrick's terse and highly polished pieces." Further on, the epigram to Basilissa is again referred to by Symonds as the 'elegiacs of Bonnefons.'

The first one to escape from the spell of Gifford and to examine this question for himself was Mr. Percy Simpson. The results of his investigation, though not altogether successful, were the first and, so far as I know, have been the last, real contribution to our knowledge of this subject since the publication of poor old Whalley's note in 1756—the only person concerned with the history of this discussion who from that day to this, as it happens, has never once been mentioned by name. Mr. Simp-

¹ E. g., Pollard, in his edition of Herrick, London, Lawrence and Bullen, 1891, Vol. I, p. 265; Grosart, in his *Brave Translunary Things*, London, 1895, p. 159; Bullen, in his *Lyrics from the Elizabethan Dramatists*, London, 1891, p. 292, etc.

son's communication appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., VI, Sept. 29, 1900, p. 244. The substance of it is as follows :

"Jonson's well-known lyric 'Still to be neat, still to be drest', was suggested by the following mediocre piece of Latinity." Mr. Simpson then quotes the Latin epigram, following the text as printed in some one of the early editions of Petronius examined by him, and goes on to say :

"The verses first appear in some early editions of the 'Satyricon' of Petronius, and are appended to the genuine fragments of that writer. For instance, in the edition of the 'Satyricon', 'apud Linocerium', Paris, 1585, they appear in a collection headed 'Sequebantur ista, sed sine Petronii titulo'; and again in a Paris edition of 1587, which states on the title-page, 'Adiecta sunt veterum quorundam poetarum carmina non dissimilis argumenti', the pieces in question are headed 'Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii.' Gifford says of the verses quoted, 'They were written by Jean Bonnefons (Bonnefonius) and make part of what he calls his Pancharis.' Mr. A. W. Pollard, commenting on Herrick's charming adaptation of the same piece, also refers to the 'Basia' of Bonnefons, a misnomer for 'Pancharis', each poem in which is entitled 'Basium' in late editions. Bonnefons was a native of Clermont in Auvergne, and his collection of Latin amatory verse entitled 'Pancharis' was published at Paris in 1587. I have seen only the later edition of Tours, 1592. It does not contain the lyric. Neither does the collected edition of Bonnefons's verse in Gherus's (i. e., Gruter's) 'Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum', Frankfort, 1609—an omission which seems to me sufficient to discredit Bonnefons's authorship. I should be glad to know if there is authority for assigning the piece to him. It is evidently included in some MS of Petronius, but the early editions which I have cited do not specify it. In the 1592 edition of Bonnefons's 'Pancharis', at page 15, is a lyric similar in tone, which may have suggested the current attribution". The verses to which Mr. Simpson refers and with which he closes his note need not be repeated here.

This contribution of Mr. Simpson's is only one of a long and interesting series which have been appearing from time to time in the same journal ever since he and Mr. Herford began work on the new edition of Jonson for the Oxford Press. As we shall see later, two of Mr. Simpson's conclusions stated in this note need to be revised. The epigram to Basilissa is not found in any

manuscript of Petronius, and does not appear for the first time in the early editions of his works.

I find no further reference to our subject until four years later. This is by Mr. Sidney Lee and appears to have been written before he had seen Mr. Simpson's communication in *Notes and Queries*, l. c. While speaking of Bonnefons in his Introduction to the Elizabethan Sonnets, Westminster, 1904, p. 84, n. 1, Mr. Lee says:

"Ben Jonson, who expressed in conversation with Drummond great admiration for Bonnefons's poetic capacity as illustrated by his *Pervigilium Veneris*, is stated by Gifford and all succeeding editors to have literally translated in his well-known song, 'Still to be neat, still to be dressed', verses by Bonnefons beginning 'Semper munditias, semper, Basilissa, decores'. But these Latin verses, although commonly assigned to Bonnefons by English editors, are not to be met with in that poet's works. The alternative attribution of them to Petronius Arbiter by Upton, an early editor of Ben Jonson, proves equally misleading. They are quoted as a well-known composition without any author's name in Nicolaus Heinsius' edition of Ovid, 1652, II 394,¹ and in Colomesii *Opuscula*, 1668, p. 220."

Mr. Lee has the distinction here of being the first, so far as I know, to shake off completely the tradition of Gifford's dictum. He is also the first to follow up the two references in Whalley's note—one of which (the reference to Heinsius' Ovid) had evidently never been looked up even by Whalley himself—and to present them in the more exact fashion demanded by modern scholarship. In the matter of Petronius, however, he did not meet with the success of Mr. Simpson. It also seems only fair to note that he is not quite accurate in his statement of Upton's position with regard to these verses. They are not "attributed to Petronius" by Upton: Upton merely says that he "found them at the end of an edition of Petronius."

From the tenor of Mr. Lee's note, I judge that he came to Whalley only as a last resort. If he attempted to find Gifford's reference in Bonnefons he was, of course, disappointed. That he was also unsuccessful in his attempt to trace the vague reference in Upton suggests that the copies of Petronius which he consulted

¹ The Heinsius Ovid of 1652 is not available to me, but ought not this reference to be 'I, 394' as stated by Colomesius (and Whalley)? So far as I know, the *Ars Amatoria* occurs in the 1st volume of all editions of Ovid's collected works.

were of comparatively recent date. As I have already observed, the epigram to Basilissa is not always to be found even in the early editions. In the editions published since 1700 it is very rare and confined either to reprints or to such belated echoes of 17th century scholarship as the Paris edition published under the direction of Nisard in 1842. Indeed, as we shall soon be in a position to observe, the *Errones Venerii* have no excuse for appearing in any edition of Petronius published since 1759.

So far as I know, only one other discussion of our subject remains to be considered. It is to be found in Dr. Aurelia Henry's valuable dissertation, "*Epicoene, or the Silent Woman* by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary —, New York, Holt, 1906", (*Yale Studies in English*, XXXI). A discussion of the "Source of the lyric 'Still to be neat'" will be found on p. 55 ff. of her Introduction. Considering the excellence of her work as a whole it must be confessed that this particular discussion is a disappointment. Her treatment of it seems to have been somewhat perfunctory and certainly, for one who dates her preface from the British Museum the results are more meagre and non-committal than they need to have been. She begins as follows:

"In the opening scene of the comedy Clerimont's boy sings a lyric of two stanzas, modelled on the mediaeval Latin Lyric, *Simplex Munditiis*, a poem ascribed by Gifford and others to Jean Bonnefons —".

The remainder of Dr. Henry's note simply restates the gist of Mr. Simpson's article in *Notes and Queries* without comment. At the end she remarks that "the verses which served Jonson as a model are as follows", and subjoins the text of the epigram as given by Gifford. This, as we have already seen, is the text of Colomesius. It is marred by some emendations of his, which neither received nor deserved the sanction of later criticism. Owing, however, to the ill-timed activity of Whalley, it has acquired an unmerited prominence in the traditional comment on Jonson's song.

With regard to the sentence which I have quoted from Dr. Henry's discussion, it ought to be noted that the Latin poem is by no means, 'mediaeval', and that the famous Horatian phrase '*Simplex Munditiis*' is not the title of it. In fact, if I may be allowed to venture an opinion on the subject of feminine attire, it is a far cry from *simplex munditiis*, from Pyrrha's classic reserve

and simplicity in the matter of adornment, to the 'sweet neglect' which our poet commended, doubtless, without effect, to his Basilissa.

As we look back over the history of this discussion it is interesting and also somewhat surprising to discover that, in spite of the length of time it has been going on and the number of people who have been attracted by it, two important questions still remain unanswered: What has become of the poem mentioned by Upton in 1749 since it disappeared from the early editions of Petronius? Who, if any, is the author to whom it is to be ascribed?

The fact that these questions have not been answered a dozen times over during the last century and a half is a striking illustration of the extent to which the learned public—at least, in England and America—has been denying itself the pleasure and profit of reading that interesting old collection of poetry which, since Burmann's day, has been known as the *Anthologia Latina*. The transmission of this collection from antiquity and the publication of it in modern times along with other matter not deriving originally from the same source have, no doubt, contributed somewhat to the long mystification regarding the epigram to Basilissa. A word or two, therefore, upon these points will not be out of place.

The *Anthologia Latina*,¹ as we conclude from rather good internal evidence, was compiled and published in Roman Africa, probably, at Carthage, during the reign of the last Vandal kings, Thrasimund and Hilderic, 496–530, A. D. The editor is generally supposed to have been Luxorius, the most notable poet of that time. The work originally consisted of 24 books and the contents of it were epigrams and various more or less fugitive pieces dating from the first five centuries of the Christian Era, although, as a matter of course, it was the poets of the 4th and 5th centuries, above all, the editor himself and his own immediate friends and contemporaries that were most largely represented.

¹ For a more detailed account see, esp., Riese's preface to his second edition (1894) of the *Anthologia Latina*, to be mentioned later, and Teuffel-Schwabe, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1890, par. 476, with notes and references. Owing to his quite untenable theories, Baehrens' preface (PLM, Vol. IV) is far less valuable than Riese's. The section of Schanz's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* bearing on this theme has not yet been published and Marx's treatment of it is postponed until the appearance of his article on Luxorius in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

Most of the collection, in so far as it has survived, is found in the first 188 pages of the Codex Salmasianus (Paris, 10318). This manuscript, which is ascribed to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, is our best textual authority, in some cases, our only authority, for these poems. Unfortunately, however, the beginning of it as far as the 6th book of the collection has been lost, and from what remains, it is evident that the original work had already been more or less confused and abridged. The losses, however, sustained by the Salmasianus are partially made up from other sources.

The most important of the sources and, so far as we are concerned, the only source that needs to be mentioned here, is the Codex Vossianus (Q. 86, Leyden), the date of which is set at not far from the time of Charlemagne. This manuscript contains a considerable number of pieces which also come down from the old collection of Luxorius although the intervening textual tradition is not the same as that represented by the Codex Salmasianus. About 100 of these pieces are not to be found in the Salmasianus. The epigram to Basilissa which served as Jonson's model is one of that number. It was first published, along with a number of others from the same manuscript, by Jos. Scaliger in his *Publii Virgilii Maronis Appendix*, Lyons, Roville, 1572,¹ p. 208. Subsequent editions of the same book were issued at Leyden in 1595 and 1617.

It was also published by Petrus Pithoeus (Pithou) in his "*Epigrammata et Poemata vetera, quorum pleraque nunc primum ex antiquis codicibus et lapidibus, alia sparsim antehac errantia, iam undecunque collecta emendatiora eduntur*," Paris, 1590. A second edition of this work appeared at Lyons in 1596 and a third at Geneva in 1619.

Meanwhile, however, our poem, together with its fellows, had already passed over from Scaliger to the early editions of Petronius. Here, a few poems from the Vossianus not published by Scaliger were added and the entire group, under the title of '*Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii*', reappears from time to time in later editions of Petronius until the 18th century. I have myself examined such of these editions as are

¹ 1572 is the date of the copy of this edition in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania collated for me by my friend Professor Mustard, and the same is true of the copy in the British Museum which I myself examined. The date as given by Baehrens, Riese and editors generally, is 1573.

to be found in the British Museum. Some contain the *Errones Venerii*, others do not. This point, however, had already been investigated by Mr. Simpson and as it would have no especial bearing upon our discussion as it now stands, I have made no effort to secure a complete and accurate record.¹

The second period in the modern publication of these poems began with the well-known Dutch scholar, Peter Burmann (1668–1741). The first edition of his *Petronius* was published at Utrecht (*Traiecti ad Rhenum*), his native town, in 1709, the second, at Amsterdam in 1743. The *Errones* were shut out of both editions and, for the time being, were homeless. In his original preface, which also appears in the second edition published after his death, Burmann explains himself as follows:

Alterum praeterea, ne quis editionem hanc non integram putet, quod moneam, superest: nimirum omissa studio et certo iudicio esse omnia illa carmina quae vulgo Catalecta Petronii a Viris doctis appellantur, et quae plerisque editionibus subiecta leguntur. Ad hoc duae nos potissimum rationes impulerunt, cum quod nullum certum exstet argumentum, quo a Petronio quaedam ex illis conscripta esse, probari posset; tum quod nobis consilium sit, si aetatem et vires Deus dederit, singulari volumine illa non modo edere, quae publicata sunt, sed ipsa Catalecta Pithoei et Scaligeri nova accessione ineditorum epigrammatum et carminum, quorum ingentem copiam in scriniis Heinsianis repperi, locupletare, et omnia illa in certa capita, ut maiori harum elegantiarum studiosis usui esse possint, divisa edere.

¹ The "Paris edition of 1587" mentioned by Mr. Simpson appears to be the one printed "apud Mamertum Patissonium". Our poem is on p. 161 of this edition. Cp., also, the edition "cum notis Bourdelotii", Paris, 1677, p. 349. The *Frelloniana* of 1608 has already been referred to above. The text found in this edition is reprinted in the edition of M. Hadrianides, Amsterdam, 1669. Still other editions of *Petronius* containing the poem, also, some of the earlier scholars who had published emendations are mentioned by Burmann in his notes upon it. The most recent appearance of our poem in an edition of *Petronius*, so far as I have observed, is in *Pétrone, Apulée, Aulu-Gelle, œuvres complètes, avec la traduction en français, publiées sous la direction de M. Nisard*, Paris, Dubochet, 1842, p. 99. This edition, together with others belonging to the same set, afterwards passed over to the Didots and, I believe, is still for sale.

The poem is not found, for instance, in the earlier edition "apud Mamertum Patissonium", Paris, 1577, in *Binetus*, Poitiers, 1579, *Douza*, Paris, 1585, or *Gabbema*, Utrecht, 1654.

The publication of a collection like the one he describes was one of Burmann's pet projects, and he came back to it again and again for more than a generation,¹ but owing to the pressure of other duties, especially his edition of Vergil, to which the last years of his life were entirely devoted, he was never able to accomplish it. Some time before his death, however, he had passed all the materials over to his nephew and literary legatee, 'Petrus Burmannus Secundus'.

The Younger Burmann was also delayed for a number of years, first by the pressure of other duties, then, by the many special studies connected with the task itself. Finally, however, in 1759, ten years after Upton's discovery and three years after Whalley's comment upon it, he published at Amsterdam the first volume of the long belated collection. The complete title of it is as follows:

Anthologia Veterum Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum. Sive Catalecta Poetarum Latinorum in vi libros digesta. ex Mar-moribus et monumentis Inscriptionum vetustis, et Codicibus MSS eruta. primum a Josepho Scaligero, Petro Pithoeo, Frid. Lindenbrogio, Theod. Jansonio Almeloveenio, Aliisque, colligi incepta. Nunc autem ingenti ineditorum accessione locupletata, concinniore in ordinem disposita, et nonnullis Virorum Docto-rum Notis excerptis illustrata, cura Petri Burmanni Secundi, qui perpetuas Adnotationes adiecit.

It will be seen from this long-winded title, eminently character-istic of that age of bulky variorum editions, that Burmann took in odds and ends of Latin verse from the four corners of the earth. A goodly portion of his work, however, consisted of such remains of that old collection of Luxorius as still survived. All the poems, therefore, in the first 188 pages of the Codex Salmasi-anus, many of which had never before appeared in print, are to be found here. To these, in accordance with the plans enter-tained by the elder Burmann more than fifty years before, were added the collection from the Codex Vossianus known as the *Errones Venerii* or, as they are often called by the older scholars, *Catalecta Petroniana* or *Petronii*. Henceforward, the appearance of these poems in an edition of Petronius is very rare and—as, for example, in the Nisard text—may be looked upon as an

¹ E. g., in the preface of his *Poetae Latini Minores*, Leyden, 1731, and in his note on the Epithalam, Honor. et Mariae, 112 (published by his nephew in the edition of Claudian appearing at Amsterdam in 1760).

anachronism which casts a certain amount of suspicion on the scholarship of the editor.

The reference to the epigram to Basilissa in Burmann is Book III, No. 199 (Vol. I, p. 636). It is followed by two other poems, one in distichs and one in Phalaecian hendecasyllables, addressed to the same girl.

Burmann's collection, the second volume of which did not appear until 1774, was revised by H. Meyer and published again at Leipzig in 1835. In this edition the poems are numbered continuously. The epigram to Basilissa is No. 971.

Modern investigation of this collection may be said to have begun with Alexander Riese. The first edition of his '*Anthologia Latina, sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum, Pars Prior; Carmina in codicibus scripta*', 2 vols., Leipzig, Teubner, appeared in 1869. The second edition, considerably revised and somewhat improved, appeared in 1894. The poems in both of these editions are numbered consecutively as in Meyer. The epigram to Basilissa is No. 458.

Riese has wisely avoided the modern distribution of the material as adopted, for example, by Burmann, and has attempted, by preserving the order of poems as found in the manuscripts, etc., to give as complete a picture as possible of the old collection of Luxorius in its original form. In his preface, however, of 1869, he called attention to the fact that Burmann's title of *Anthologia* was his own invention and that it is really a misnomer as well as without any traditional authority, for though the old work of Luxorius probably included material from earlier anthologies it was nevertheless, a collection, not an anthology in the sense, for example, of the *Anthologia Palatina*. Hence, while Burmann's title of *Anthologia* is still retained and while the poems in the *Codex Salmasianus* and the other remains of the Luxorius collection still form the kernel of the work, modern editors have not scrupled to make the *Anthologia Latina* a sort of House of Refuge not only for the various waifs and strays of Latin literature but also for those groups of poems which are so small that they are in danger of being unable to propagate themselves in separate editions. For example, the second part of the *Anthologia Latina* containing the invaluable *Carmina Epigraphica* edited by Buecheler appeared in 1895-1897. To these should be added the *Anthologiae Latinae Supplementa*, one volume of which—*Damasi*

Epigrammata, accedunt Pseudodamasiana, etc., ed. by M. Ihm—was published by Teubner in 1895.

Finally, one other edition of the first part of the *Anthologia Latina* was published by E. Baehrens in Vols. IV and V of his *Poetae Latini Minores*, Teubner, 1885.¹ The book is much injured and the preface rendered practically worthless by Baehrens' utterly unfounded and untenable theories regarding the origin, publication, contents and arrangement of the original collection. The text, too, like many others which were subjected to his strenuous and high-handed methods, is woefully scarred and mutilated by his inveterate habit of emendation, sometimes successful, but often tasteless or inconsidered and oftener still, quite unnecessary. For example, in his text of the epigram to Basilissa (IV, p. 83, No. 68), a poem of only ten lines, we find no less than four drastic emendations for which the only authority cited in the critical notes is his own characteristic "scripsi". He also suggests two more emendations as probable and in at least one case, adopts the conjecture of an earlier editor (*vultus* for *cultus* in line 3) where it seems to me that the reading of the Vossianus might better be left as it stands.

The latest text of our poem as printed in Riese's second edition of 1894 is as follows. It differs considerably from the earlier text of 1869 and the changes, which it seems to me, are not always for the better, are largely due to the influence of Baehrens:

Semper munditias, semper, Basilissa, decores,
Semper dispositas arte decente comas
Et comptos semper vultus unguentaque semper,
Omnia sollicita culta videre manu,
Non amo; neglectam, mihi se quae comit amica,
Se det: inornata simplicitate valet.
Vincula nec curet capitis discussa soluti
Nec decoret faciem: mel habet illa suum.
Fingere se semper non est confidere amori.
Quid, quod saepe decor, cum prohibetur, adest?

When Scaliger first published this poem in 1572 he gave it the title of "In Munditias", and this was generally used, if any title was used at all, until Riese's time. The title given to it in the Vossianus is "Interdum et neglectam formi luci", the last two words of which are evidently corrupt. Riese gives it as "Inter-

¹ A new edition of the *Poetae Latini Minores* by G. Curcio is now in process of publication.

dum et neglectam formam placere", and in his critical note suggests *decere* instead of *placere*. Baehrens has "*Interdum et neglectam formam valere*". None of these emendations is very satisfactory.

The question of authorship is even more troublesome. It is probable that the imperfections of the *Codex Vossianus* are largely if not entirely to blame for this situation. In the original collection of *Luxorius* each piece was evidently accompanied by a statement regarding its authorship and for the most part this rule is still faithfully adhered to by the *Salmasianus*. The epigrams to *Basilissa* could hardly have been an exception to this rule and if they had come down to us by way of the *Salmasianus* we should probably be better informed with regard to their authorship than we are now and also be in possession of a better text. As I have already had occasion to observe, however, the only surviving authority for these poems is the *Codex Vossianus* and, unfortunately, this manuscript was written by an unusually stupid and careless scribe and in all but a few unimportant instances, the names of the authors were omitted. The result is not only that the text of the *Basilissa* group is corrupt and the author unknown but that in both questions our only resource is conjecture.

Conjecture as to text has been busy and more or less successful since Scaliger's time, and here, of course, one may proceed on the basis of a certain modicum of reasonable probability. Conjecture as to authorship is far less profitable. Indeed, it seems utterly futile to guess at the authorship of a nameless poem which comes down to us merely as one of a large group, undoubtedly by a variety of authors and all equally nameless. It may be observed, however, that the editor of the *Nisard Petronius*, Paris, 1842—nearly a century after the appearance of the first volume of *Burmann's Anthologia* and at least seven years after Meyer had issued his revision of it—includes this and all the rest of the *Errones Venerii* among the "*Fragments Poétiques de Pétrone*", and in his "*Notice sur Pétrone*", p. 5, cheerfully refers to them as "*Les petites pièces de vers, véritable anthologie latine, qui suivent le Satyricon, et qui en faisaient partie quand l'ouvrage était intact*". Doubtless, this opinion was advanced by some of the older scholars and he may have derived it from them either directly or, which is more likely, by way of his principal book of reference, the *variorum* edition of *Petronius* published by C. G.

Anton in 1781.¹ However that may be, the theory of Petronian authorship is so utterly without foundation that I have made no effort to follow it up, at least, in this connection.

Mention might also be made of a theory advanced by Baehrens. Baehrens ascribes poems 1 to 73 in his own peculiar arrangement of the *Anthologia Latina*—the epigram to Basilissa is No. 68—to no less a person than Seneca the Philosopher. For his discussion of the subject see his *PLM*, Vol. IV, *præfat.*, p. 33 ff., with references. The theory is attractive because it purports to offer us something certain in the midst of uncertainty. But as Riese remarks in his discussion of it (I, p. 31),—*Haec Baehrensium non probavit, sed posuit; charta enim, ut aiunt, patitur omnia.*

The old title of *Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii* is in itself an indication that the early editors of Petronius—and Riese has followed their example—were wise enough to be uncertain. Indeed, in this as well as in all other questions the

¹ Anton's edition is not available to me. The title of it as given by Engelman is, "— ex Recensione Pet. Burmanni passim refacta cum supplementis Nodotianis et fragmentis Petronianis. Notas crit. histor. et glossarium addidit —. Accedunt Petronii fragmenta, Priapeia, etc".

In his "Notice sur Pétrone", p. 5, the editor (Baillard?) of the Nisard text says:

A l'exception d'un certain nombre de leçons différentes, mais toujours déduites ou appuyées d'autorités manuscrites, nous avons suivi, pour le texte latin, l'excellente édition allemande de Conr. Gottlob Anton (Leipsick, 1 vol. in-8°, 1781), que les plus récents traducteurs français ne paraissent pas avoir connue, et qui résume, en y ajoutant de nouvelles lumières, les commentaires de la dernière édition Burmann —".

From the tenor of this passage one might almost suspect that Baillard knew so little of Burmann's Petronius that he supposed it to contain the *Errones Venerii*.

His translation of the poem itself, however, is by no means bad. As it is the only one which I have, so far happened to meet with, I quote it here for the benefit of those readers of the *Journal* who may be interested in the matter:

Quoi ! toujours en toilette et toujours élégante,
Toujours tes blonds cheveux bouclés coquettement ;
Toujours fard et pommade, et maint ajustement
Qu'un art profond combine et pour toi seule invente
Ah ! je hais tout cela ! je veux une beauté
Qui brille d'abandon et de simplicité.
Ses cheveux n'ont point peur du souffle de Zéphyre
Elle offre, au lieu de fard, le miel de son sourire.
Tes apprêts, tes calculs font injure à l'amour ;
Et l'on plaît d'autant mieux que l'on plaît sans atour.

investigator will do well to agree with a once famous humorist that "It is better to know a little than to know so much that isn't so".

In default of an author for these three poems, the next point to be considered is the possible or probable date of their composition. Of course, we may agree with Riese and every one else that they cannot be later than the beginning of the 6th century, the date of the compilation of Luxorius in which they must have appeared. This view is also supported by their character and composition. We might be able to find such epigrams as these in the Renaissance, but I doubt very much the possibility of finding them between the 6th century, and the date of the manuscript in which these poems are actually found.

To establish anything more definite in the way of a date is a task of unusual difficulty. To begin with, the only evidence available is to be found in the poems themselves. Under such circumstances, the most valuable evidence would be some specific allusion or turn of thought more or less indicative of the writer's period. It is impossible to find anything of the sort here. To be sure, the sentiments and their expression are all purely pagan. From this point of view, there is nothing whatever to indicate that Rome was not still in the first or second century of the Empire. A glance, however, at the epigrams of Ausonius or even at those of Luxorius will show that this is not necessarily due to anything more than the conservative influence of a great literary type and, therefore, cannot be absolutely trusted as a criterion of period.

An appeal to the theme is also fruitless, and for the same reasons. The theme is characteristic of the New Comedy as well as of the Alexandrian Elegy, above all, of the Alexandrian Epigram. For example, the theme of our epigram to Basilissa which, to quote Jonson's phrase, is the 'Sweet Neglect', might be termed a variation of the thought expanded by Propertius in one of his best known elegies (I 2). The theme of Propertius, to quote another phrase of Jonson's, is the 'Adulteries of Art', or, as he himself puts it,—

Nudus Amor formae non amat artificem.

Neither the theme,¹ however, nor the fact that, despite a defective

¹ Somewhat interesting in this connection because it appears to be a long rhetorical amplification by some late writer of our epigram or at least, of the

textual tradition, the language and technique are in conformity with classical standards, is in itself a proof that our poem belongs to a comparatively early period. It is a commonplace of literary history that the Alexandrian type of epigram, as in the pieces now before us, outlived both the Elegy and the Comedy for generations and was echoed and re-echoed with astonishing fidelity and success, both in Latin and in Greek, down to the very end of antiquity. In fact, among the Romans, the secret of writing a good epigram was retained until long after their grasp upon every other form of literary art had begun to weaken.

Our last resort is Basilissa herself. The girl was either a freed-woman or belonged in the same rank of life, for, aside from the well-known fact that the antique poet regularly addressed his amatory verses to women of that class, the name itself is significant. Basilissa is obviously one of those Greek fancy names so often given to slave-girls. After manumission, these names were often retained as cognomina. Often, too, they were acquired or assumed as noms de guerre by hetaerae, mimae, etc., all of whom were nominally if not actually libertinae. The extension of such names in later times was, of course, encouraged not only by the mixture of races but by the levelling down process which was an inevitable result of the Imperial regime. To the very end, how-

theme of it, is an elegy (Burm. Anth., III 275; Meyer, 262; Wernsdorf, PLM, III, p. 227; Lemaire, PLM, II, pp. 193 and 272; Baehrens, PLM, V, p. 391) which, according to Baehrens' note, ad loc., was first published from a manuscript now unknown in the second Patisson edition of Petronius, Paris, 1587, p. 167. It was afterwards discovered in the Codex Remensis 743, saec. xv, which contains along with a few ancient poems a great many others either mediaeval or of more recent date. See Ellis, in the Eng. Jour. of Phil. IX, p. 186 ff. Baehrens thinks that Patisson's manuscript was a good one and is perhaps, right in his belief that this poem belongs to late antiquity rather than to the Middle Ages. The elegy begins as follows:

Parce, precor, virgo, toties mihi culta videri
 Meque tuum forma perdere parce tua.
 Parce supervacuo cultu componere membra:
 Augeri studio tam bona forma nequit.
 Ne tibi sit tanto caput et coma pexa labore,
 Et caput hoc bellum est, et coma mixta placet.
 Ne stringant rutilos tibi serica vincla capillos,
 Cum vincant rutilae serica vincla comae.
 Nec tibi multiplicem crines revocentur in orbem,
 Inculti crines absque labore placent, etc.

ever, they remained characteristic of the lower classes. Basilissa, therefore, whether she was once a girl of flesh and blood—and paint—or, like so many of Horace's facile Hellenic damsels of syllabled air, a figment of the writer's imagination, possessed a name characteristic of the libertinae and, consequently, of that echo of the Alexandrian erotic epigram in which she appears.

Strange to say, however, Basilissa as the name of a woman, though it may have been common enough in the actual life of antiquity, is of very rare occurrence in our surviving record of it. Not a single example of this name appears to occur in any of the Greek inscriptions so far discovered and the only cases for the literature cited by Pape are found in two epitaphs (Anth. Pal. VIII, 150 and 154) on friends and relatives by Gregory of Nazianzus (330-390 A. D.). This, of course, does not include the late patristic writers.

The references for Roman literature and inscriptions will be found in the new Thesaurus, s. v. I find no further examples in the Roman inscriptions published since 1900.

The literary references, besides the ones now before us are,—Codex Iustin., II 4, 37; IV 29, 14; V 12, 14; Venantius Fortunatus, Carm., VIII 3, 35; Martyrologium Hieronymi, iv and iii Id. Mart., xi Kal. Dec. (?) and viii Id. Ian. The passages in the Cod. Iustin. are decisions handed down to a certain Basilissa, at Nicomedia, Byzantium and Philippopolis respectively, the first two in 294 and the third in 293 A. D. Doubtless, the same Basilissa is meant in all three cases, otherwise, we must suppose either that the name was incredibly common or that the owners of it had developed an astonishing taste for litigation at this particular time.

The same may be said of two references to a Basilissa in the Martyrologium Hieron. Under the iv Id. Mart. we read of the martyrdom 'In Alexandria ——— Eustasii Presbyteri, Basilissae uxoris eius'. Under the iii Id. Mart. which is just below, we also read of the martyrdom 'In Nicomedia Eustasii Presbyteri et Basilissae uxoris eius'. If this is not a scribal error of a very common sort, we are forced to confess that, in addition to their taste for litigation, the Basilissae of this time had also developed an astonishing fondness for presbyters by the name of Eustasius as well as a willingness to suffer with them for the faith.

Further down in the notice just quoted we have, 'Patyfrigiae, item Basilissae, ———'.

One Basilissa was more famous than any of her fellows although she herself would be the last to claim that she could be more deserving of it than those other humble and yet heroic souls that never blenched before fire and steel for the sake of the principles they professed. This is Basilissa¹ the wife of Julian, the famous patron saint of hospitality. They suffered martyrdom together on the viii Kal. Ian. not far from the year 310. Basilissa was also canonized and the fact that to this day in Russia, one of the most common and characteristic names for a girl is Vasilissa speaks eloquently for the endurance of her fame. Of the numerous references to this Basilissa in the later Church Fathers it is, of course, unnecessary to speak.

Turning back now to the Latin inscriptions, we find no less than six in which the name of Basilissa is mentioned. Two are Roman (CIL. VI 2, 14043, BASILISSAE L; VI 3, 22457, OMIDIA BASILISSA), one is from Corfinium (IX 3237, IULIA BASILISSA), one from Cheyssieu (XII 2181, THAEODOTIA BASILISSA), one from Iglitz in the old province of Moesia Inferior (III 7501 and 7505, MARCIA BASILISSA), and one from Dalmatia (BASILISSAE III 2246).

Five of these inscriptions may be safely placed somewhere between the 3rd and 5th centuries. The remaining one, however (CIL. III 7501 and 7505), contains the definite date of 145 A. D.

It will thus be seen that while the most of our testimony points to the fact that the name of our light o' love must have been rather common among the lower classes at the beginning of the 4th century, we have at least one inscription of definite date to show that it may have been quite as common at a much earlier period. In other words, this name, which was the last scrap of internal evidence at our command, is of no more value in determining the time at which these epigrams were composed than the questions of language, technique, theme and mental attitude which we have previously considered.

It has already been observed that the majority of the pieces collected by Luxorius belong to a period comparatively near his own. The chances are, therefore, numerically in favor of assuming

¹See S. Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, London, Hodges, 1872, January, p. 121 ff.; Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* VIII 3, 25 ff.; Andradus Medicus, *Passiones Beatorum Iuliani et Sociorum eius*, 'Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini', 1896, Vol. III, p. 90.

a late date for the epigram to Basilissa. In that case, the marked superiority of the epigram itself—*venustum sane, sed valde depravatum*, says Heinsius, who was an excellent judge—in so far, would favor the assumption that it was composed during or near the latter half of the 4th century. To this period belong Claudian, Rutilius Namatianus and Symmachus, the leaders of the last notable Pagan renaissance of Roman culture. Indeed, as it was during this very period that the Greek poets had again turned their attention to the epigram, we might even suppose that our poem was originally suggested by some long lost example of the type which is still abundantly represented in the 5th book of the *Anthologia Palatina*.

On the other hand, it may be urged with equal propriety that the criterion of mere numerical superiority is as uncertain in philology as it is in a game of chance, that possibility is not to be confounded with probability, much less, with proof, that the very fact of Basilissa being such a commonplace name in the 4th century in itself suggests that this epigram belongs to an earlier date. Until further proof is available, we must, therefore, content ourselves with the following statement:

The Latin poem from which Ben Jonson derived his song, 'Still to be neat, still to be dressed', is an echo, more remotely, of the Alexandrian erotic epigram, more nearly, of the type perfected by Martial. The name of the author has been lost, but the date of composition may be placed somewhere between the 2nd and the 5th century of our era. At or near the end of the 5th century, it doubtless appeared in a large miscellaneous collection of verse, in all probability, made by the poet Luxorius and published by him at Carthage. From a later edition of this work and by some unknown path upon which the text was more or less corrupted and the name of the author omitted, it wandered into the *Codex Vossianus*, Q 86, a manuscript of the 9th century and, as it happens, the only one in which it has survived.

The first appearance of it in print was in Scaliger's *P. Virgilii Maronis Appendix*, published in 1572. Soon afterwards it appeared in the editions of Petronius.

Jonson himself must have seen it either in Scaliger, Pithou's collection of 1590, or some edition of Petronius published before 1609. If it had not been for the deplorable loss of his library by fire we might be able not only to examine the particular copy which he himself owned and read but also to throw light upon

the composition of his song by some of his own marginal notes upon the original of it.

In 1759 the epigram to Basilissa passed into Burmann's *Anthologia*. The basis of this work and of all subsequent revisions of it is the old collection of Luxorius in so far as it has survived.

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II.—THE ANCIENT RELIGIONS IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Of the many important fields which border on the domain of ancient life and literature, none has recently yielded to explorers ideas of more consequence to the liberation and progress of thought, or is at present richer with promise, than the field of the religions of the Mediterranean nations. Themselves the embodiment of the religious experience of mankind gained through ages of history, the faiths of Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome in turn gave place to and entered into the composition of Christianity, which has since girdled the globe and seems destined to become the world-religion; and consequently every detail of their nature and history has a direct and vital bearing upon the civilization of the modern world.

On the other hand, no outlying territory of classical antiquity has been traversed by explorers fewer in number, or more tardily mapped out by competent cartographers for the benefit of the rank and file of travellers. With the Greek and Latin classics so thoroughly searched that the lay mind is in some measure justified in regarding them exhausted as a field of study; with the political, social, military, and constitutional phases of antiquity more or less lucidly set forth in numerous textbooks on ancient history taught in our schools; with ancient art so well written of that he who runs may read; with the private life of the ancients taught in course; with archaeology making strides so rapidly as to force the frequent rewriting of the records of antiquity—with all this, the history, the nature, and the effect upon civilization of the ancient faiths are so far from being in the possession of the world at large that up to very recent years not a single cult of antiquity had been treated in a manner which showed its significance in universal history, or even made its *raison d'être* comprehensible to the average mind among students of antiquity themselves; and even now, appreciation of the subject of ancient religion is limited to the few, and only the pioneer work has been done.

For what has until recently passed under the name of the study of religion has been for the most part the study of religious

mythology—the collation and attempted interpretation of that part of the tales of antiquity which centers about the gods and their cults. I say attempted, for the speculations of the erudite as to the definite origin and inner meaning of the ancient myths have “found no end, in wandering mazes lost.”

But this, useful as it has been, is not really the study of religion. Mythology is the result of man's attempt to explain why certain cult practices existed, and was so far from being an official product of religion that its tales were the invention of people rather than priest; but the cults themselves were in existence before myths came into being, and constituted the reality of religion. The location and structure of sanctuaries, the peculiar ceremonies employed in worship, the faith in the flowing of this or that consequence from ceremony and conduct, the worshipper's conception of the relation subsisting between himself and deity—these constitute the real subjects of study in the field of religion, and it is to these that scholarship is now turning. The tradition and interpretation of myth are but the dry husks; the kernel is the point of view of the worshipper, and the conduct to which it leads him.

That scholarship has been tardy in arriving at this intimate study of ancient religion is due to causes which are entirely natural. First of all, there has been until comparatively recent times a deficiency of material. Language and literature alone may afford a basis for the study of myth, but as sources of knowledge regarding actual religious practices and the effect of religion upon life they are comparatively inadequate; the development of the science of archaeology was requisite before the most abundant and most important evidence was fully available—temple remains, sculptural representation, and inscriptions; and it is only within the past few decades that archaeology has finally completed its long evolution from the sporadic and spasmodic occupation of the treasure-seeker, curio-hunter, and dilettante to an activity of severely scientific character.

In the second place, something of the conservatism which characterizes religion itself has been reflected upon the study of it whenever the relations between paganism and the origin and early history of Christianity were under consideration. Such conservatism, not to say prejudice, may belong to the individual, whose preconceptions obscure for him the bearing of ancient religion—for in no subject is prejudice more insidious; and it

may also belong to society at large and reinforce that of the individual. In many countries up to comparatively recent times it would have been an invidious task to publish anything which could be even remotely suspected of detracting from the credit of Christianity and the Church. The pulpit has always been so in the habit, naturally and pardonably, of presenting the ideal aspect of Christianity and magnifying its goodness by holding up in contrast to it the blackest realities of paganism that it has viewed, and still views, with a certain dissatisfaction, if not resentment, any presentation of ancient conditions which displays pagan religion in a favorable light; and to understand intimately the faith of pagan antiquity, or of any other time or people, is to think less harshly of it; for there is no faith which does not rest upon universal qualities of human nature. Indeed the time has not long passed when zealous theologians credited pagan society with no original good, and saw in whatever of its virtues they discerned only a proof that in some mysterious way the ideals of Hebrew literature had partially possessed themselves of the Greeks and Romans. In the good qualities of Egyptian society were seen survivals of the perfect civilization of its Asiatic ancestors before the Fall, and its strange gods were regarded as the debased tradition of original divinely revealed perfect knowledge of deity. Greek mythology was only a corruption of Bible truth. "Since many of the fables", says the introduction to Brooks' Ovid (1848), "are corrupt traditions of Scriptural truths, I have traced them back to the great fount of purity, the Biblical record The introductory part of the work, describing Chaos, the Creation, the deterioration of morals, and the Flood, are in striking accordance with the Biblical record, so that we can hardly persuade ourselves that the author was unacquainted with the sacred writings of the Hebrews."

The result of such preconceptions as these has been that most study of the pre-Christian religions has been and still is limited to the conventional and superficial, concerning itself with cult myths and such rites as for their strangeness and grossness win easy attention, but making little attempt to discover behind the veil of outward practice anything that should savor of spirituality.

But even were evidence more abundant, and conservatism less deterrent, there are other reasons, principally concerned with the individual scholar, why the study of ancient religion has been tardy in its progress. The subject of religion is not one whose meaning

lies on the surface; it has difficulties which are inherent, and which can be overcome only by the scholar of rare qualifications. Nothing is so apparent in the average student of the classics or ancient history, not to say instructor, as the lack of definite points of view regarding the religion of classical civilization. Just as humor is the last quality of a foreign language to be detected and appreciated, so the religious life of a civilization is its last component part to be comprehended.

There is little in this that need cause surprise if we stop to consider that few persons could render to an adherent of another faith an intelligible account of the religion of their own time or even of their own choice. "What you actually believed", writes Andrew Lang to Horace, "we know not, *you* knew not. Who knows what he believes"? There is nothing so elusive as the understanding of religion; let him who does not realize the fact attempt to define it. To one, religion consists in obedience to certain prescriptions; another thinks of it as an attitude, and despises all form. To one, it is "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world"; to another, religion is unrelated to ethics. Matthew Arnold sees in it "morality touched with emotion"; to Professor Santayana, "religion is poetry become the guide of life, poetry substituted for science or supervening upon it as an approach to the highest reality"; an unsophisticated child (I quote Grant Allen) would define it as "saying your prayers, and reading your Bible, and singing hymns, and going to church or to chapel on Sundays"; while an Italian peasant would say it was "offering up candles and prayers to the Madonna, attending Mass, and remembering the Saints on every festa."

And yet it is plain that the ideal scholar in religion must understand the religion of his own time if he is to be able to appreciate religion in general, and especially that of antiquity. He must also be able to lift himself out of his own mental habit and to accommodate himself in imagination to the environment, both physical and intellectual, of another time and people; and he must be so open-minded as not to allow his own prejudice to color his judgment of the religious conditions of antiquity.

All this requires a broad and mature mind; but it calls for still another qualification which is even more rare. The successful interpreter of ancient religious life must be sympathetic. He must possess so much of the spirit of kindness and tolerance as

habitually to be disposed to search for reasonable explanations of whatever that is gross and barbarous he may find in ancient religious practice, and must be so much a student of human nature as to be able to discover the motives which lie behind the actions of man in his rudest state. No one who is accustomed to sneer at ignorance and superstition, or to think that his own time or his own sect possesses all truth, or fails to realize that the superstitions of today were the religions of yesterday, will be qualified for a successful study of the ancient faiths.

But the gap between modern times and Saturn's reign is a wide one, and the connection of the surviving fragments of evidence regarding antiquity so imperfectly apparent that the student of them must add intuition to his sympathy. He must see and understand the evidence which is present, and yet have a vision of evidence which is not seen. On the other hand, intuition is a dangerous gift, and with it must go a patience and industry which are untiring, and which will refuse to give too free a rein to it. For the erudition of the successful investigator and interpreter must be enormous. He must know the classical literatures and epigraphy, be familiar with the monuments which are scattered over Europe both in museums and on sites, be conversant with the vast literature of mythological and religious investigation, and possess an intimate acquaintance with all phases of ancient life.

With a requisite of temperamental and intellectual qualities such as the foregoing, it is not strange that efficient interpreters of the ancient faiths have been both slow to appear and few in number. It is not to be wondered at, too, that American scholarship concerns itself so little with this field of investigation. The absence of monuments, the comparative immaturity of scholars and the lack of traditions, something of impatience to get to the end of tasks, much more impatience toward all that seems unreasonable or superstitious, a certain prejudice against all but the simplest forms of worship—are all obstacles to the sympathetic study of ancient religion which are especially characteristic of a country in which civilization is young, conventions few, and activity feverish. It is only natural that Europe has taken the lead in the study and publication of evidence which exists almost exclusively within her borders, and that English, German, and French scholars have been the chief contributors. The failure of Italy to manifest special interest in ancient religious conditions is perhaps due, among other causes, to the fact that whatever religious discussion

her citizens engage in centers almost entirely about the question of the standing of the Church and its head in the politics of the kingdom.

Of the three nationalities which have put forth the greatest effort, each displays special interest in and adaptability to a particular field, though effort has not been limited to it in any case. Among English scholars the main interest has been rather in the origin of religion than in particular phases of the religious history of Mediterranean antiquity, and it is due to them principally that the anthropological method has attained to such prominence. The services of Germany, while extended in every direction, have consisted especially in the patient gathering and ordering of the vast amount of material which now forms the basis of every effort at interpretation. The most striking contributions of French scholarship—and here, for convenience, may be included the Belgian Franz Cumont, of the University of Ghent—have been in the interpretation of ancient religious phenomena, especially as related to the oriental cults at Rome, and in the presentation to the world of an account of them which is not only welcomed by specialists, but at the same time so illuminating and assimilable that it enters into the conception of universal religious history formed by the wider circle of educated people.

The enumeration of some of the more important contributions of the past few decades will serve to define more clearly the present status and trend of the study of ancient religion.¹ Among works which have had to do with the assembling of facts and the laying of the foundations for all attempts at appreciation are to be mentioned the monumental Roschers *Lexicon*, a mine of mechanically presented detail now in process twenty-four years, and still uncompleted; Stengel's *Kultusaltertümer* (1898), a treatment of cult forms in Greek religion; Gruppe's recent unwieldy work on *Griechische Religion und Mythologie*, too indiscriminately packed with erudition to be of the greatest service; Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* (1895-1907, still incomplete); Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902), a thorough and conservative presentation of Roman religion comprising in large part the superseded Marquardt's *Religion der Römer* together with the results of the latest investigation; Aust's

¹A detailed report, by L. Bloch, upon the progress of scholarship, principally German, in this field may be found in the supplement to *Bursians Jahresbericht* (1905).

Religion der Römer (1899), a limited presentation of Wissowa's content which also served as a forerunner of that author's work; Warde-Fowler's Roman Festivals (1899), a useful manual on the religious observances of the Republic; and Carter's Religion of Numa and Other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome (1906), an attractive work of historical nature by an American scholar.

Among works on individual cults may be mentioned Foucart's *Les grands Mystères d'Eleusis* (1900), made possible by the excavation of the Eleusinian precinct; the same scholar's *Le culte de Dionysos* (1904); Showerman's *The Great Mother of the Gods* (1901), an American dissertation, tracing the history of a single cult, that of Cybele, from its inception in Asia to the fall of paganism in 394 A. D.; Hepding's *Attis, Seine Mythen und sein Kult* (1904), a like treatment of the companion deity of the Great Mother; and, immeasurably more important than any of these, Franz Cumont's *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (1896-9), the only really exhaustive work on a single pagan cult which has yet appeared. Cumont's *Conclusions*, separated from the whole work, have been translated into English (1903), and form a most enlightening volume for the general reader.

Lastly, as an index of the attempts of scholarship to interpret particular phases of religious development, may be noticed here Rohde's *Psyche* (1898) on the ancient belief in immortality of the soul; Reville's *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères* (1886); Lafaye's *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte* (1884), a sympathetic treatment of the Egyptian cults; and, closely allied to the foregoing in purpose, and comprising their conclusions with those of others on the subject of the oriental religions, Cumont's *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (1907), eight lectures delivered before the *Collège de France* and at Oxford, summing up the results of the study of the oriental religions in their relation to universal religious history.

If we add to the foregoing list the works of the anthropological school in England, most of which deal more or less with the Mediterranean religions: Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1873), a pioneer work of great influence upon subsequent study; Lang's *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1887), and other publications of the same author; Jevons' admirably written *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896), the most serviceable book for the general reader; Robertson-Smith's *Religion of the Semites*

(1894); Grant Allen's *The Evolution of the Idea of God* (1901); Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1900), and Adonis, Attis, Osiris (1906), we shall have indicated at least the general character of recent scholarly activity in the study of ancient religion.

Out of these activities have sprung results of four kinds: first, a great mass of material to be drawn upon by future investigators; second, a well-ordered outline of the history of paganism at Rome; third, a few accounts, most of them inadequate, of individual cults; and fourth, certain conclusions of importance regarding the significance of the ancient faiths in history. It is to be noted that on the whole, in spite of the comparative fewness of monuments, Roman religion yields to historical treatment with greater facility than Greek religion, and that its place in history is more easily seen—facts due to Rome's character as the great systematizer of the ancient world.

Of the four results above mentioned, the last is possessed of the greatest value—naturally, for it is the fruitage of all the others. We are richer by far than we were a score of years ago in resources which enable us to appreciate the significance of both the religion of today and that of antiquity, and to judge with intelligence of the religion of the future.

In the first place, few longer seriously question the validity of the anthropological method. Whether we see in animism the beginning of all religious belief, or take the worship of the spirits of the departed as the germ from which the conception of God was evolved, or believe with Usener that the first step was a sense, not of *the* infinite, but of *something* infinite, we arrive at the same conclusion: religion is the product of evolution, and had its beginnings in savagery—"the Gods were the invention of wild and bestial folk, who, long before cities were builded or life was honorably ordained, fashioned forth evil spirits in their own savage likeness; ay, or in the likeness of the beasts that perish". There are not many now who will attribute the accidental grossnesses of ancient religions rather to forgetfulness of originally perfect knowledge and to decadence than to the survival of savage customs from a primitive day. The tendency is rather toward the view, expressed by Grant Allen, that "the world has never really had more than one religion—'of many names, a single central shape'"—nor is there much likelihood of future generations hearing a pagan religion denominated by a historian as "a blasphemous anticipatory parody of Christianity", or the sacramental

meal of a savage race called "a satanic imitation of the Communion."

Again, the nature of the relation between religion and mythology has been clearly defined. Works on Greek and Roman mythology are no longer regarded as affording a basis for the study of religion, nor is comparative philology and what it has to say of the likenesses between Vedic and Greek myth-names looked to for a solution of questions concerning the origin of Greek gods. Mythology is not theology, nor had it to do in the least with actual religious practice, though it may accidentally communicate some truth regarding a cult. Mythology is merely story-telling, and originated long after the practices were begun to which it was the attempt to give a local habitation and a name. Obligation to believe it there was none; its tales formed no canon, and might be varied *ad libitum* by poet, priest, or worshipper; and if the truth could be known, it would doubtless be found that the priest least of all was responsible for their creation. Orthodoxy did not have its ground in belief, but in religious practice; creeds as such did not exist, and the individual was orthodox who performed his duties before deity without omission. Hence the comparative absence in antiquity of congregational gatherings and preaching.

But if dogma was at the minimum, there was no laxity regarding cult practice. Religious guilt was not a merely private and individual matter; it involved the community as well. The improper performance of a ceremony by the omission, addition, or perversion of a single detail roused the wrath of deity, and the State itself might suffer until the mistake was corrected or the guilty person punished.

The differences between ancient and modern religious conditions, however, are neither so striking nor so illuminating as the resemblances; and it is for the pointing out of the latter that the present generation is most in debt to scholarship. For it is in this field that the vital connection between paganism and Christianity is most clearly seen—the underlying causes of the long and painful struggle which led to the triumph of the latter, and the process of compromise and assimilation by which the victor possessed itself of whatever it could utilize of the organism of the vanquished.

It is hardly a matter of accident that the greatest measure of obligation for the clarification of our ideas regarding the inner

meaning of paganism at Rome under the Empire is to scholars of French blood. To easy access to the monuments, to a patience and industry almost German, to the powers of logic, the open-mindedness, and the genius for clear expression for which they are noted, the French add a certain intimate understanding of religious institutions which is sprung from the traditional existence of the Roman Church in their midst, and what is greater, the sympathetic attitude which flows from the artistic intuition of a Latin race—the same artistic intuition which enabled pagan Italians of the Renaissance to create convincing Madonnas out of the flesh and blood of their time. The real nature of the Alexandrian cults at Rome is first lucidly set forth by Lafaye; it is to Reville that we owe the first clear analysis of the religious situation at Rome during the early third century; while Cumont in his monumental work on Mithras, his *Les religions orientales*, and numerous monographs and articles, has rendered special service by throwing floods of light on the motives as well as the practices of Roman paganism during the struggle with Christianity.

These and other investigators of the oriental religions have been fortunate in subject and period alike—in subject, because the oriental religions were more in the nature of faiths than the religion of the West, more genial and human; and in period, because they chose for their study the time of the great transition from ancient to modern religion. During the hundreds of years of her existence Rome had enlarged her circle of deities by the reception of cults first from the immediate neighborhood, next from Etruria, then from Magna Graecia and Greece, and finally had blended the whole into a State system out of which the vitality was beginning to fade by the second Punic war, and which was so far inadequate to the needs of State and individual in the time of Augustus as to be the subject of attempted reform. The coming of the oriental cults—Cybele, the Great Mother, in B. C. 204; Isis in the century succeeding; Syrian Baal and Astarte and Persian Mithras soon following—was due to real religious need. The fulness of time for their contribution was come, and the great success which attended them from the first century of the Christian era, when they had become accommodated to western environment, was due to their capacity to satisfy the same religious need which had made possible their coming.

The oriental religions have in fact been greatly misunderstood. The conception of them as coming to Rome from a corrupt and decayed civilization and breeding corruption in western society is not justified. The orient was not at that time, as now, decadent, but was the seat of wealth and culture. The spread of her religions to Rome was only one feature of the operation of oriental influence throughout the Empire, of which emperor-worship, luxury, the organization of Diocletian's court on eastern models, and the removal of the capital to the Bosphorus were other evidences.

The view is as little justified which represents the oriental cults themselves as corrupt and decadent; though this is a common misconception to which the fact of their attempted suppression by the Roman government, and the gross nature of some of their rites, seem to lend encouragement. But it must be kept in mind that these barbarous and often revolting rites were the cumbersome tradition of the savage customs of remote and primitive ages in the wilds of the East, which the conservatism always natural in religion had kept alive even into times when their original meaning had been forgotten; and that in proportion as the worshipper became more enlightened they were interpreted as the symbols of the deep things of God. When once these religions had become fairly naturalized in Italy under the influence of the more austere morals of western society, the strange rites which had at first so shocked the Roman mind, accustomed as it was to the colder and more formal worship of its own creation, were found to be invested with a degree of spirituality unknown to the native faiths—a spirituality which became deeper under the tendency of the times. A judgment of the religion of the ancients based upon the outward appearance of its rites alone is as likely to be distorted as an estimate of Christianity would be if formed from the sight of certain forms in modern ritual without knowledge of their spiritual significance.

Unaccustomed as we are to the view, it is nevertheless true that the paganism of the centuries preceding the triumph of Christianity was really characterized by a spiritualizing tendency. Greek philosophy, which had long since undermined the ancient faiths of Greece and Rome, now culminated in Neoplatonism, and began to build up the remnants of the crumbling structure on a new foundation by interpreting all religious ritual and myth as only outward symbols of inward spiritual truth, and teaching men to

see in all religious manifestations the expression of the same great divine essence. The oriental religions, too, possessing a unique warmth and geniality, were not less influential in bringing about the same result, and contributed a great impulse to the wave of spiritualization on which they themselves were in turn carried forward.

For their success was due neither to economic causes nor to a degeneration of western society. It rested on foundations more substantial. In contrast to the more stately and formal Roman religion, the oriental faiths, with their hoary eastern traditions, their basis of science and culture, their fascinating ceremonial, exciting mysteries, and compassionate deities, their appeal to conscience, their provision for purification, and their promise of reward in a future life, satisfied the individual soul. They were personal rather than civic. There was also a certain measure of solidarity which characterized them as a class; varied as were their contributions to the religious life of Roman society, they were similar in spirit.¹

The truth of this assertion may be seen by passing in review the causes of success which accompanied each cult. Cybele, the contribution of Phrygia, was the kindly Great Mother of all being. The original bloody and revolting rites which still clung to her cult soon came to be spiritually apprehended: Attis, her son-lover-companion, represented the fruits of the earth, which spring, grow, decay, die, and revive, while in the Mother was seen Mother Nature, who rejoices at the birth and mourns at the death of her child. The blood baptism of the taurobolium purified and regenerated the soul. The religion of Isis owed its success to the ideality which its doctrines assumed, to its growth in purity and spirituality, to the attractiveness of its rites, to the sympathetic nature of its deities, and to its promises of immortality. The Baal of the Syrians, omnipotent and universally benignant, omnipresent, deathless and eternal, needed only to be conceived as isolated from the actual world of man to become the Christian God. Persian Mithraism, with the emphasis which it placed upon truth, loyalty, purity, justice, and fraternity, with its doctrine of dualism and its promises of salvation to the faithful good who aided in the everlasting campaign against the evil, was especially adapted

¹ For what follows I am indebted for the most part to Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, of which it is to be hoped that an English translation will appear.

to satisfy the more austere moral element of Roman society as well as those who craved fellowship human and divine. Even astrology, scientific insofar as it was founded upon observation of nature, but yet essentially a faith rather than a science, met with a favorable reception because it taught the solidarity of universal creation, the existence of an all-uniting bond of sympathy, and appealed to the human desire of fellowship with the infinite.

Orientalism thus filled the empty shell of paganism at Rome with fresh and vigorous substance, and was a step in the orderly evolution of religion. Such was its prominence during the second, third, and fourth centuries that comparatively little is heard of other pagan religions. It was the cults of Mithras, Isis, and the Great Mother which entered into the fiercest rivalry with Christianity; it was they which bore the brunt of Christian attack when the tide began to turn; and it was they which figured most prominently on the occasion of the last revival of paganism, under Eugenius in 394; and when the course of paganism was run, it was through them that Christianity received for assimilation and transmission the fruits of pagan religious experience.

They were of course not the only cults at Rome, though they far exceeded others in prominence. The old State cults still survived, and numerous private cults. There were few religions of the ancient world which were unrepresented at Rome. The city was filled with gods. Even at the end of the first century, the satirist declared that one could more easily find a god at Rome than a man, and the number multiplied in the succeeding centuries. The age of Constantine must have seen a number and variety of religions at Rome unexampled in the history of any city in the world.

But the whole disordered and incongruous mass was nevertheless so thoroughly impregnated by two influences—Neoplatonism and orientalism—that it may after all with some degree of reason be called a single religion. It may also be said even to have possessed something like a theology. At any rate, there existed a fund of doctrines, held more or less in common, among which were the following: adorability of the cosmic bodies and the elements; the universal reign of one eternal and omnipotent God, with messenger attendants to execute his will; spiritual significance of the gross survivals which still clung to some of the cults; eternal happiness in the after world as a result of prescribed religious conduct; the probation on earth of the soul, a spark of

the universal spirit, before return to its original home; the punishment of the evil in an abysmal depth at the extremity of the world; the necessity of unceasing struggle by the good against the evil; the destruction of the universe by flood or fire, the death of the wicked, and the eternal felicity of the good in a reconstructed world.

With this understanding of the paganism of the later Empire, it is easy to appreciate its strength and persistence before the assaults of Christianity, and the bitterness of the rivalry between them, as well as the facility with which pagan society, once its cause was devoid of hope, turned to the new religion. Had the oriental religions been so rotten at the core as is commonly conceived, their resistance before a new and reasonable religion like Christianity would have been short-lived indeed. The real cause of the bitterness of the struggle lay in the resemblances between them and Christianity rather in their dissimilarities. The paganism of Symmachus and Praetextatus resembled the Christian faith far more than it resembled the religion of Augustus, and the pagan of the fourth century was not without seemingly good grounds for the claim that his faith could afford the worshipper a spiritual benefit equal to that promised by Christianity itself.

How numerous and how convincing were the parallels which the pagan might draw, if he chose, between Christianity and his own faith, may be judged from an enumeration of some of the features of Mithraism: the humility, democracy, and fraternal spirit of its communities; the identification of its deity with light and the sun; the legends of the flood, of the ark, and of adoring shepherds with gifts; the depiction in relief of the fiery chariot, and the drawing of water from the rock; the use of bell, candle, and holy water; the communion; the doctrines of resurrection, immortality, mediation of the Logos, atonement, warfare between good and evil, and the final triumph of the righteous. Add to these the parallels of the Virgin and Christ with Isis and Osiris, Venus and Adonis, Cybele and Attis, etc., with all that such parallels imply in the matter of belief, ritual, and festival, and the opportunity of the pagan is made still more clear.

It is possible that some of these resemblances were more apparent than real, and that pagan doctrines were largely intellectual, with little effect upon conduct. The mind reverts to the cruelty of the amphitheater, and doubts the possibility of the spiritual life in such a society. But the writings of Seneca and of

Marcus Aurelius must be remembered, and the lives of many of their contemporaries; the old-time faith of farm and fireside must be taken into account; and the fact must not be lost sight of that the bond between religion and conduct has never been very strong. If pagan religion failed to restrain its followers, the same was true many times of Christianity, whose supporters were capable of rending each other in their own sanctuaries, and sometimes had to be curbed by a pagan Prefect.

But the resemblances were at any rate strong enough to be the basis of mutual recrimination. To assert with authority, however, that either religion consciously borrowed from or imitated the other during their life side by side at Rome, is impossible. Christianity was already a distinct and well developed religion on its arrival at Rome, and during the period of persecution and struggle can hardly have been much affected by paganism. It is more probable that the resemblances between it and the oriental religions were grounded in a common origin in the East; and it is Asia Minor, among the Judæo-pagan communities in the midst of which Christianity had its inception and took on its first strength, which must be the field of this phase of study.

Be that as it may, the victory of Christianity in the fourth century had as one of its results the reception not only of pagan converts, but of much that belonged to pagan religion. Whether the process consisted for the most part in the Church's merely setting the seal of approval upon those pagan doctrines and practices which resembled her own, and which were common to both from the Asiatic period of their history; or whether we accept the less probable explanation of Reville, who says that "the intransigence of Christianity was ecclesiastical rather than doctrinal. All the while that paganism was being Christianized, Christianity was being paganized. A day came when the two forces had approached each other so nearly as to blend; and from this blending was born Catholicism. The syncretistic reform of paganism, independently of the action exercised on the latter by the Church during the first three centuries, contributed as much to it as Christianity proper"—we must recognize with De Cheyne (*Bible Problems*, 1904) that "the Christian religion is a synthesis, and only those who have dim eyes can assert that the intellectual empires of Babylonia and Persia have fallen."

The effect produced upon the minds of many by these conclusions may be analogous to that wrought on the minds of some

lovers of Shakespeare who, when they are told that the dramatist worked with material all ready to his hand, entertain a feeling of disappointment and resentment. The sentiment, however, is as unreasonable in the one case as in the other. Christianity needs no apologist for not having grown to maturity untouched by the influences of the pagan world; the endurance of it and the effect of its work are the best warrants of the genuineness of its commission. In the ingathering and conservation of all that was worth while in pagan antiquity is to be seen its chief glory. Sprung into existence in the shadow of the sublimest of ancient faiths, at a time late enough in the history of civilization for it to escape the burden of barbarous heritage which cumbered other cults from the East, sent forth on its errand among peoples whose faiths were so burdened, by the power of its purity and earnestness it finally succeeded in attracting to itself all the good of its time. If it came to be burdened with some of the dross also, that was a misfortune due to the human instruments through which it worked. "Christianity did not awake into being the religious sense", says Aust, "but it afforded that sense the fullest opportunity of being satisfied; and paganism fell because the less perfect must give place to the more perfect, not because it was sunken in sin and vice. It had out of its own strength laid out the ways by which it advanced to lose itself in the arms of Christianity; and to recognize this does not mean to minimize the significance of Christianity. We are under no necessity of artificially darkening the heathen world; the light of the Evangel streams into it brightly enough without this."

The effect upon faith of a recognition of the synthetic nature of Christianity ought on the contrary to be salutary. If any view of its origin is productive of pessimism and despair, it is that which teaches that the primitive Christian religion and its disciples were free from imperfection, with the necessary implication that the modern Church and its followers are found wanting; while if any conception lies at the root of a sane optimism, it is that which sees in the Christianity of antiquity a divinely appointed but imperfect human agency for the ingathering of universal religious experience, and in modern Christianity the heir to the riches of all the ages, still imperfect, but still shining more and more unto the perfect day.

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III.—NOTES ON A FEW VESTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

1. In connection with the Vestal inscriptions found in the *Atrium Vestae* in 1882–84, Huelsen, in the fourth part of Volume VI of the *Corpus*, gives a brief but valuable commentary on those previously known.¹ For some reason or other, no reference is made to the inscription VI, 2144, which, as it has seemed to me, on account of its peculiar history merits a brief notice.

The exact time and place in which this inscription was originally found are unknown. Since it is first published by Ligorio²—by whom, however, nothing is said of its location—we may be sure that it was not among those found in 1495 in the Atrium, the greater part of which had been published by Jucundus and Sabinus a half century earlier. In 1549, presumably in the same place, certain other inscriptions are reported by Pighius as exhumed in his presence.³ Although direct mention is made of only two, C. I. L. VI, 2134 and 2139, it is not impossible that No. 2144 may have been discovered at the same time,⁴ although no reference is made to it by any one. Or, as in the case of another inscription in honor of the same *Vestalis Maxima*,⁵ it may have been found in some private house and so have escaped special notice. The inscription is, in any case, first reported by Cittadinus as seen *in aedibus D. Pal(ini?)*,⁶ but at a later time by Ciacconio as *ante aedes decani Rotae prope Capitolium*.⁷ It appears to have been then transferred to the house of M. Giacomo d'Aruzzo, while later it was seen *in vinea Bosii*, or *Caesarina*,⁸ where it was probably copied on March 12th, 1706, by Bianchini.⁹ After this time, since no mention is made of its whereabouts,¹⁰

¹ C. I. L. VI, p. 3296.

² L. c. VI, 2144.

³ L. c. VI, 2134, *me praesente anno 49 extractae e terra*.

⁴ This is the opinion of Gatti, who thinks that its presence at one time in the house of Palini, where No. 2139 is known to have been, points to this fact.

⁵ L. c. VI, 2130.

⁶ L. c. VI, 2144.

⁷ L. c.

⁸ L. c.

⁹ Veron. CCCXLVII, f. 18. 4 *qui desc. die 12 Martii, 1706, ap. C. I. L. VI, 2144.*

¹⁰ A careful copy of the inscription was made by Fea (*Schedae Epigraphicae* II 295; now in the Vatican, No. 10547, according to the older numbering), but with no reference to the place at which it was seen.

it has been supposed that it disappeared, like so many others, into one of Rome's numberless limekilns.

In the year 1901, however, while preparing a list of the Vestal inscriptions in the *Atrium Vestae*, I found, in a prominent position among those discovered in 1882-84, this long-lost one which was easily recognizable on account of certain marked peculiarities. In a photograph also, taken by Alinari¹ earlier in the same year, the base bearing the inscription is seen in the position which it now occupies, next to the entrance. In 1902 it was published by Dessau.² Professor Lanciani, when consulted as to the time and manner of its reappearance, said that, at the time of the excavations in the Atrium—in 1882-83—the inscription was not there, and that he had not known of its appearance there later. Commendatore Boni also stated that, during the time of his directorship, no such inscription had been placed in the Atrium, or brought to the Forum. Commendatore Gatti, whose knowledge of the inscriptions in the Forum as well as throughout the city has extended over many years, is no less positive that no inscriptions, except that from the Palatine,³ have been transferred to the Atrium in modern times. It is impossible that a base containing an inscription of such length should have escaped the notice of Lanciani and of the many others who saw and reported the inscriptions in the years immediately following 1883.⁴ It seems equally impossible that after that time the inscription could have been brought into the Forum without the knowledge of the director. It must, therefore, have been taken to the Forum and to the vicinity of the Atrium at a much earlier period. At the beginning of the last century, after a long period of inaction, a renewed interest was aroused in the Forum excavations. At that time probably, under the direction of Fea or Visconti and in connection, possibly, with the proposed plan for a *Passeggiata Archeologica* uniting the Palatine, Forum and Colosseum, our inscription was transferred from the *vinea Caesarina* to the Atrium,⁵ where in the course of the century it was covered with earth or in some other way lost to view. After the excavations in 1882-83, possibly but a short time before 1901,⁶ the base must have been

¹ No. 17359.

² Inscr. Lat., No. 4927.

³ C. I. L. VI, 2140.

⁴ See C. I. L. VI, p. 3297, for the more important editions of the inscriptions.

⁵ This was first suggested to me by Comm. Gatti.

⁶ It was not in its present place when the inscriptions were edited by Huelsen.

discovered in its hiding place by the workmen and by them placed with the others, without the usual report of its discovery to the director.

The pedestal is 92 centimeters high, 60 centimeters wide and 47 centimeters thick. The lower right-hand corner is broken off. It reads as follows:

TERENTIAE ·
FLAVVLAE ·
P · \tilde{V} · \tilde{V} ·
MAX · SORORI ·
5 TERENTIVS · GENTIAN
VS · FL · DIALIS · V · C · PR ·
TVT · CVM · POMPONIA ·
PAETINA · VXORE · ET ·
LOLLIANO · GENTIANO
10 FILIO · FRATris

C. I. L. VI, 2144. Dessau, l. c. 4927.

L. 1. To the same Terentia Flavula, or Flavola, belong the inscriptions C. I. L. VI, 2130, 32412-13, 32423. In 204 A. D., in the rites connected with the Ludi Saeculares, she assisted Numisia Maximilla,¹ whom she succeeded within a few years as *Virgo Vestalis Maxima*.²

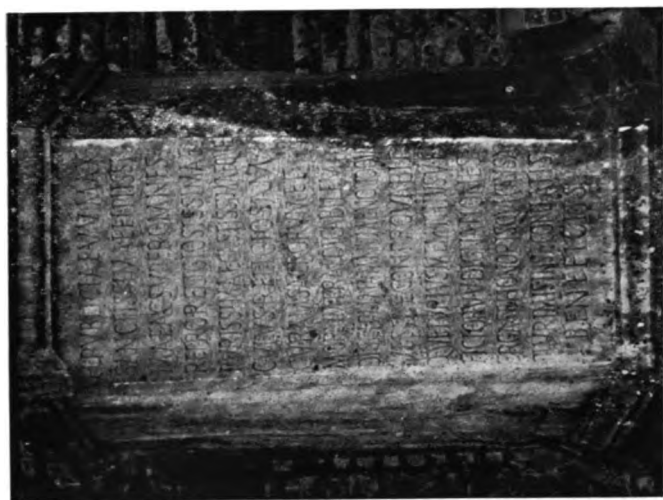
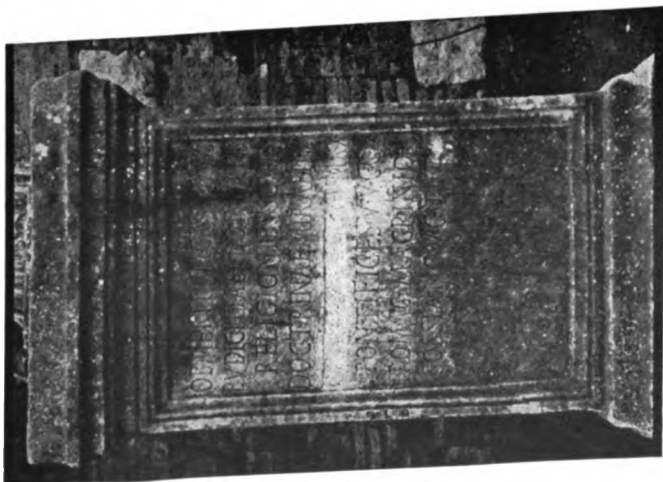
L. 3. P. The presence of this letter was the source of some uncertainty among early editors. It is present on the stone as represented. Its height, however, is but 0.037 m., while the letters in the same and adjacent lines are 0.047 m. high. The cutting, too, differs from the rest of the inscription, being much less firm and less deeply cut. The letter itself is much broader in proportion to its height than the same letter where it occurs in lines 6, 7 and 8, and the loop is more rounded. It must, therefore, be considered an addition made by some thoughtless or malicious person, probably after the stone was set up in the Atrium.

\tilde{V} · \tilde{V} · The placing of a straight or slightly curved line, or of an apex, over the initial letter of a word to denote abbreviation is very rare in the first and not common even in the third and fourth centuries.³ In the Vestal inscriptions, however, it is an accepted

¹ C. I. L. VI, 32328, 35-36; 32329, 10; cf. l. c. 2129, 32411.

² For the family tree, see Huelsen, l. c. 32412-13.

³ Huebner, *Exempla Script. Epigr.*, pp. LXXII, LXXVI.



INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATRIUM VESTAE.

form, appearing as a simple, straight line even in the inscription of the first century.¹ Among the newer inscriptions, the straight or curved line² occurs in 8 instances³ and the apex⁴ in 5.⁴ In the Vestal inscriptions published earlier, the line is found, in addition to the present case, 4 times⁵ and the apex twice;⁶ there are also three instances of the use of the line where the title is used incidentally.⁷ It is probable that in the inscriptions which are lost other cases occurred, since in two which remain⁸ no notice of the sign is taken by the editors. In one case the line is used in the same inscription to denote both the singular and the plural. The origin of this mode of expressing abbreviation is not clear. It is possible that in the case of certain letters, as V, M, D, and C, the mode may have arisen from the use of a line with the same letters used as numerals. Its transference to other initial letters would not then be difficult.

2

*Terentiae.**Flavolae.**Ū · Ū ·*

MAXIMAE
CN · STATILIVS
MENANDER
FICTOR
V · V ·

*Cn. Statili.**Cerdonis.**Fictoris.**Ū · Ū ·**Alumnus.*

C. I. L. VI, 32423.

This inscription as published in the Corpus is seen to be upon a stone broken both at the top and bottom. It is probable, there-

¹ C. I. L. VI, 32409.² Ū · Ū · or Ū · Ū ·; Ū · Ū ·.³ L. c. VI, 32409-13 (3 times), 32414.⁴ L. c. 32415-16, 32418 (2 times)—19.⁵ L. c. 2146 (= XIV, 4120), 2147-48; XIV, 3677 (from Tibur).⁶ L. c. 2130, 2134.⁷ L. c. 27132a, 27133-34.⁸ L. c. 2130, 2146. A few fragmentary inscriptions I have been unable to see. The list here given, where it differs from the Corpus, has been corrected from the stones themselves.

fore, that we have but the middle part of the original inscription. Since, so far as it is left, it is the same in form and content as C. I. L. VI, 32413, it is probably a duplicate of that inscription and is to be completed as here given.

3

FL · PVBLICIAE · V · V · MAX ·
 SANCTISSIMAE · ET · PIISSI
 MAE · AC SVPER · OMNES ·
 RETRO · RELIGIOSISSIMAE
 5 PVRISSIMAE · CASTISSIMAEQVE ·
 CVIVS · RELIGIOSAM ·
 CVRAM · SACRORVM · ET ·
 MORVM · PRAEDICABILEM ·
 DISCIPLINAM · NVMEN QVOQVE
 10 VESTAE · CONPROVABIT · sic
 Q · VETVRIVS · MEMPHIVS · V · É ·
 FICTOR · V · V · DIGNATIONES · sic
 ERGA SE · HONORISQVE · CAVSA ·
 PLVRIMIS · IN SE · CONLATIS ·
 15 BENEFICIIS ·

C. I. L. VI, 32419.

L. 10. Huelsen reads COMPROBAVIT.

L. 12. DIGNATIONES. Cf. C. I. L. VI, 2134, where the correct spelling is found.

In this inscription and one of those earlier published, C. I. L. VI, 2134, we have an interesting example of duplicate honorary inscriptions. In the year 1549, the earlier of these was excavated in the presence of Pighius,¹ presumably in the precinct, though not in the Atrium, of Vesta.² The later inscription, that here given, was found Jan. 27th, 1884, *in situ* in a room on the south side of the Atrium.³ The two inscriptions are identical in wording, except that in the earlier one in l. 12 in place of *dignationes* the correct spelling *dignationis* was found.⁴ On the other hand, the mistake in l. 10, where *conprovabit* is used for *comprobavit*,

¹ See p. 1, n. 3.

² Lanciani (Storia degli Scavi di Roma, II, p. 203) notes that the Atrium itself was not reached by the excavators, since it lay within the bounds of the Farnese possessions, within which no excavations were allowed.

³ Bull. Arch. Com., 1884, p. 5.

⁴ No variation in reading is found.

occurred, it is clear, in the lost inscription also.¹ The inscriptions differed in the division of the lines and, if the reports of the editors be accepted, in the punctuation. While, however, the two inscriptions are clearly duplicates, or the one a copy of the other, the one found in 1549 was peculiar in the presence of a supplementary inscription on the left side of the base, containing originally the names of the consuls of the year.² In the inscription now in the Forum not only is this date lacking, but there is no space on the side of the base at all adapted for it. It is probable from the length of the lines of the inscription that the earlier base was square, not hexagonal.

The existence of duplicate inscriptions,—suggesting the existence of duplicate statues, also,—within the same precinct is peculiar. Since, however, the earlier base was found outside the Atrium proper, it is probable that of the two statues erected at one time by the same donor, the one was set up in the temple area and the other in the Atrium where it was found. Such also may have been the arrangement in the case of the duplicate inscriptions described above.³

4

Calpurnia
præte XTATA
v. V
maxiMA

C. I. L. VI, 32410.

This inscription is placed by Huelsen immediately after that in honor of Praetextata, the daughter of Crassus.⁴ It seems more likely, however, that it is to be referred to Calpurnia Praetextata, whose name and title appear on a bronze tablet in form and arrangement identical with that of the inscription here given, so far as it remains.⁵

5

OB MERITVM CASTITATIS
PVDICITIAE ADQ · IN SACRIS
RELIGIONIBVSQVE
DOCTRINAE MIRABILIS
C · ////////// E · V · V · MAX · etc.

C. I. L. VI, 32422.

¹ See C. I. L. VI, 2134 for the various readings of early editors. The reading of Pighius, an accurate observer, is the same as that of the existing inscription.

² See l. c.³ P. 176.⁴ C. I. L. VI, 32409.⁵ L. c. VI, 2146.

Concerning the identity of the *Vestalis Maxima*, who by the erasure of her name has won such unfortunate distinction, as well as concerning the nature of her offence, no little discussion has arisen. Marucchi,¹ followed by many later editors, basing his suggestion upon the general date of the inscription and the presence of C as the initial letter of the name which has been erased, suggested that she was the *Claudia* referred to by *Prudentius*² as a convert to Christianity. Interesting as the suggestion is and not without possibility, when considered from the point of view of external evidence, the evidence of the inscription itself is decisive against it. Though at the beginning of the line there remain, as has been said, clear traces of the letter C, the number of the letters following it, of which some traces remain at the top and bottom, cannot have been less than nine, while for *Claudia* but six would be required. Any identification, therefore, with the *Claudia* of *Prudentius*—who, moreover, may be but a type and not a real character—is impossible.

ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN.

Rome, June, 1907.

¹ *Gli Studi in Italia*, 1883, II, p. 601, desc. della casa delle vestali, p. 79 f.

² *Peristeph.* 2, 527.

IV.—NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ON LEFEBVRE'S COMEDIES OF MENANDER (CAIRO, 1907).

Ἦρωε, l. 56 (p. 9, Lefebvre).

μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται
ἄθρια διακονεῖ τε.

ἄρια, 'wools', is a natural suggestion.

Ἐπιτρέποντες, l. 9 (p. 35, Lefebvre).

κριτὴν τούτου τινὰ
ζητοῦμεν ἴσον εἰ δέ σε μηδὲν κωλύει
διάλυσον ἡμᾶς

Lefebvre prints ἴσον, which is possible, perhaps hardly likely.
A different solution would be to punctuate after ἴσον and change
δέ το δῆ.

l. 13. ἔστι βραχὺ should probably be ἔστιν βραχύ.

l. 68. τὸ δ' ἐγὼ· μόνου δ' εὐρόντος οὐ παρὼν —
ἅπαντ' ἔχειν οἶε σε δεῖν, ἐμὲ δ' οὐδὲ ἐν;

Lefebvre supplies γε σύ. παρὼν suggests δμως.

l. 70. τὸ πέρας δέδωκά σοί τι τῶν ἐμῶν ε[]

ἐκῶν, Lefebvre; rather ἐγῶ.

l. 87. οὐτός σ' ἀπαιτεῖ Δᾶ· ἐαντῷ φησι γὰρ

This form of rhythm, in which the iambic trimeter is divided
into two equal halves (3 + 3), with a pause after the third foot,
recurs often in the new fragments; as also in those known before,
and may be considered specially Menandrian.

l. 105. εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσει

...]σ ἐλεύθερόν τι τολμήσει ποιεῖν

[θη]ρᾶν λέοντας, ὅπλα βαστάζειν, τρέχειν,

[ἐν ἀ]γῶσί τε θεῶσ[θ]αι τραγῳδοῦς· οἷδ' ὅτι

...]ν ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα.

Lefebvre prints at the beginning of 106 ἴσως. A participle
seems to have fallen out, such as ἀνείε or ἐκστᾶς; but we wait for
further information as to the exact number of missing letters.
In 109 Lefebvre prints νῦν ταῦτα. It may also be κἀνταῦθα: 'here
too (i. e., in the present case) you realize everything that happens
generally'.

- l. 138. τὸ παιδίον δ' ; ΣΜΙΚΡ. οὐ γνώσῃ' εἶναι μὰ Δί[α σοῦ]
τοῦ νῦν ἀδικοῦντος, τοῦ βοηθοῦντος [υ—]
ἐπεξιόντος τὰδικεῖν μέλλοντί σο[ι]

Perhaps τοῦ βοηθοῦντος [δὲ καὶ] 'Ἐπεξιόντος τὰδικεῖν μέλλοντί σοι. 'I shall decide that it belongs not to you that are now pressing an unjust claim, but to him who comes to the rescue and prosecutes the unjust act against you that meditate it.'

- l. 150. I would write thus:

[αἰς]χρά γ' ἃ πέπονθα. πάντ' ἔχεις,

all said by Daos. In the first four words he reiterates his complaint against Smikrines' decision, then makes over the collection of *γνωρίσματα*.

- l. 157. αὐτά, the objects exposed with the child, and nothing more.

- l. 173. ὡς λέγει τὰ γράμματα

- l. 174. . . .] δειξον.

Lefebvre prints τί δέ; δειξον. Perhaps τὰδε, carrying on the former sentence, 'as these letters indicate'.

- l. 185. ἀποσφαγείην πρότερον ἢν δῆπουθεν ἦ
τούτῳ . . . θυφείμην.

Probably *τι καθυφείμην*. Lefebvre's *τούτῳ τί ποθ' ὑφείμην* is metrically harsh.

- l. 212. After *ἐπεικῶς* the lost word may be *πολύ*.
l. 219. After *ἀρτίως* there should be a mark of interrogation.
l. 227. For *ῆ* may be suggested *δή*.
l. 245. [πάλαι] διαδραμών.
l. 257. εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας παννυχίζουσας ὀνόος
ἐνε υ γὰρ παρούσης ἐγένετο
τοιούτου ἐτερον.

The sequence of ideas demands before *παρούσης* something like *κάμου γάρ*, but it is not easy to suggest anything which would exactly fit into the rest of the lacuna. Lefebvre prints *ἐνέδραμ' οὐποτ' ἐμοῦ*, which is distressingly harsh metrically, and is in direct opposition to what Habrotonon says immediately after of her own similar experience. *ἐνέπεσε*, which occurred to me, seems not to fill up the required number of letters.

- l. 260. Perhaps

αἰσ[ιν] γὰρ ἐπαλλον κόραις
αὐτόθι χορόν[δ'] ἐπαιζον.

- l. 263. τὴν δὲ παῖδ' [οὖν] ἦτις ἦν.

- l. 273. Either *ἀπολωλέκ[ειν]* or *ἀπολωλεκ[εῖν]*'.

1. 279. παιδός τι τοῦτον λανθάνειν δεῖ τὸ σὺ γε [—]

Probably τὸ σὺ γ' [ἔχεις]. In the next line ἔστιν 'Ἀβροτόνον or ἔστ' 'Ἀβροτόνιον seems probable. The MS however, is reported to give εστ'.

1. 303. ἐὰν δ' οἰκείον ἦ
αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶγμ', εὐθὺς [τόθ'] ἤξει φερόμενος
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεγχον.

τόθ' is omitted in the MS.

1. 333. οὐκουν σὺ M .. E ... MOI; ON συναρέσκει διαφόρως.

Possibly σὺ μαχέσει; but μαχοῦμαι in the next line is slightly against this. Lefebvre gives οὐκουν σὺ μαχεῖ [γέ] μοι; but, as in many other cases in these fragments, the added γε has little force and would be better away.

1. 340. τό γ' ἄστικόν τὸ γίναιον ὥς ἔρπεθ' ὅτι
κατὰ τὸν ἔρωτ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν.

For ἔρπεθ' I suggest ἐπειθ': 'That was a true trick of the town, the woman's trying to make out that freedom can't come of love'.

1. 345. It is possible that τὰ τοιαῦτα should be constructed with προνοητικός, not with ἂν ἐπιτύχη.

1. 351. ταχέως ἐὰν γὰρ εὐρεθῇ πατὴρ κόρη
ἐλευθέρου, μήτηρ τε τοῦ νῦν παιδός [ς, ῥ]
γέγονεν, ἐκείνην λήψεται.

'Should the girl in a short time be found to be born from a father who is free, and also mother of the newly discovered infant, he (Charisius) will take to wife her to whom the child is born and give up his present mistress'. ῥ and ἐκείνην are explanatory of each other: *cui is infans natus est, eam Charisius ducet uxorem*.

1. 357. ANAESTIC seems an error for ἂν ἔτι τις. Anapaests in the fourth foot are common in Menander.

1. 369. The last words of this verse seem to be τὸν [παῖ]δα ποῦ [λαβοῦσα]. The two interrogative adverbs πόθεν ἔχεις ποῦ λαβοῦσα would be natural.

1. 377. The missing words might be [πατὴρ οἶδα γεγονός].

1. 383. ἵνα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα μου πύθη σαφῶς for ἵνα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα of MS.

1. 384. ἐπεμάνη γ' ἀληθῶς is curiously corrupt. After the immediately preceding ὑπομαίνεθ' οὗτος νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, μαίνεται, it is almost impossible that ἐμάνη should be repeated. Perhaps in ἐπ' we have the remains of εἰ τ(ις), and ἐμάνη, added as an explanatory note, at

a later time was admitted into the text of the verse: 'The fellow shows signs of madness; by Apollo, I swear he is downright mad if ever man was' (*μαίνεται εἴ τις γ' ἀληθῆς*).

l. 424. Perhaps [*οὐ ταῦτά*] γ' εἶπεν οἷς σὺ διενόου τότε;

l. 430. I offer the following supplements:

ὅπ[ως δια]μνεῖς ὧν Χαρισίῳ [φίλος]
οἷόν περ οἶσθα πιστός· οὐ γάρ ἐστ[ι] δὴ]
ἐταιρίδιον τοῦτ' οὐδὲ τὸ τυχόν [τὸ βρέφος]
νῖδος δ' ὁδὸ καὶ παιδάριον ἐλευθέρου
ἐλεύθερον. [ὁ]δὰξ μὴ βλέπ'.

δάξ seems to have been an abbreviation of δαῖξ: 'Dont look at me with clenched teeth, as if you were angry'.

l. 443. [ἀλλ' οὖν] ἀληθῆ. Παμφίλῃς τὸ παιδίον
[εὐ ἰσθι γάρ] ἐστ[ιν] καὶ σὸν ὁμοίως.

l. 451. ἀλλ' [οὖν] περιμενῶ for ἀλλὰ περιμένω of MS.

l. 454. οὐκ ὀξυλαβῆσαι κρείττον; 'Is it not better to set to work speedily'? Hesychius glosses the word ὀξίως λαβίσθαι πραγμάτων. The sentence seems to be interrogative, not, as Lefebvre prints it, an assertion.

l. 460. κἀγὼ σε ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φρονεῖν ἀναγκάσω.
σοι ταῦτα, the MS.

ll. 479-482.

ἐκάστῳ τὸν τρόπον συν[ήρμωσαν]
φροῦραρχον· οὗτος ἐνδ[ον] ἕτερον μὲν ποτε
ἐπέτρεψεν ἂν αὐτῷ [τῷ] κακῶς χρ[ῆσθαι σφαλένθ']
ἕτερον δ' ἐσωσεν.

The supplied parts in 479 and 480 are Lefebvre's; for 481 I am responsible. 'Each man's destiny is determined by his special temperament (*τρόπος*); it is this which holds the command of the garrison, ruining one man by merely following its dictates wrongly and so falling into misfortune guiding another into safety.'

I suppose τῷ to have fallen out in consequence of the preceding αὐτῷ. The sense is, 'by merely following it in a wrong way'. The adverb *ἐπαριστέρως* is used by Menander in the *Μισογύνης* (v. 325 of Kock): *ἐπαριστέρως γὰρ αὐτὸ λαμβάνω*.

l. 488. αὐτοῦ for σαυτοῦ of MS.

l. 504. ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι for ὥς ἐγὼ μοι of MS.

l. 507. νυνὶ for νυν of MS, in which the verse rightly ends with καί.

l. 508. τὰ πάντ' ἀγαθὰ for ἀπαντα τὰγαθὰ of MS.

l. 514. οἶτος seems more natural than αὐτός. MS has only the last letter, ε. After οἶδ', possibly [ὁδὸ δ'] εἰδ' ἴσθ' ὅτι 'Επ' (or 'Εε)

ἀριστερὰ ξυνῆκε: 'he put a left-handed (wrong) construction on what happened'.

ll. 516, 517. Conjecturally:

[ὥς οὐποτ' ἂν] εὐτύχημα μείζον οὐδὲ ἐν
[ἐγένε]τ' ἀληθῶς.

Περικειρομένη, pp. 105-138.

l. 5. [μακρ]οῦ.

l. 31. τοῦ[του] θρασυτέρου.

l. 44. ἀφίκουτ' and perhaps οὕτως.

l. 62. οἷα.

l. 77. Omit & before Πολέμων.

ll. 80, 81. υἱὸν βόα
 τίς ἐσθ' ὁ δα[ῆρ καὶ] τίς αὐτή.

l. 82. τάχ' ἂν ἴσως or τυχόν ἴσως.

l. 83. οὐδέν for οὐ of MS.

l. 87-90. These verses to ἐρῶντί τ' ἐστίν seem to be continuous. Pataecus throughout remonstrates with Polemon for his precipitance: 'What you are doing is madness. Where are you rushing so impetuously? Who is it you think to carry off? A woman over whom you have no control and who is independent. Your only course is to bring her over by persuasion'. And so I see M. Croiset considers ap. Lefebvre, p. 134.

l. 108. θεώρησον, Πάτακε, πρὸ[ς θεῶν],
 μᾶλλον μ' ἐλεήσεις.

The emphatic appeal πρὸς θεῶν would naturally precede μᾶλλον μ' ἐλεήσεις.

l. 109. Perhaps

ὦ παρ[υφῇ τρυφήματ', ὦ]
ἐνδύμαθ' οἶ· οἷα δὲ φαίνεθ' ἡνίκ' ἂν
λάβῃ τι τούτων.

l. 115. οὐ γάρ; is perhaps to be omitted.

ll. 147-150. φιλότατη,
 διὰ σοῦ γενέσθω. μ[ή τις ἄ]ρα χο[λῶ]σεται
 τούτῳ; γέλοιον. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐχρήν
 [ὀρᾶ]ν σ'. (ΓΑΥΚΕΡΑ) ἐγώ δα τὰμ' ἄρισθ'.

l. 157. [ἐχουσαν, αὐτὴν] ἢ Δεῖ ἦν δέδωκά σοι.

ΣΑΜΙΑ, pp. 141-211.

l. 52. ταύτης for αὐτῆς of MS.

l. 66. Perhaps [πειρα]τέον.

l. 81. ἐμὲ τίς καλεῖ[νύν;].

- l. 82. τὴν [λοπάδα κ]αταθείς.
- l. 84. τό[δ'] ἀκήκοε τὸ π[ρ]αττόμενον ἔργον. ἔστι γὰρ
περίεργος εἰ τις ἄλλος.
- ll. 89, 90. τί δέῃ ποιεῖν [σε] ; δεῦρ' ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας
ἔτι μικρόν.
- l. 93. συγκρύπτεις τι πρὸς [τῆς 'Ἐστίας].
- l. 94. For ἐγὼ μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν 'Απ—of MS, I would sug-
gest μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν 'Απ[ὸ] ἄλλω 'γὰρ μὲν οὖν.]
- l. 96. παῦ' · μηδέν δμνυ' · οὐ γὰρ εἰκάσεις [τίνος] ἡ[ν], *cuius esset
infans.*
- ll. 103, 104. ὅτι Μοσχίωνός [ἐστιν] (so Lefebvre), ὅτι σύνοισθα σὺ
[παῖδ' οὐτ' ἐκ]είνης ἢ τανῶν αὐτῇ τρέφει.
- l. 115. ἡ[ἐπτοημένος].
- l. 117. ἦν [ἐ]ν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς διανο[ίας] ἧς πάλαι].
- ll. 124-127. I would thus restore :
[κατέλ]αβεν αὐτόν που μεθύοντα ὀηλαδῇ,
[οὐκ οὐτ'] ἐν ἑαυτοῦ · πολλὰ δ' [οἶν] ἐργάζεται
[πολύς τ'] ἀκρατος καὶ νεότης ὅταν λάβῃ
[τὸν οὐκ] ἐπιβουλευσαντά πω τοῖς πολεμίοις.
- l. 154 sqq. The speakers here seem wrongly distributed. In
155, ἐς κόρακας ἦδη must be spoken by Demeas ; then δύσμορος
belongs to Chrysis, καὶ δύσμορος to Demeas, with the whole of 156.
- l. 160. A syllable is missing ; perhaps [οὐ] μαρθάνω, spoken by
Chrysis, whose rôle is throughout to ignore any knowledge of
what is going on. Then τρυφᾶν γὰρ οὐκ ἠπίστασ' belongs to Demeas.
- l. 164. αἰτῶ seems odd, but perhaps means merely, 'I should
like to know'.
- l. 165. Perhaps νῦν δ' ἔτι σ[οι], or possibly σ[ου].
- l. 172. MS gives οὐπω δάκνει, which I think ought to be
retained, as Chrysis just before had said μὴ δάκῃς. But the
meaning of δμως, in 173, is obscure. It must be addressed to
Demeas, as Demeas immediately takes up Chrysis' remark with
a threat to break her head if she goes on talking to him. Can
the sense be " 'in spite of all you say', 'for all your anger', you
have been happy with me and ought not to forget it' "?
- l. 178. [δια]τρέχουσιν for τρέχουσιν of MS.
- l. 179. ἀποθάνωσιν ἢ πεινώσιν should be written rather than
ἀποθάνωσι καὶ πεινώσιν, (1) because 178 had ended with καὶ, (2) because
πεινώσιν gives the natural jingle with ἀποθάνωσιν, and ποῶσιν.
- l. 192. Omit τὸ before γεγονός.

ll. 208, 209.

τὸ παιδίον
φησὶ [γὰρ] εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐν]ήσειν.

l. 225.

μονομαχῆσω.

l. 230.

ἀλλὰ μὴν κ[ατὰ] π[όδα] φεύγε.

l. 234.

[δοτέα γούν] ἐμοί.

l. 238. ἀδικεῖς perhaps is an error for ἀδικήσας.

ll. 242-246.

ἔστι δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον· ἀλλὰ περιπάτη[σον] ἐνθαδὶ
μικρὸν μετ' ἐμοῦ. ΝΙΚ. περιπατήσω. ΔΗΜ. καὶ σ[εαυτὸν] σύλλαβε.]
οὐκ ἀκήκοας λεγόντων, εἰπέ μοι, — [πο]τε
τῶν τραγωδῶν ὡς γενόμενος χρυσὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἔρρηξε
διὰ τέλους, κατειργμένην δὲ παιδ' ἐμοίχευσεν [λαβών];

l. 254. Is it possible that *Μοσχίων ἐσκεύακέν με* equals “‘*Μοσχίων* has dressed up a figure of me’ (i. e., ‘has counterfeited me by dressing up as I do’) and in this way has stolen into the favour of the girl”?

l. 255. After ἀκριβῶς, probably *οἶδα* has fallen out.l. 261. *παῖδα[ε]*.

l. 263. Possibly οὐδ' ἀπάξεται τις αὐτόν: ‘and no one will lead him off to prison’.

The MS is corrupt here; Lefebvre gives *CYΔ' AΞEIC* *ΦA. TAITIC AYTON*.

l. 276. Perhaps *παρώξυμαι* [κέ]αρ.l. 308. - For οὕτως ἀβέλτερε, may be suggested *αὐτόσ'*, ἀβέλτερε.l. 330. A syllable is wanting, possibly *σε γὰρ* [νύν].

l. 335. [σὺ δὲ] μέλλεις;

l. 337. [σπεῦς]ον, ἐξάγγελλέ μοι τι.

ll. 399-401.

ὥς γὰρ ἐλθὼν εἶπα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα
ὅτι πάρει, μὴ καὶ τι τούτων [] ἀκήκοεν;
ἢ σὺ λελάληκας πρὸς αὐτόν . . .

MS for *μὴ καὶ τι*, has *μηκέτι*.

ll. 416-418.

μ[α]ρ[ό]ς εἰμ', ἔγνω. ΜΟΣΧ. φλυαρεῖς πρὸς με. ΔΔ. μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν
οὐ[χ]ὶ φήσεις] ἂν ἀκοῆς. τυχὸν ἰσως οὐ βούλεται.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

NOTE.—This paper was sent to the Editor at the beginning of February, and no addition has been made since.

R. E.

V.—HIEREMIAS DE MONTAGNONE AND CATULLUS.

The source of the citations made from Catullus by Hieremias Iudex de Montagnone of Padua in his *Compendium moralium notabilium* has never been determined. Since de Montagnone died about 1300, these citations, seven in number, not only antedate by at least seventy-five years our earliest dated manuscript of Catullus, the codex Sangermanensis (1375)—the Oxoniensis is assigned to about the same period—but also possibly the discovery of the codex Veronensis, now lost, which seems to have come to light before 1323; cf. the well-known epigram on the discovery of V by Benvenuto de Campesani who died about 1323.¹ The determination of this source is therefore of great importance, particularly if it can be shown to be different from the tradition (V) from which all our complete manuscripts of Catullus are descended. In this case additional light would be thrown on the Catullian corpus before the fourteenth century.²

The citations, as they appear in the Venice edition of the *Compendium* (1505), are printed with variants from three manuscripts now in England by Ellis, *Prolegomena to Catullus* (1878), pp. 9–11. All save one, LI 15–16, had been already printed by

¹ See Schulze's *Prolegom.* in the second edition of Catullus by Baehrens, Leipzig, 1893, p. 8.

² Ellis prints in his *Prolegom.*, p. 9, note, the account of de Montagnone given by Scardeonius, *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, p. 255, ed. Basil, 1560, from which I make the following extracts: Fuit is Iure consultus excellens, et ob id Iudex appellatus . . . Atqui videtur is, praeter Iuris studium, morali quoque philosophiae, et sacris litteris, multam operā dedisse, infinitaeque prope modum lectionis fuisse, ac literarum omnis generis admodum studiosus. Nam discurrens per disciplinas omnes, quicquid de moribus praeclarum a quovis scriptore, sive sacro, sive profano, dictum est, in unum veluti acervum conguessit, collectisque undecunque a plusquam centum auditoribus idoneis sententiis ad reformandos hominum mores, opus admodum fructuosum et utile, studio suo sed alieno labore cōtexuit: quo quidem iudicis in modum per capita rerum singula quaeque notatu digna excerpta, in egregium satque iustum volumen accurate redegit. Quod quidem postea cum imprimeretur, epitomam (*sic*) sapientiae a librariis impressoribus nuncupatum est, et ab iisdem in vulgus editum et publicatū, et per universum orbem diffusum. Obiit autem Hieremias anno ab incarnatione Dom. circiter M.CCC.

R. Peiper¹ from three Breslau manuscripts in 1875. They are also printed by Schulze, *Prolegom.*, pp. 8–9, but not so fully. I arrange them in the order of the capitula² or libri as cited by de Montagnone, printing in full the variants of the six manuscripts used, in addition to the Venice edition, by Ellis and Peiper. For convenience these manuscripts are denoted as follows: A = Add. Mss. Brit. Mus. 22, 801; B = Bodl. Misc. 186; C = Nov. Coll. 100; D = IF 129 Breslau königl. Bibl. (Peiper's a); E = IF 246 Breslau königl. Bibl. (Peiper's b); F = IV F 50 Breslau königl. (Peiper's c). A is apparently the best of Ellis's manuscripts, and D is said by Peiper to be the best of those in Breslau. All are full of errors and apparently those used by the Venice edition of the *Compendium* were little better.

Hieremias de Montagnone, *Compendium moralium notabilium*, ed. Ven. 1505.

Pars I, lib. III, rubr. 8. Catulus l'5. Omnes fallimur: neque est quisquam quem non in aliqua re videre suffectu possis: suus cuique attributus est error. (= Catullus XXII 18–20, lacking *nimirum idem* at the beginning.)

Var. lect. li. V A in V B c. V C c. 7 DEF omē (omnes) A nec (neque) DEF qui DEF de or ðe (re) A suffonum DEF posses A atque (cuique) A.

IIII, III 8. Catullus c. 5. risu inepto res ineptior nulla est (= XXXVIII 16, omitting *nam*).

Var. lect. c. 7 DEF ineptior A.

III, IIII 8. Catullus c. 5. Ocium et reges et beata per odit urbes. (= LI 15–16).

Var. lect. Catullus c. V B li. V C ocium et om. B et om. C prius et beatas perodit A redditur B reddidit C. (This citation was omitted by Peiper's manuscripts or overlooked by Peiper himself).

IIII, V, II. Catullus c. 8. nulla viro iuranti femina credat nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles quis dum aliquid cupiens animus

¹ R. Peiper, Q. Valerius Catullus. Beiträge zur Kritik seiner Gedichte. Breslau, 1875, pp. 20, 21. The earliest mention of the citations was made by Ingram Bywater, who in 1870 pointed out four of them to Ellis, cf. Ellis, *Praefatio* (large ed.), p. 16.

² *Capitulum*, not *caput*, seems to be the word abbreviated by *c.* or *ca.* in the *Compendium*, for in the last citation the full word occurs. The makers of the Venice edition may have merely inferred this from the abbreviations in their manuscripts.

pregessit adipisci nil metuunt iurare nil promittere parcunt sed simul ac cupide mentis saciata libido est dicta nihil metuere nihil periuria curant. (= LXIII 143-148, omitting Nunc iam).

Var. lect. Catulo c. 8 A. Catulus c. VIII BC. Catulus c. 8 DEF nulla ē B ī C iuranti iuranti C credet E cred' F speret sermones speret esse C qui DE quis ABCF aliquis CF capiens F pregressit ABDE p̄grossit F apisci A aspici DEF et ipsi B (animus) ipsi C metun F (iurare) ipsi C promittere A percunt C silat A (i. e., simul atque) sumit ac B sumit at C sociata ADEF libido om. A nichil . . . nichil ABDEF (*nisi semel* nihil B) pernicioſa (periuria) EF.

II, I 5. Catullus c. 9 ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti (= LXVIII 137).

Var. lect. Catullus ca. 9 B *et sic fere* AC c. nono EF nimirum E scimus EF molestē F.

III, VI 3. Catullus poeta c. 9 Estne novis nuptiis odio venus atque parentum. Frustrantur falsis gaudia lachrymulis (= LXVI 15-16).

Var. lect. Catullus poeta c. IX. B c. 4. C nuptis DEF estque EF nuptiis EF (nupciis C) odit C frustratur B falsis om. C lacrimulis (lacrimilis B) DEF.

III, V, II. Capitulo ii et pe. difficile est longum subito deponere amorem (= LXXVI 15-16).

Var. lect. idem c. xi et pe. BC c. 12 A c. ii et plit' F c. 12 et pult' DE.

Three suggestions as to the source of these citations have been made. Ingram Bywater, whose view is given by Ellis (Prolegom. pp. 11-12), and Baehrens (Prolegom. to Vol. I, p. 58) believed that they were taken from a florilegium arranged according to subject matter into chapters or books. With this view B. Schmidt (Prolegom. p. 98) and Schulze agree, but Ellis, rightly as it seems to me, demurs. He points out that the order of the citations follows the order of the poems in our manuscripts, which would be very improbable in a collection of excerpts arranged by content. He adds that we have no other trace of such a florilegium—a purely negative argument. According to Ellis's own view, which we may consider second in order, the citations were made from the codex Veronensis itself, and de Montagnone himself added the peculiar arrangement by capitula or libri because the manuscript had no numbered poems. Ellis finds support for this view in a pair of common errors which

exist, as he thinks, both in our manuscripts of Catullus (descendants of V)¹ and in de Montagnone's excerpts. I shall discuss these two supposed errors below, but it may be remarked here that this point can hardly affect the question one way or the other, since the source, whether V or not, could have got these errors from some earlier complete manuscript; i. e., we have no means of determining the age of these corruptions.

Neither Ellis nor Schulze seems to consider seriously the third possibility, to which both allude, that de Montagnone may have used a complete manuscript different from V—and yet this solution of the problem seems to me to have much in its favor. Peiper has considered this possibility more carefully. He says, "Aus der art wie der compiler die gedichte citirt, möge man nicht zu viel schliessen. Wie er sich den Tobias des Matthaeus Vindocinensis in capitel geteilt hat zum zweck bequemerer anführung so hat er es auch hier gethan. Es nimmt allerdings wunder, dass das gedicht c. LXVIII b dem 9, c. LXXVII [read LXXVI] schon dem 12 capitel zugeschrieben wird, und die wenigen kurzen gedichte die dazwischen liegen, zwei ganze capitel füllen sollen. Das zeigt aber eben, dass nicht Jeremias selbst die eintheilung vorgenommen, sondern, dass er höchstens rubriken die er vorfand, numerirt hat. Sein codex müsste dann allerdings sehr stark in dieser beziehung von den uns bekannten abgewichen sein". Peiper notes the difficulty of finding rubrics (he means *titles*)² in our manuscripts between de Montagnone's 9 (= c. LXVIII) and 12³ (= c. LXXVI), for our manuscripts give titles to only two poems, LXVIII and LXXII, but he says nothing of the greater difficulty, the impossibility indeed, of explaining on this theory why de Montagnone should have grouped the first sixty-eight poems under only nine numbers and then used 10, 11, 12 on the next eight. But the theory that his numerical grouping has anything to do with the titles of the poems is not only improbable, but must now be abandoned

¹ After R. Peiper, l. c., p. 20 f. Ellis did not express this view so clearly in 1878, but he says in his recent Oxford text (1904), Praefat. V., Ex hoc codice [i. e. V] . . . creditur versus aliquot intulisse . . . de Montagnone.

² Peiper continues: freilich gibt Schwabe von LXVIII bis LXXVI nur soviel rubriken als wir brauchen, bei LXVIII selbst "in Rufum", bei LXXII "ad Lesbiam", womit wir c. 10 und 11 des Jeremias beginnen lassen könnten, etc.

³ See p. 192 for the probable incorrectness of this figure 12.

because we do not know how many titles V had. In fact, everything tends to show that very few of the titles in our manuscripts beginning with G (1375) go back to V. They are, as Peiper recognizes, usually figments made up from the poems by the later scribes, and those which possibly existed in V are much fewer than Peiper in 1875 could know.¹

Thus neither Peiper nor Ellis makes it probable that V was de Montagnone's source, and indeed if V had numerical divisions of any sort, we should have some trace of the fact in our manuscripts, especially in so conscientious a copy as O. To say with Ellis that de Montagnone's peculiar numbered capitula or libri were made by him for his own convenience, because the source had no numerical divisions, is to beg the question, unless it can be shown that he was in the habit of foisting on his sources some arrangement of his own. Peiper gives one instance of this in his treatment of the Tobias of Matthaëus Vindocinensis which he has apparently arranged in chapters, but it is evident that his treatment of a long elegiac poem like the Tobias is hardly likely to have been extended to a collection of miscellaneous poems like those of Catullus. The fourteenth century is too early for such arbitrary treatment of a classical writer and he was not interested in the form or position in the sources of his excerpts, but merely in the content—*ad reformandos hominum mores*, as Scardeonius says. Moreover, it would be impossible to explain on this theory why he chose just these numbers. Why, for example, should he prefix a "5" to Catullus XXII and LI, a "9" to LXVIII, etc.? Why should he now use the mere number, now capitulum, now liber? The last peculiarity is exactly what would occur if he had before him a manuscript having certain numbered groups of

¹ The titles not only show discrepancies from the text; e. g., XXXII, LXV, XXXI, and are sometimes wrongly placed, e. g., II has a title that fits III, XXXVII 17 has apparently a title for XXXIX, and XCII has a title for XCIII, but they are in a hand (in G) later than the scribe's, with two exceptions, cf. Thomas in Benoist's edition, p. 571. They have apparently been taken into V from some manuscript (probably of the same family) in which the scribe made them up from the first line of the poem after the model of a few that already existed in his exemplar and may have come from V. These few are those to cc. IIII, V, VI and possibly LIX (?) and LXII, cf. OT, though O's explicit epithalamium refers to LXI. For XXII the Flores moralium auctoritatum, Verona, 1329, gives a title Ad Varum which may have been in V. The ad Cornelium, which stands in the heading of many of our manuscripts, may be a misplaced title of c. I.

poems, but no words (*capitulum*, *liber*) or abbreviations for these words (c. ca. li., etc.), prefixed to the numerals.¹ The main and inevitable inference from his method of citation is that his manuscript of Catullus had numbered sections of some sort. That there is nothing improbable, not to say insane,² about this inference, but that various considerations substantiate it, I shall try to show.

It is clear that the numbering in the source did not refer to individual poems, for de Montagnone cites no less than three poems (XXII, XXXVIII, LI) under c. or li. 5, and two (LXVI, LXVIII) under c. 9. Moreover, we may infer that the individual poems were not numbered at all, since citation by numbered poems would have been far more convenient than the system adopted by de Montagnone; i. e., the source had no double system of numbering by group and poem. If then these numbers do not refer to the separate poems, to what do they refer? Everything seems to indicate that they are traces of an arrangement of the poems in metrical groups. It is of course impossible to make out details of this arrangement, but some general features may still be discerned.

The certain numerical groups are 5, 8, and 9, for the numeral attached to the last citation (from LXXVI) is uncertain.³ Now, it is noteworthy that under 5 are cited choliambic poems, XXII and XXXVIII, to which by confusion is added LI, a Sapphic poem,⁴ under 8 a hexameter poem, LXIII, and under 9 elegiac

¹In the sources of the *Compendium* (including the Venice ed.) the abbreviations c., ca., or c. et pe (plT or pult') occur thirty times, li. occurs twice, and twice there is a mere numeral. This last form probably represents the Catullian source most closely.

²*Quem enim bene sanum statuere posse fuisse olim Catulli codicem in capita divisum?* (Schulze after Baehrens).

³The Venice edition has *Capitulum II et pe*. The manuscripts vary and give c. 12, c. XI, and c. II. See p. 192.

⁴This would indicate that in the source the Sapphic group stood just before the Choliambics (V) and that the numeral V stood in the margin, so that de Montagnone, who was not interested in the metre of his excerpts and rarely preserves the verse divisions, wrongly assigns LI 15-16, the *last two lines* of the poem, to group V. Probably the source had these two lines written as one, for our manuscripts make the same error in XI 23-24 which GO write as one verse; cf. the similar error at LI 7-9, where the manuscripts show no sign of a lacuna.

poems LXVI, LXVIII, and LXXVI.¹ There was, therefore, in the source a choliambic group (V), a hexameter group (VIII), and an elegiac group (IX). What were the other groups not cited by Montagnone? Assuming for the moment that the elegiac group was the next to the last or penultimate (cf. *pe. plr.*, *pult'* in the citations), the total number of groups was ten—a number which agrees strikingly with the number of metres employed by Catullus. If we count the metrical experiments LV and LVIII b, with the ordinary Phalaeceans of which they are mere variations, and include in another single group all the iambic poems, IIII, XXIX, LII, XXV, there are just ten varieties of metre in Catullus. The manuscript used by de Montagnone may, therefore, have been arranged somewhat as follows:

I. Phalaeceans or hendecasyllables, including LV and LVIII b.

II. Iambics IIII, XXIX, LII, XXV (tetrameter).

III. Asclepiad XXX.

IIII. Sapphics XI, LI (cited by error in V).

V. Choliambics or scazons, XXXVIII and XII cited. Perhaps XXXVIII preceded. At any rate this poem was the first choliambic poem in some collection (or libellus?) used by the metricians who cite it instead of VIII or XXII.

VI. Galliambic LXIII.

VII. Glyconics XXXIII and LXI.

VIII. Hexameters LXIII (cited) and LXII. Marius Victorinus cites LXIII, not LXII; cf. above on XXXVIII.

IX. Elegiacs LXVI, LXVIII, LXXVI (cited—the last under corrupt numbers).

X. Priapean, frag. II (Ellis), XVII, frag. III (?). The metricians cite frag. II, not c. XVII; cf. above on XXXVIII and LXIII. The mutilation of two poems here would indicate that the Priapeans came last in some collection or libellus. Priapeia seem to have been occasionally attached to the other poems of an author; cf. the Tibullus collection.

If this grouping is even approximately correct, the manuscript resembled in general outlines the codex Veronensis, a picture of which, at least so far as arrangement is concerned, is given by

¹There is little doubt that the numeral concealed by the variants in this citation is IX or VIII, since c. LXXVI is elegiac. An obvious error of the same sort in the manuscripts of the *Compendium* may be seen in the variants of the sixth citation which C assigns to c. 4 instead of c. 9, the elegiac group, as the other manuscripts have it.

our extant manuscripts, especially by OGMBR. Like V, it began with the shorter lyrical poems in various metres (I-LX), continued with the longer poems (LXIII, LXI with XXXIII, LXIII, LXII), and closed with the elegiac poems (LXV-CXVI), and the Priapeans at the extreme end. The hendecasyllabic, the choliambic, the Sapphic poems, etc., were placed in each case together, though apparently not always in the same relative position which they now occupy; e. g., XXXVIII, not VIII, may have been the first choliambic, LXIII, not LXII, the first hexameter poem, and the poem of which frag. II remains, not XVII, the first of the Priapeans. In the same way XXXIII was placed with LXI, but whether before or after LXI it is impossible to say. It is equally impossible to say whether the longest elegiac poems LXVIII, LXV-LXVII, LXXVI were placed first in the elegiac group, though LXIII was probably the first hexameter poem.

The chief motive for such an 'edition' of Catullus was the desire to produce greater uniformity, probably for practical purposes of citation by those interested in his exceedingly varied metrical work.

Let us now see what light is thrown on the problem by the formation and history of our extant *liber Catullianus*. The poems as we have them fall roughly into three groups: I-LX, all short and in various metres; LXI-LXIII, all long and still varied in metre; LXV-CXVI, long and short, but all in elegiac metre. This arrangement, according to the view now generally accepted, is probably not so much the result of design as of the mere process by which our *liber* was formed—by combining several separate *libelli* and adding scattered pieces. It is unnecessary here to enter into the discussion of this question,¹ but the most cogent arguments and results may be briefly stated. Our present *liber* is too long (2286 vv., not to mention losses) and too heterogeneous in content and metre and style to have been published as a unit in, or even shortly after, the lifetime of Catullus. Chronological considerations add to the weight of these facts: XI, early in the collection, is one of the latest poems that can be dated with certainty, and Catullus can hardly have waited until 54 B. C.—the date of XI, XXIX, etc.—before publishing at

¹ Literature and discussion in Baehrens, *Prolegom.* to Vol. II, c. IV (1885); B. Schmidt, *Prolegom.*, pp. 89-97 (1887); Ellis, *Commentary* on c. I (1889). The best treatment is by Birt, *Antik. Buchwesen*, pp. 401 ff. (1882).

least a part of his work in libellus form. Nor would he have included the lampoons against Caesar after he had become reconciled with him.¹ In addition to the general heterogeneity of the collection there is other strong internal evidence. The present dedicatory poem to Nepos (I), with its implied reference to a volume of *nugae*, is not suited to our collection in which many poems (LXI-LXVI, LXVIII, etc.) can by no possibility have been termed *nugae*. This is strengthened by the existence of a fragment (XIII b) apparently dedicatory or at least prefatory, and by the absence of any extensive traces of artistic arrangement, for those who like Schulze (*Catullforschungen*, Berlin, 1881), R. Richter (*Catulliana*, Leipsic, 1881), and Birt, *Philologus* LXIII, have tried to prove that the present arrangement is original at least in part, have established their case only in a very limited degree. Poems II-VII, and perhaps some parts of the epigrams, show traces of *variatio*. Aside from these few poems utter planlessness seems to prevail. Finally Martial (III 14 and XI 6) indubitably refers to a libellus that began, not with c. I, but with one of the *passer* poems (II or III).²

It may therefore be considered as proved that Catullus, after his poems had circulated separately (cf. I 4, XVI 12-13, LXV, etc.), collected in several libelli from time to time those which he wished to publish. Of these libelli we are sure of at least two: a 'Cornelius book' and a '*passer* book', and hardly less sure that c. LXVIII, the epyll, formed a separate libellus, for these epylls were the style at the time, as Catullus himself, to mention no other evidence, proves by his reference to the Zmyrna of his friend Cinna (XCV); and it is the longest and most isolated in character of all the poems. These three libelli still leave unaccounted for the elegies, the marriage poems, and the Attis, to say nothing of the epigrams. But we need not assume that Catullus himself published these in other libelli, nor need we ask

¹ The argument of Bachrens, *Prolegom. to Vol. II*, p. 59, that these lampoons had become too well known to be suppressed and that Catullus would have included them—*ne quis quod suo iure ibi* [i. e., in the book] *quaereret frustra quaereret*—hardly refutes this.

² It is interesting to note that Munro gave up his view that Catullus himself, just before his death, published his collected works. He says, "I now see that the 'libellus' . . . to Nepos can hardly have contained the whole or anything like the whole of his extant poems . . . what poems were sent with it, I am quite unable to decide". Cf. *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, second ed., p. 71 note.

just what poems were, or could have been, included in various libelli. It is enough that in Martial's time there were still circulating at least two separate libelli. About 100 A. D., therefore, no collected edition, if such had been made, had as yet superseded the smaller editions of parts of the poems. Whenever this collection was made, it was effected on the basis of the length and metrical character of the poems. The second point illustrates the same tendency which, carried out in detail, produced the archetype of the manuscript which de Montagnone seems to have used. For although the separate libelli lay at the basis of our *liber Catullianus*, the planless arrangement proves that these libelli were treated arbitrarily by the compiler, and especially the last part—the elegiac poems—were placed together purely on the basis of metre. We cannot believe that Catullus or anybody with the artistic conceptions of the ancients would have published as a unit such widely different poems as LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII, LXXVI, and the epigrams. Even the length of the poems was disregarded in this group; e. g., LXXVI stands in the midst of short poems, although both in tone and length it belongs rather with the elegies. The arguments derived from chronology and from the inclusion of lampoons on Caesar apply with the same force to this part of the poems as to the whole *liber*; cf. dates of CXIII (55 B. C.) and the anti-Caesarian XCIII. The metre, then, plays the controlling part in the fusion of the third part of our *liber Catullianus*.¹ It needed only the consistent extension of this principle to the rest of the poems to produce such an edition as de Montagnone seems to have had.

The ascendancy of form over content in ancient systems of classification of literary phenomena is well known, and the polymetry of Catullus would be the first feature to impress an

¹Schmidt, *Prolegom.*, p. 97, thinks that this result was produced by excerpting from the various libelli everything in elegiac verse. This would be the exact process by which the edition of de Montagnone was made. But it is more probable that there was an original libellus of epigrams which afforded the nucleus of the third part of our collection; cf. the traces of variatio pointed out by Birt, *l. c.*, p. 194 above. Why moreover should a compiler have selected in this way only poems in elegiac verse, except that they are more numerous than any others, and not the two hexameter poems, one of which was almost certainly by itself in a separate libellus? At any rate the existence of an elegiac libellus and its probable continuance and increase as a metrical unit in our *liber* is significant of the sort of interest in Catullus and method of classification of his poems.

ancient who contemplated a collected edition. The testimonia abundantly prove that there was great interest in this feature of the poems. Citations from Catullus were often made by name or native place, Catullus (sometimes misspelled Catulus), Catullus Veronensis, Veronensis poeta, etc. Such references occur sixty or seventy times, beginning with Pliny the Elder and extending with long breaks down to Petrarch. There are thirty or forty citations without explicit reference, mostly from the glosses, and two or three by title (cf. XVII 19, LXII 45(?), XXII 19-21). The citations by metre, either with or without the name of the poet, number about thirty, counting only once mere repetitions of the same passage by the same author; e. g., IV 1 is cited eleven times by Terentianus Maurus. Now, although all the other systems of citation might indicate as their source either a collected edition or separate libelli, these citations by metre would certainly best suit a collected edition in which metrical grouping existed. There is in fact only a single one of these references which makes any allusion that may be positively construed as referring to a libellus. Terentianus Maurus 2899, speaking of the Galliambic metre (LXIII 1) says, *Servasse quae*; i. e., the principles just stated, *probat ipse tibi liber: Super alla*, etc. Though this may refer, as Birt thinks (Antik. Buchw., p. 411, Anm. 2), to the book in which the Attis stood, it may refer even better to a collected *liber*; cf. not only the date of Terentianus (late in the 2nd century) and the term *liber*, not libellus, though we must not press this too much in an isolated case.

The number of these citations by metre, even allowing for the repetition of 'stock examples' handed on by one metrician to another, sufficiently indicates the great interest in the metres of Catullus. The most interesting of these for our purpose are Seneca, Controvers. 7, 9, who says, speaking of c. LIII 5, *erat enim* (sc. *Calvus*) *parvulus statura propter quod etiam Catullus in hendecasyllabis vocat illum salaputium disertum*. Others are:

Priscian, p. 16 H., *Catullus . . . inter hendecasyllabos phalaeccios* (on II 13).

Charisius 97, 10 K., Saepius . . . *Catullus in hendecasyllabis* (on XLII 5).¹

¹ Charisius asserts that Catullus used the form pugillaria (XLII 5) 'saepius'. The form occurs only here in the extant poems of Catullus. If Charisius is right, other hendecasyllabi once existed in which Catullus used this form several times.

Quintilian IX 4, 141 (no name), *in carmine iambis* (cites first two verses of XXIX).

Caesius Bassus 262, 19 K., *Catullus in anacreonteo*. The citation is lost.¹

Festus, p. 273 M., *Catullus <in galliambis>*, if the restoration is correct.

These citations would certainly fit very well an edition in which there were groups of hendecasyllabi, etc., which, as has been shown on the other grounds, probably existed.

The interest in the metres of Catullus is also shown by the well known passage, brilliantly emended by Haupt, in which Gellius (VI 20, 6) discussed the hiatus in XXVII 4, *ebria acina ebriosioris*. The passage runs (See Hertz's Gellius), *cum dicere 'ebrio' posset et quod erat usitatus 'acinum' in neutro genere appellare, amans tamen hiatus illius Homericus suavitatem, 'ebriam,' dixit propter insequentis a litterae concentum. Qui 'ebriosa' autem Catullum dixisse putant aut 'ebrioso', nam id quoque temere scriptum invenitur, in libros scilicet de corruptis exemplaribus factos inciderunt*. This indicates the same kind of metrical work on Catullus in the second century that conserved, and perhaps added, many cases of hiatus in the text of Plautus.² In the time of Gellius some manuscripts of Catullus, complete libri probably, had the hiatus, others had not. The former probably represented an edition which was careful on metrical points, perhaps even had the grouping suggested by de Montagnone's citations.³

¹ H. Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* VI, p. 262, thinks that the lost citation of Caesius Bassus was Catull. LXIII 91, *dea magna dea Cybebe* [read *Cybelle*], for Bassus considers the first half of the Galliambic verse as an anacreonteon; cf. Terent. Maurus 2862 ff. K, *Mar. Vict.*, pp. 153-154 K.

² Cf. Klotz, *Grundzüge altröm. Metrik*, p. 170. Lindsay, *Ancient Editions of Plautus*, pp. 134-135.

³ It is well known that Pliny the Younger published a booklet of *nugae* which he called *hendecasyllabi*—*qui titulus sola metri lege constringitur* (IV 14, 8). Probably this volume contained poems exclusively in hendecasyllabic metre; cf. Lafaye, *Catulle et ses modèles*, Paris, 1894, p. 98. He adds (VII 4, 8) that numerous predecessors (V 3) had done the same. Since Catullus was to him as to others the model for such compositions and is always in his thoughts when he speaks of his own trifles, it is tempting to infer that the latter was included by him among the authors of such libelli. We should thus gain an additional indication that such metrical units existed before the formation of our *liber Catullianus*. Catullus himself speaks of his hendecasyllabi only in

The same tendency to notice metrical differences is seen in the title of c. LXII in our manuscripts, *Exametrum carmen nuptiale*, and in the frequent metrical notes in GM, etc.; e. g., *Genus metr. faleutici endecasillabus* (on c. I), *trimeter iambicus* (c. IV), etc., etc., for the first twenty-three poems, although it would probably be too rash to assume that these come from an ancient source. *Pastrengicus*, d. 1360, was struck by the variety of the metres; cf. his *De originibus rerum*, p. 18 b, ed. Venice, 1547; *Catullus, Veronensis poeta, Ciceronis coetaneus, librum vario metrorum genere exaratum, scholasticis legendum tradidit Protholomaei Alexandri temporibus*. From the first century to the fourteenth there is thus abundant evidence that the polymetrical aspect of the poems excited peculiar interest, and it is to this interest that we may attribute the formation of an edition arranged on the basis of metre.

There was at least one other family of manuscripts as late as the ninth century, as is proved by the codex Thuanus (T), for the compiler of this florilegium excerpted c. LXII, not from the archetype, but from a descendant of the archetype. This is inferred by a comparison of the form of c. LXII in T with the form of the same poem in the descendants of V. Moreover V itself (or some ancestor of V) was compared with some manuscript of a different family. Certain of the very numerous double readings, which appear in OG and especially RM, must have existed in V, and some of them indicate comparison with another source; cf. especially Schulze, *prolegom.*, p. 54 ff. But no description of these inferred manuscripts can be based on the meagre data at our disposal.

If de Montagnone used an edition differing so widely from our extant liber, it may be said that his excerpts ought to include some variants in text that would prove the independence of their source. It would require a careful analysis of the known manuscripts of the *Compendium* to answer this objection at all adequately, and such an analysis has not been made. We have at our disposal only the Venice edition and the six manuscripts¹ used by Peiper and Ellis. These sources are full of such errors

hendecasyllabic poems. Furthermore, Pliny may refer, IX 25. 3, *passerculis et columbulis nostris*, not merely to poems like *Catullus* II and III (cf. Lafaye, p. 125), but also to the *passer libellus* known to Martial.

¹ Peiper alludes to still another, mentioned by Osann, a Darmstadt manuscript, which nobody has examined (apparently) for *Catullus*.

as would naturally be made by careless scribes copying a work full of disconnected excerpts from other writers. There is no case in which all the available sources of the Compendium unite in giving a variant that may not be found in our manuscripts of Catullus. Some of the variants supported by one or more of the sources of the Compendium are nevertheless interesting, although it is impossible to say in any instance whether the variant represents the archetype of the Compendium, and therefore the Catullian source, or has arisen independently in the tradition of the Compendium itself. In LI 16, *perdidit* (correct) appears in the Compendium as *per odit* ed. 1505 *perodit* A *redditur* B *reddidit* C, but *per odit* (perodit) is too close to *perdidit* to warrant the assumption that the Catullian source of the Compendium had a similar corruption, and we do not know what Peiper's manuscripts have here. *Redditur* and *reddidit* are obvious guesses. In XXII 19 the *suffectu* of ed. 1505 ABC is apparently not to be traced back to the Catullian source, since DEF have *suffonum*, practically the correct reading, *suffenum*. In LXIII 145 *apisci*, the manuscripts DEF of the Compendium have *aspici*, but A has *apisci* correctly, BC have *et ipsi* or *ipsi*, while the ed. 1505 has the modernization *adipisci*, so that we may feel fairly certain that the Catullian source had *apisci* or *adipisci* probably the former. Ellis and Schulze should note A's *apisci* in their critical apparatuses, for on Ellis's theory that de Montagnone used V, the common corruption to *adipisci* in our manuscripts is thus proved to be later than 1300.

But if in these and other cases; e. g., LXIII 147, LXVI 16, etc., we cannot prove that the Catullian source of de Montagnone's Compendium had a reading really different from that of our manuscripts, it is equally impossible to say that because the Compendium has some of the same errors as our Catullian manuscripts it must derive its excerpts from V or a manuscript of the V family. Ellis cites as a common error LXVI 15 *atque* *parentum*, which is read both by our manuscripts of Catullus and by those of the Compendium. But *atque* is now accepted by Schulze and Merrill and it is very questionable whether it is to be viewed as an error. LXIII 145 *adipisci* has been discussed above, and it is evident that the *adipisci* of the manuscripts of Catullus and of the ed. 1505 of the Compendium can more easily be explained from *apisci* (R Ven B, etc., of Catullus, A of the Compendium) than the reverse. Neither of these cases, therefore, can be viewed as

a genuine common error, and they are the only two cited by Ellis in support of his theory that de Montagnone used V.

Other corruptions in the sources of the Compendium are either shared by only a part of the manuscripts of Catullus or do not appear in the latter at all; e. g., *nec* and *neque* (XXII 18), *ocium* and *et om.*, LI, 15,—the continuous writing of these two verses is probably an old error going back of the immediate archetypes of both families), LXIII 147 *sociata* (BO, etc., of Catullus, ed. 1505 (*sociata* ADEF) of the Compendium), *ibid.* 148 *nichil* (O of Catullus, ABD of the Compendium). All these corruptions are obviously better explained as mere scribal errors which have arisen independently in the manuscripts of Catullus and in those of the Compendium than as due to a common source. It is useless to make out a list of corruptions found only in the Compendium, since neither the readings of its sources nor those of the Catullus manuscripts are available in complete form. Finally no new correct reading appears in the Compendium, but this is not surprising since only sixteen lines in all are cited. The results, therefore, of this part of our investigation are purely negative.

The lack of analogies for a manuscript arranged on the basis of metrical variation is not to be taken as a serious objection to the theory that such a manuscript of Catullus once existed. The collected liber Catullianus was unique, as we have seen, in its length, its heterogeneous content and style, and its polymetry. Horace and Statius (in the *Silvae*) are the only two Latin poets who even approximate these peculiarities, and in both cases there exist proofs that the larger divisions (into books) of the best manuscripts represent arrangements made by the authors themselves.

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VI.—ΕΞ ΑΠΑΛΩΝ ΟΝΥΧΩΝ.

What is the precise meaning of the Greek proverbial tag, *ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων*? The good bishop Arsenius understood it as ἀντὶ τοῦ *σηπιοῦσθαι*, and Zonaras had defined it by *ἐκ βρέφους* (see Schneidewin and Leutsch's *Paroemiographi Graecii*, Diogenianus 5, 15, and ii, Apostolius 7, 51^a); and they have been followed by many modern interpreters. Other scholars define, in a rough way, by 'penitus, medullitus'; e. g., Page in his note on Horace 3, 6, 24: "the Greek phrase . . seems to mean not 'from the time when the nails are tender', i. e., 'from tenderest years', but 'from the most sensitive part of the body', or, as we say, 'from the heart' (*penitus, medullitus*), the base of the nail where it joins the flesh being peculiarly sensitive and susceptible to feeling". This interpretation is based on Plutarch, *de lib. educ.* 5, "wo es von Müttern die ihre Kinder selbst stillen heisst *ὡς ἂν ἔνδοθεν (penitus) καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀπαλῶν ἀγαπᾶσαι τὰ τέκνα*", which Kiessling in his note on the Horace passage interprets by "also eine Empfindung, welche bis in die Fingerspitzen, wo unter den Nägeln die Nerven verlaufen, dringt". He continues, "so sagt Plautus *perpruriscamus usque ex unguiculis* (*Stichus* 761), so Cicero von dem nur 6 Jahre jüngern P. Lentulus Spinther *praesta te eum qui mihi a teneris ut Graeci dicunt unguiculis es cognitus*, ad *Fam.* 1, 6".

Now it does not seem to me possible that Cicero would have used the phrase in such a context as "you are *known* to me from (to) the quick of *my (your)* fingers",¹ and the Plautus passage (imitated by Apuleius, *Met.* 10, 22) is, with its context, as follows:

* * * celeriter
lepidam et suavem cantionem aliquam occupito cinaedicam
ubi perpruriscamus usque ex unguiculis.

This is a song and dance situation, a request to strike up a dancing-tune 'whereby to make us itch e'en from the nails'.

¹ Cf. Juvenal, 7, 231 *auctores noverit omnes/tamquam ungues digitosque suos*.

There is also a Greek dance situation in which our words are found; viz., Anthol. Pal. 5, 128 (129):

τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίης ὀρχηστρίδα, τὴν κακοτέχνους
σχήμασιν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν κινυμένην ὀνύχων,
αἰνέω, οὐχ ὅτι πάντα παθαίνεται, οὐδ' ὅτι βάλλει
τὰς ἀπαλὰς ἀπαλῶς ὥδε καὶ ὥδε χέρας.

Now, without thought that we have a proverb before us, the natural interpretation of line 2 is, so far as we are now concerned, 'in naughty-skilful poses moving from her dainty nails' and the nails, sit venia verbo, may well have been—the toe-nails: not certainly the toe-nails, because of the part played in antique dancing by the hands, and here attested in line 4.¹ We meet with a similar situation, with the same uncertainty as between hands and feet, in Euripides' Cyclops, where Seilenus says:

156 βαβαί· χορεύσαι παρακαλεῖ μ' ὁ Βάκχιος.

159 ὥστ' εἰς ἄκρους γε τοὺς δνυχας ἀφίκετο (sc. ὁ οἶνος),

where again a modern will think of the wine as having affected the toes rather than the fingers.

Supposing that in both passages it is the toe-nails that are meant, what do we gain? A point of departure for the simple, pragmatic interpretation of our proverb as 'from the toes <up>'. The suppressed terminus ad quem is found in the following passages: Plautus, Epidicus 623,

usque ab unguiculis ad capillum summumst festivissima;

Cicero, Rosc. Com. 20,

nonne ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum.

These passages amply justify us in assuming that ἐξ (ἀπαλῶν) ὀνύχων is a tag needing to be filled out by something of the general sense of εἰς κορυφήν.² This explanation—it amounts, ἀπαλῶν apart, to

¹ On the use of χειρονομία see Sittl, die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer, p. 242, fn. 2, and add to his references Ovid, Rem. Am. 334:

fac saltet, nescit siqua movere manum;

cf. ibid. 754:

et vox et numeris bracchia mota suis;

further noting Ar. Am. 3, 348, cited by Rothstein on Propertius 2, 3, 17.

² I am not oblivious of the reverse order found elsewhere; e. g., ἐκ κορυφῆς εἰς ἄκρους—δνυχας (Anth. Pal. 9, 709) and ἐς νεάτους ἐκ κορυφῆς δνυχας (ibid. 12, 73), but cf. Shakespeare's variation of "from toe to crown" cited below.

defining ἐξ ὀνύχων roughly by 'funditus'—accounts for all the passages hitherto cited. The Greek danseuse took naughty, skilful poses 'from her toes <up>'; Cicero urged Lentulus to play the man 'from his toes <up>' (be every inch a man); and the mother described by Plutarch loved her children not only innerly (ἰνδοθεν; or inside <and out>?) but 'from their dear little toeses <up>'.

But three passages remain to be accounted for. In Anth. Pal. 5, 14, Europe, subsumed in the kiss of Europe,

τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει¹

'draws (sucks)' the soul up from the nails'. This means little more than Sappho-Catullus's (51) description of the effect of the smile of the beloved,

misero quod omnis | eripit sensus mihi;

it is but a way of describing the all-pervading thrill of passion, "from toe to crown".²

The next passage is the Horace stanza, 3, 6, 21-24 :

motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
matura virgo et fingitur artibus
iam nunc et incestos amores
de tenero meditatur ungui.

Here again we have a dance-situation, an amateur danseuse, thrilling 'from her dainty toe <up>' with the thought of guilty amours to come. But again, in view of χειρονομία, we may hesitate between toe and finger, though I fancy that the use of *de* instead of *ex* may point to the toe.

It will be profitable here to consider the epithet ἀπαλός (*tener*). Shall we take it literally in the sense of 'soft', or as a term of affection, 'dear' (cf. Lat. *unguiculus*)? Though these alterna-

¹ The text for our purpose is

Εὐρώπης τὸ φίλημα
* * *
* * ἀλλ' ἐρίσασα
τὸ στόμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει.

I would correct ἐρίσασα to ἐρέσασα, defining ἐρέσασα τὸ στόμα by 'movens os'.

² Cf. from Browning's *In a Gondola*, 'Sucks out my soul, thy heritage'.

³ Shakespeare's *Tempest* 4, 1, 233; cf. *Macbeth* 1, 5, 43:

Fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty.

tives are not exclusive. When the idiom was "a-borning" in the womb of popular speech ἀπαλός may have meant 'soft', and later when we meet it in the adult language of literature, may have come to mean 'dear'. In the infant the nails are soft and flexible to a relatively high degree, and in the infant of premature birth, not fully formed, even,—a point which it seems proper to consider in view of a curious phrase of Shakespeare's that the commentaries do not touch; viz., *Troilus and Cressida* 2, 1, 115:

" There's Ulysses and old Nestor whose wit was mouldy ere
your grandsires had nails on their toes",

where, unless the phrase was hit off vaguely when the poet's eye was in a fine frenzy rolling, we may surmise that back of Shakespeare, midwives and nurses had fixed in this locution their observation of infants born out of time.

Accordingly, in view of the definitions of Zonaras¹ and Arsenius, cited above, we must ask if ἀπαλός connoted 'young'. That such a connotation is conceivable will be clear from the Homer and Aristotle examples cited by Liddell and Scott, and I prefer not to "rattle" the bones of the old quotations save where I fancy I can beat a fresh rhythm. But the history of our idiom were incomplete without the citation of Io. Lydos, *de Mag.* 2, 26² (ca. 525, A. D.), to-wit: τοὺς δὲ νόμους εἰδὼς εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, οἷς ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἐνερράφη. Here there can be small doubt that Lydos used our phrase in the sense of 'a pueritia', rather than vaguely for 'funditus', but he is the first authority for a usage in which the connotation 'young' has clearly ousted the definition 'soft' > 'dear'; he is the first user of our phrase in a context where we do not improve the sense by supplying εἰς κορυφήν; and if the emphasis he lays on ἀπαλῶν is so great as to forbid our supplying εἰς κορυφήν for the interpretation, this late usage is not adequate to overthrow the satisfactory interpretation gained of this passage by supplying εἰς κορυφήν everywhere else.

¹ The Romanizing epigram, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 567,

ἧ καὶ ἐτ' ἐκ βρέφους κοιμωμένη Ἀντιοδημῖς
πορφυρέων, Παφίης νοσσίς, ἐπὶ κροκίδων κ.τ.λ.

probably uses ἐκ βρέφους as a translation of the Latin idiom 'ab infante', and has no value as evidence.

² I am indebted to Professor Shorey's *Horace* (c. 3, 6, 24) for this reference; and to Professor Shorey's kindness for an excerpt of the passage.

Dismissing as insoluble by the literary evidence at hand the question to what physical condition of the nails the epithet ἀπαλός (*tener*) was originally due, I would not stop with 'dainty', but rather go on to 'dear', as the established literary signification of the term; and instead of trying to trace the change of sense by lexical processes, fall back on a human motive for the transfer. How Greek mothers played with their babies I cannot find described in the books, and even the modern child-study books seem to me on a cursory inspection to say very little on that point, but Plutarch's mother-nurse kissed, I fancy, her baby's feet, and played with his soft little toes, and spoke some playful formula over them one by one as our mothers repeat,

This little pig says 'I want some corn';
 This little pig says 'Where'r yuh goin' to get it'?
 This little pig says 'In master's barn';
 This little pig says 'I'm goin' too';
 This little pig says 'Wee, wee, wee; you can't get over
 master's barn door-sill'.

Given the mother playing with her baby's foot, and we find the motive for ἀπαλῶν in ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων *eis* κορυφήν, and when, in literature, the phrase had dwindled to ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων [*eis* κορυφήν], we have a cold idiom fit to describe the completeness of a Cicero's acquaintance with a Lentulus. But still the phrase is not loosed from its earlier connections with the dear, dainty toes¹ of baby, or of dancer, or sweetheart; and not till Lydos is the suppression of *eis* κορυφήν so entire that ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων has sunk to a bald 'a pueritia'.

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¹That the Greeks should have said 'nails' where we say 'toes' need not surprise us: at any rate, in view of Euripides, *Electra* 840,

ὀνυχας ἐπ' ἄκρους στάς,

we cannot question the fact. Possibly also, in the Juvenal citation given above in the first footnote unguis digitosque is not a hendiadys, but means 'toes and fingers.'

VII.—ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ AND ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΣ IN SCHOL. DEM.
DE PACE 6.

In the early part of his oration *On the Peace*, delivered in 346, Demosthenes reminds the Athenians of a number of occasions on which it would have been better for them to have followed his advice instead of that of interested counsellors. In § 6 he comes to the case of Neoptolemus, the famous tragic actor, whose representations about Philip had helped to determine the policy of the Athenians in connection with the Peace of Philocrates :

πάλιν τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτήν, τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πόλει, τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα, παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὐτ' ἐχθρας οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἔνεκα, ὥς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταύτ' ἔργων γέγονεν δῆλον. καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου λέγοντας, οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου τραγῳδοῦς ἐθεᾶσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὐτ' ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὐτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἤκούσατε.

Modern commentators on the last sentence have generally overlooked the implied compliment to Neoptolemus as an actor, to whose powers the Athenians could not be blamed for yielding. If the occasion had been an exhibition of tragedies, the rival actors being Neoptolemus and Demosthenes, the Athenians' approval of the former would not have been due, as Demosthenes thinks it was (οὕτως), to prejudice in his favor and against Demosthenes; they would have been wholly justified in preferring Neoptolemus. But it was, in fact, a debate on a matter of vital import to the state, and the actor's charm of voice and manner should have had no influence in the decision. Demosthenes blames the Athenians for applying false standards of judgment to matters of statesmanship.¹ One is reminded of the soreness

¹ The last part of the scholium to the passage, attached to *Νεοπτόλεμον* above, seems to indicate that the ancient commentator had the right interpretation; but in its present form the note is corrupt, due possibly to the taking over of *οὐκ* from the *οὐκ ἂν ἤκούσατε* of the text. In its original form it probably ran about as follows: θέλει δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι [οὐκ] "ἤκούσατε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου ὥσπερ ἐν

which he often betrays, in the orations *On the Crown* and *On the Embassy*, in alluding to the fine voice and histrionic ability of Aeschines. Arist. Rhet. III 1403 b, 30, reads almost like a commentary on the charge made by Demosthenes: *ἔστιν δὲ αὐτὴ* (i. e., *ὑπόκρισις*) *μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ. . . . τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων οὗτοι* (i. e., those who possess these qualities of voice) *λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖ μείζον δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικούς ἀγῶνας διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν* (Spengel, *πολιτειῶν* MSS).

To the word *ὑποκριτὴν* in the text of the passage from *De Pace* quoted above is attached an old note in the MSS; it reads as follows:

ὑποκριτὰς ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς νῦν τραγῳδοὺς λεγομένους, τοὺς ποιητὰς, οἷον τὸν Εὐριπίδην καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην, τοὺς δὲ νῦν ὑποκριτὰς (οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν δύο) τὸν μὲν δευτεραγωνιστὴν τὸν δὲ τριταγωνιστὴν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς τῶν δραμάτων τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τραγῳδοδιδασκάλους.

It has generally been assumed that the note as it stands is hopelessly corrupt. Lambinus, the sixteenth century French philologist, pointed out (in Morelli's edition, quoted by W. Dindorf) an obvious error of transmission and entirely rewrote the central portion.¹ Since his time no serious attempt has been made to elucidate the note; it passes current in its corrupt form if one wishes to prove by the first sentence that in early times the tragic poets were their own actors (though for this we have the superior testimony of Arist. Rhet. III 1), and in the rewritten form of Lambinus if one desires to find in the second sentence a neat statement about protagonist, deuteragonist, and tritagonist. It is my opinion, however, that the note is essentially sound as it stands, with the exception of the clause *τοὺς ποιητὰς*—*Ἀριστοφάνην*, whose displacement Lambinus detected but did not explain; and that it has, besides, a certain independent value in directing attention to a real difference between the usage of "the ancients" and that of a later time in the words *ὑποκριτής* and *τραγῳδός*.

Lambinus saw that Euripides and Aristophanes were mentioned as illustrations, not of *ὑποκριτὰς*, but of *ποιητὰς*; but his transfer of

τῷ θεάτρῳ, διὰ τῆς φωνῆς κηλούμενοι. ἐχρῆν δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐναντίον, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (εἰ καὶ ἐν θεάτρῳ MSS) ἤκούσατε ἀμφοτέρων, μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ προσθεσθαι ὡς παραινοῦντι τὰ χρέσιμα, οὐκ οὖν ἐμὸς ὁ τόπος; ἐμὴν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ψήφον ἐχρῆν. ἐκκλησία γὰρ ἦν."

¹ Lambinus deletes *τοὺς ποιητὰς* after *λεγομένους*, transfers *οἷον*—*Ἀριστοφάνην* to the end of the note, omits *τοὺς δὲ νῦν ὑποκριτὰς* entirely, rewrites the second sentence so as to read *οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν τρεῖς, ὁ μὲν πρωταγωνιστής, ὁ δὲ δευτεραγωνιστής, ὁ δὲ τριταγωνιστής*, and finally changes *τραγῳδοὺς* in the last line to *τραγικῶς*.

the *οἶον*-clause to a lower position does not explain how *τοὺς ποιητάς* came to be repeated before the *οἶον*-clause. Now it is to be observed that Demosthenes uses within a few lines both *ὑποκριτής* and *τραγῳδοί*. It was the juxtaposition of these two words in the text that led the scholiast to expand his note on *ὑποκριτής* by adding the third sentence, "the poets themselves they called *τραγῳδοί*, etc." We cannot assume for a moment that he fancied that Neoptolemus was a poet—indeed the preceding note on Neoptolemus speaks of him as an actor—or that he really thought that the ancients called poets *ὑποκριται* while the moderns called them *τραγῳδοί*. Either side of such a statement would have been utterly contrary to the usage of any period. As Neoptolemus was an actor, the first sentence obviously has reference to Demosthenes' use of *ὑποκριτής* where later writers would have used *τραγῳδός*. This consideration justifies the removal of the words *τοὺς ποιητάς*—*Ἀριστοφάνην* from their present context. Where did the intruding clause originally belong? The answer is found in the third sentence of the note. Here the MSS all give *τραγῳδοὺς*, which Lambinus would change to *τραγικούς*. *τραγικός*, it is true, is the usual late designation of the tragic poet; but the scholiast, who had just explained, in the first sentence, that *τραγῳδός* is now used where the ancients used *ὑποκριτής*, and, in the second sentence, that for the two inferior *ὑποκριται* the terms "deuteronist" and "tritagonist" were employed in the ancient writers, logically proceeds to tell what the ancients understood by *τραγῳδός*—the word which he found, besides, in the text which he was interpreting. The *τραγῳδοὺς* of the MSS is undoubtedly correct. It follows that the clause *τοὺς ποιητάς, οἶον*, etc., was not originally an integral part of the note. I would regard the whole interpolation as originally an independent note on the *τραγῳδοὺς* of the text, and conceive that it was so placed in the margin of the archetype that it was drawn by a copyist into the body of the preceding note—a common occurrence in the copying of marginal scholia.

We pass now to the second statement of the note. Here we recall an interesting result of the study of Richards in *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900), pp. 301 ff., on the meaning of *τραγῳδός* and *κωμῳδός*, in which he observed that Attic writers of the classical period do not use these words specifically of the actor.¹ Richards, however,

¹ They do not, however, *exclude* the meaning "actor," as Richards concluded, and as "actor of old plays" they occur in fourth-century inscriptions. Starting from a false deduction from the classical usage above referred to,

failed to recognize the fact that, from the third century on, *τραγῳδός* almost invariably denotes the leading actor of a troupe, the protagonist, and especially of a troupe which brought out old tragedies. It is the highest honorific title to which a tragic actor could attain. The scholiast had recognized this usage, and felt that a later writer would have referred to Neoptolemus as a *τραγῳδός* where Demosthenes calls him simply *ὑποκριτής*. Now if, as the scholiast had observed in the first statement, the ancient writers used *ὑποκριτής* where later writers used *τραγῳδός*, an explanation was in order of the terms used by the ancients for the other two actors of the troupe of three of the period of the guilds of Dionysiac *technitai*. And this explanation the scholiast proceeds to give, and with perfect clearness: while the protagonist was called simply *ὑποκριτής*, the two inferior actors, he says, were called "deuteragonist" and "tritagonist", respectively. Lambinus failed entirely to catch the drift of the note when he proposed to change *δύο* to *τρεις* and inserted *ὁ μὲν πρωταγωνιστής*, transforming the whole into a general statement of fact from what had been simply a statement of a difference in usage.

The contents of the note as a whole, as an explanation of what the scholiast conceived to be the divergent use of the terms employed in classical and post-classical times to describe the members of the tragic company, may be expressed in tabular form as follows:

	οἱ ἀρχαῖοι	οἱ νῦν
First actor	<i>ὑποκριτής</i> par excellence	<i>τραγῳδός</i>
Second actor	} <i>δευτεραγωνιστής</i>	<i>ὑποκριταί</i>
Third actor		
Poet	{ <i>τραγῳδός</i> <i>τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλος.</i>	

If this analysis is correct, the two notes should read as follows:

ὑποκριτήν:—*ὑποκριτάς* ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς νῦν *ῥαγῳδοὺς* λεγόμενους, τοὺς δὲ νῦν *ὑποκριτάς* (οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν δύο), τὸν μὲν *δευτεραγωνιστήν*, τὸν δὲ *τριταγωνιστήν*, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς τῶν δραμάτων *ῥαγῳδοὺς* καὶ *ῥαγῳδοδιδασκάλους*.

τραγῳδοὺς:—τοὺς ποιητὰς, ὅσων τὸν *Εὐριπίδην* καὶ *Ἀριστοφάνην*.

Richards arrives at meanings for both the classical and post-classical periods that must be regarded as wholly erroneous, as J. B. O'Connor has shown in his recent study "Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Classical Antiquity" (Princeton, 1908), Chap. I.

Believing then that the scholiast wrote essentially what is preserved in the MSS, we may raise the question whether or not the three separate statements combined in these two notes are correct in point of fact. 1) It is true that the Attic writers of the fifth and fourth centuries regularly used *ὑποκριτής* and *ὑποκρίνεσθαι* for the leading actor and his function. *τραγῳδός* is not found in this sense in the singular until the period of the actors' guilds, and was probably given currency by the guilds. It is not implied, however, that these terms were not used by classical writers also for actors other than protagonists; the difference of usage is alone important. 2) The second statement is not strictly correct, but the scholiast's error was a natural one and is still current. In his day the usual tragic company probably comprised only three actors, while in the classical period there was no limit to the number of actors employed to bring out a play, so far as we are informed or are permitted by the evidence to assume.¹ But in the long period, from the third century on, during which the *rex gregis* was usually referred to as *τραγῳδός* and the troupe was usually composed of only three actors while the other two were looked upon as his assistants or "synagonists", the actor second in importance may have been called "deuteragonist", and the third "tritagonist". It was not unnatural, therefore, for the scholiast to Demosthenes, recalling the epithet "tritagonist" tauntingly applied to Aeschines as a "third-rate actor", and remembering, perhaps, the metaphorical use of "protagonist" in Aristotle, should have transferred back into the period of Demosthenes and Aristotle what was strictly a later usage. As a matter of fact, as Rees has shown, "deuteragonist" is very rare and confined to late writers and almost always to the meaning "helper", while "tritagonist" is also confined to late writers, except for Demosthenes' use of it, and is always used in allusion to Aeschines, except, possibly, in this scholium. And possibly even here the scholiast had in mind Demosthenes' use of the term. 3) The third statement and the separate note on *τραγῳδοίς* are, in a general way, correct enough, though not comprehensive nor entirely apropos of the passage in the text of Demosthenes. No exception is to be taken to the

¹ For the proof of this statement, and the facts regarding protagonist, deuteragonist, and tritagonist, see Kelly Rees "The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama" (Chicago, 1907).

assertion that the tragic poets were in ancient times spoken of as τραγωδοδιδάσκαλοι, but they were not often referred to specifically as τραγωδοί, and certainly not in this passage of Demosthenes. Here it has the general meaning, which is more common in the dative, "tragedians", "performance of tragedies". "If you had been witnessing tragedians", says Demosthenes in effect, "you would have acted reasonably in favoring Neoptolemus". While he uses τραγωδούς ἐθεῖσθε of the tragic spectacle, he wishes to suggest to his hearers especially that important element in the spectacle which was analogous to the position of Neoptolemus and himself as pleaders in a public cause before the Athenian people, viz., the contest between the leading actors of rival plays. He is not thinking of the poets at all, but of the protagonists. In the fifth and fourth centuries τραγωδοί is used of the whole company of tragic performers or of the performance itself; but at one time the writer may have in mind especially the poets, as in Plato Cratyl. 425 d, and at another time especially the protagonists, as here. In this sense the passage in Demosthenes illustrates the beginning of the specialization in the meaning of τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός which was established during the next half-century.

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NOTE.

A CRITICAL NOTE TO COL. 4, L. 76, OF THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTION.

King and Thompson's recent copy of the Behistan Inscription (The Sculptures and Inscription of Behistûn, British Museum, 1907) records in col. 4, l. 76: AVATAIY AURAMAZDĀ M KUNAUTUV. For the mutilated word several well known conjectures have been made; e. g., MAΘITAM (YAv. MASITA, *great*; cf. IF. 12, 132; KZ. 37, 558; Bartholomae, Altiran. Wb. 1157); VAZRĀKAM (KZ. 35, 47; ZDMG. 43, 533); MAZĀNAM (Weissbach & Bang). Of these Foy's VAZRĀKAM (better written VAZARKAM; cf. Nöldeke, Lit. Centralblatt, 1894; Bartholomae, Altiran. Wb. 1390; KZ. 37, 537) is the only supplement which fits the few straggling wedges of the lacuna. In case, however, the word-divider be effaced, as is quite likely, then we cannot suppose that V^a (or M^a under any circumstances) is the initial character, for traces of the cuneiform signs in the gap on the rock, as given by K and T, show two obliquely meeting wedges (like word-divider, thus written in Bh., and not with a single oblique wedge as formerly given), followed by an upper horizontal, then two small upper horizontals, then three parallel horizontals. These, I believe, may be portions of the signs for U, K (? if the second wedge be slightly lower), R, and I should suggest the reading: AVATAIY AURAMAZDĀ [UKARTAJM KUNAUTUV, *may Ahura Mazda make it well done* (i. e., successful) *for thee*. This is in full accord with the sense of the corresponding Elamite passage: AIAK KUTTA APPA HUTTANTI HUHPE AN URAMAŠTA AZZAŠNE, *all thy works may Ahura Mazda make successful*.

King and Thompson's transliteration KUNUTUV in the line is a blunder, as the cuneiform sign is N^a, not N^v, and the word, of course, should be read KUNAUTUV.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Themis, Dike und Verwandtes. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rechtsidee bei den Griechen. VON RUDOLF HIRZEL. Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1907. Pp. VI + 446.

In the majority of men scholarship inevitably tends to specialization attended with a regrettable want of perspective, because in their absorption in matters of detail they fail to observe the relations subsisting between the various parts of the field of learning. It is all the more agreeable, therefore, to meet now and then with the work of a man of generous horizon accustomed to take large views. Rarest and most welcome of all are the men who, like Professor Rudolf Hirzel, happily combine the faculties of detailed observation and of illuminating generalization. Those who gratefully acknowledge their past indebtedness to him will turn with interest to Hirzel's latest book, expecting that much which has hitherto seemed fragmentary will be made to assume intelligible form; and they will not be disappointed.

The present volume is divided as follows: 1. Themis, pp. 1-56; 2. Dike, pp. 56-227; 3. Gleichheit, pp. 228-320; 4. Gesetz (1. θεσμός, 2. νόμος, 3. Naturgesetz), pp. 320-411; 5. Excursus: I. Die πάρεδροι, p. 412; II. Θέμιστες und δῶρα, p. 414; III. Veritas, p. 415; IV. Ὁργή der Richter, p. 416; V. Strafe als Abschreckung und Besserung, p. 418; VI. Δωροφάγοι βασιλῆες. Rechtsprechung eine Gnade, p. 419; VII. Ὁμοιος und ἴσος, p. 421; VIII. Die πόλις ein ζῶον, p. 423; IX. Entwicklung des Begriffs der ἀνάγκη, p. 426; X. Götterwelt und Göttergesetz, p. 428.

The author begins his discussion of Themis, in which he is largely indebted to Ahrens, with the consideration of her as a goddess of good counsel, εὐβουλος. This he regards as her original function, fitting her to be the πάρεδρος of Zeus. From this root-meaning all others are derived, the development of law and legal procedure gradually giving the word and the conception personified in the goddess Themis a connotation somewhat foreign to their original signification. This process led the later Greeks and, with few exceptions, modern scholars also to equate θέμις with θεσμός and to derive both alike from the root θε +. Hirzel, however, herein following Ahrens, postulates for θέμις the root θεμ +, comparing Hesychius θεμών = θαλήμων, θεμός = παραίνεσις (but Hesychius likewise gives θεμός = διάθεσις!), and referring to Hom. Od. i. 486, 542 θέμωσε δὲ χέρσον ἰκίσθαι, where he interprets θέμωσε as 'impelled', not implying realization. This last sug-

gestion seems somewhat too nice in view of the fact that the boat does land (i 542). For the relation of θέμωσε to θέμις he refers to κέλλω and κέλλομαι (κελεύω).

It would be unpardonably rash for one who is not *du métier* to express a judgment on etymologies from the formal side when specialists are themselves to all appearance hopelessly divided. But even a layman may have an opinion on matters of meaning. Even assuming that θέμις in Homer signifies counsel, his usage is not necessarily a guaranty of the root-meaning of a word. Greek words were old even in Homer's day; and just as there are fossil remains of an outworn civilization to be found in the Homeric poems, such as the faintly traceable vestiges of a cult of the dead (see Rohde, *Psyche*), so too words may have lost their original sense. For θεσμός, as has been said, Hirzel acknowledges the root θε + ; but why, on the strength of its meaning, θέμις, understood as good counsel, should be divorced from θεσμός, is not altogether apparent. Θέμις, then, is εὐβουλος, and θέμις is βουλή; but we find βουλὴν προτιθέναι (Dem. XVIII 192), γνώμας προθεῖναι (Thuc. III 36), and γνώμην τίθεμαι (Hdt. III 80, Soph. Phil. 1448), just as we meet with θεσμοθέτης and θεσμοθέτης along with νομοθέτης. Again, we have θεσμοφόρος, but also βουλευφόρος, and γνώμην ἐσέφερε (Hdt. III 81). Indeed, strange as it may seem, Hirzel seems in this connexion to have neglected γνώμη and βουλή. One may mention also the use of προβούλευμα, *senatus consultum*, *auctoritas*, and the practice of adding the name of the maker of a motion to the ψήφισμα in which it eventuates. All these matters are suggestive, because terms which properly apply to one stage of the unitary process, which extends from diffident proposal to the resulting formal decree, pass insensibly over to other phases; and it may well be that even etymology will not avail to put asunder what man has united. A good illustration of this blending is seen in δίκην νομίζοντες (Hdt. IV 106); and of the practical difficulty of fixing the sense, in κρίνω (Acts XV 19).

The proposed etymology of θέμις would thus seem to remain somewhat uncertain. The same may be said of some of Hirzel's explanations; as e. g., those of Themis as *laesia* (p. 6) and as earth-goddess (p. 17). In the latter case it appears more reasonable to think of syncretism, as in that of Athena Themis. At this point one may refer again to θεσμοφόρος. Miss Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 137, speaking of the festival Thesmophoria, says, "the form Thesmophoros *must* be connected with actual *carrying* and must also be connected with what we know *was* carried at the Thesmophoria"; i. e., pigs and other *sacra*. This looks like strange reasoning. One might as well say that when Herodotus (III 81) says γνώμην ἐσέφερε he had in mind a waiter with a silver tray. Thesmophoria, like the names of other festivals, may well be derived from a name or epithet of a deity. Pigs and laws may have no more intimate connexion than comes of the circumstance that both were associated with Demeter

in her capacity as chthonic deity and as *θεσμοφόρος*. If, in view of the close relation of Mutter Erde (see Dieterich) with marriage, as the primary *θεσμός*, and with oracles, which dispense *βουλή*, there is not an actual syncretism of different divinities, there may well be here evidence of distinct attributes, though the connexion of the pig with fertility is obvious enough. A somewhat analogous instance of misapplied acumen is found in Hirzel, p. 46 foll., where he takes too seriously a transparent play on words,—Xen., *Cyrop.* I 6, 6 *οὐδὲ θέμις . . . παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν θεσμοῖς*.

Hirzel's etymology of *δίκη* (p. 94 foll.) impresses the writer as highly probable. Instead of deriving the word, as is usually done, from the root of *δείκνυμι*, he relates it to *δικεῖν* as *τύχη* to *τυχεῖν*, *βλάστη* to *βλαστεῖν*, *πάθη* to *παθεῖν*, *μάθη* to *μαθεῖν*. Thus *δίκη* would refer originally to the stroke of the rod of justice, as the judge decides the case by striking the rod downright (*ἰθεία δίκη*, as opposed to *σκολιὰ δίκη*, obliquely) between the contending parties. It would have seemed natural in this connexion to refer to *κρίσις*, which Hirzel may have refrained from doing for reasons of his own. As with the etymology, so in treating of the concept of *δίκη*, Professor Hirzel seems to have done his best work, and his best is exceedingly good. For suggestiveness and penetration it would be difficult to find a better chapter in the modern literature of classical scholarship. Where so much is good it becomes difficult to single out particular passages for especial praise; but one may well mention his discussion of *δίκη* in battle (p. 86 foll.), the meanings of *δίκη* and *δίκαιος* (pp. 57, 104 foll., 179, where, however, Hirzel seems to neglect the fact that, because of the Greek preference of the personal over the impersonal construction, *δίκαιος* comes to be used in various ways of one party to the trial of right where it would be more fitly predicated of the whole situation), *θέμις καὶ δίκη* not = *jus fasque* (p. 160), the approximation of *δίκαιον* and *ἠφελισμόν* = *ἀγαθόν* (p. 203, where he might have made more of Socrates and Plato), the sketch of the rivalry between the three virtues, courage, justice, and piety (p. 181, n. 2), and *δίκη* and *κόσμος* (pp. 181 foll., 313).

It may be well at this point to sum up the author's view touching the relation of the four concepts to which he chiefly devotes his inquiry. P. 358 he says: "Damit tritt zu den bisherigen, einander vielfach durchkreuzenden und beeinflussenden Principien der Rechtsbildung, der *θέμις* als dem Rathe höherer Wesen, der *δίκη* als dem Richterspruch, und dem *θεσμός* als dem einfachen Ausdruck eines souveränen Willens, ein neues, aus der Gewohnheit und Sitte stammendes, der *νόμος*." Again, p. 52: "*οὐ θέμις* ist ein Verbot, aber *οὐ θεσμός* und *οὐ νόμος* sind es nicht, und können es ihrem Begriffe nach gar nicht sein." Perhaps the following statement, though differing somewhat in details from Professor Hirzel's, would meet with his approval. Nations, like individuals, are primarily creatures of habit. The several members of the state, pursuing each his own habitual course,

come necessarily into conflict. Recourse is then had to the counsel (*θίμης*) of wisdom, which is conceived as residing in the chief of the paternal state. His counsel has the force of a command, of an ordinance. With the growth of individualism and the insistence on personal rights appears the need of cutting the Gordian knot with the sceptre, which is at once the emblem of the king and the mark of the judge (*δίκη*). As the need of regulation and uniformity comes to consciousness, there is established a proper procedure, possibly first in the ordinance of marriage, regulating the relations of the sexes, where human passions are strongest. This general procedure (*θεσμός*) gradually becomes defined, positively as well as negatively, in special rules of conduct, which acquire force and effective sanction when organized as social habits (*νόμοι*). Men become conscious of the force of habit, however, only in trying to change or reform it. Then it comes to appear unreasonable and unnatural (*νόμος*, as opposed to *φύσις*), because based upon an outgrown ideal. Habit (*νόμος* or *ἥθος*), once confirmed, becomes indeed a second nature, but will be so called only after reflection has apprehended its powers in efforts at reform.

We may now proceed to consider a variety of questions suggested by the author's discussion. Solomon's wise judgment (I. Kings 3, 16-27) is referred to (p. 108) as illustrating the fact that it is the function of the judge to ascertain the *ἀλήθεια*. True, but it also well exemplifies his office *τὸ ἴσον νέμειν* and to distinguish between *μευμ* and *τυμ*. The treatment of *δίκην δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν* (p. 127, n. 1) is not altogether satisfactory: *δίκη* is here a concrete something, originally given by the transgressor to the one who is wronged, later conceived as apportioned according to desert. The notion is doubtless primitive (on the concreteness of primitive conceptions see Kinkel, *Gesch. der Philos.* I 35 foll.), and may be older than the conception of *δίκη* as retribution. Dionysius, in Plato (Symp. 175 E) called *δικαστής*, is not a Schiedsrichter, as Hirzel says (p. 138, n. 4), if Schiedsrichter means daysman, *δαιτητής*; but rather the judge of an *ἀγών*. This use of *δικαστής* fully justifies *δικάσαι* in Plato, Legg. 700 C, which Hirzel notes (p. 85, n. 3) as an exception. In Hom. Od. α 3 Hirzel (p. 367, n. 1) adopts Zenodotus' reading *νόμον* in preference to *νόον* as read by Aristarchus; but cp. δ 267. On Empedocles, fr. 17, 29 (Diels) *τιμῆς δ' ἄλλης ἄλλο μέθει* Hirzel remarks (p. 314, n. 6) "Also keine *ισοτιμία*", and (ibid. in text) he speaks of the "gleiches Verhältniss des Lohnes zur Leistung, der Ehre zur Würdigkeit". But *τιμή* has there the sense of 'function', 'office'. P. 172, n. 2, he interprets Solon, fr. 11

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν
μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη,

as making of *δικαιοσύνη* a "freundliche Tugend", which is to miss the sense of the verses. Hartung inserted these verses after fr.

7, 2; and, whether designed for that position or not, they fit well in sense into the setting thus provided. The sea, when unmoved by storm, is πάντων δικαιοσύνη because ὕβρις is absent; cp. Hirzel, p. 222, n. 5, where he correctly interprets the similar passages, Ar. Nub. 1292 and Propert. III 5, 37. See also what he says of ὕβρις, pp. 166 and 250. The thought is essentially the same as that of Anaximander and Heraclitus, mentioned below. The correct explanation was given by Benn, *The Philosophy of Greece*, p. 49. Speaking of the fact that the judges sometimes face the sun, and sometimes turn their backs to it, Hirzel suggests (p. 90, n. 1) that it may be set in relation to the practice familiar in battle. There, however, it is frequently to the interest of one general to outmaneuver the other and put him at a disadvantage. May the custom of the judges not rather be somehow related to the position assumed in augury—πρὸς ἥν τ' ἡλείων τε (cp. Darbishire, *Reliq. Philol.*, p. 65 foll., Bischoff, *Bemerkungen über homer. Topographie*, p. 13 foll.)? As the judge sometimes turned his back to the sun, so apparently did the augur also. The explanation of this circumstance is yet to be found. Facing the sun, however, which appears to have been the rule, may be connected with the primitive notion that man derives his rights from the sun. Speaking of Hom. Od. γ 244 ἐπεὶ περίοιδε δίκας ἡδὲ φρόνιν ἄλλων, Hirzel says (p. 169, n. 2) "von Nestor wird nur die Rechtskunde gerühmt". The meaning clearly is: "er ist der gerechteste und weiseste", as Ameis says. The expression is significant of the intellectualism of Homer's ethics, a point of view finding clear formulation in the Socratic doctrine that virtue is knowledge. Judging by a large, though incomplete, list of instances, virtues are most commonly predicated in Homer by the use of οἶδα or by a similar turn.

While Professor Hirzel makes but a single significant reference (p. 221) to Greek art in relation to his theme, his book abounds in interest for the student of Greek philosophy. Nowhere else will one find so many stimulating suggestions as to the connexion of pre-Socratic philosophy with the ethical and political conceptions of the Greeks. A number of questions raised by his discussion may next engage our attention. He relates Soph. El. 87 γῆς ἱσόμευρ' ἀήρ (p. 313, n. 2) with Aesch. Choeph. 319 σκότος φῶς ἱσόμευρον (Turn., ἱσοσίμοιρον M. G.). Hirzel, wrongly finding herein an allusion to Heraclitus, fr. 57 (Diels), failed to observe that it reflects Parmenides, fr. 9 (Diels)

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντα φῶς καὶ νύξ ὀνόμασται
καὶ τὰ κατὰ σφετέρης δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖς,
ἴσων ἀμφοτέρων,

and possibly harks back directly to the older Pythagoreans; cp. Diog. Laert. VIII 26 ἱσόμευρά τ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς καὶ σκότος. The doxographers repeatedly give φῶς and σκότος for φῶς and νύξ in Parmenides, and the Pythagorean συστοιχίαι in Aristotle, Met.

986* 25 include *φῶς καὶ σκότος*. These passages ought to establish the correctness of the reading of Turnèbe. Weil and Sidgwick adopt Erfurdt's *ἀντίμοιρον* (suggested by *ἐναντίον* in the scholion), while Kirchhoff reads *ἰσοτίμοιρον* (sic!). While discussing *δρᾶν*) (*πάσχειν* in law (p. 191) Hirzel seems to have overlooked *ποιεῖν*) (*πίσχειν* as concepts connected with physical interaction. As the principle 'an eye for an eye' applies in law, so too in physics action and reaction are equal. An interesting passage is Plato, Gorg. 476 B *ἄρα εἴ τις τι ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη τι εἶναι καὶ πάσχον ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ποιούντος; . . . ἄρα τοῦτο πάσχον δὲ τὸ ποιῶν ποιεῖ, καὶ τοιοῦτον ὅλον ποιεῖ τὸ ποιῶν; λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε· εἴ τις τύπτει, ἀνάγκη τι τύπτεσθαι; τοιοῦτον ἄρα πάθος τῷ τυπτομένῳ ἔστιν ὅλον ἂν τὸ τύπτον ποιῇ;* while the difference between the *πεπονθός* and the *ἀντιπεπονθός* is obvious, the one is only an application of the other. This conception is intimately related also to the legal *ἐπιείκεια* as well as to *ισότης* ἢ *γεωμετρικὴ* (p. 278). Hirzel's treatment of *ισότης* in Anaximander (p. 309 foll.) is on the whole correct, agreeing closely with that of the writer (cp. Class. Philol., I, p. 281). Not so satisfactory is his discussion of Anaximander's *δίκη* (pp. 145, 223 foll.). The difficulty here probably lies in good part in the account of Simplicius (Phys. 24, 28 foll. Diels): *λέγει δ' αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἀρχὴν) μήτε ὕδωρ μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν καλουμένων εἶναι στοιχείων, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν τινὰ φύσιν ἀπειρον, ἐξ ἧς ἅπαντας γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους· ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις ἔστι τοῖς οὐσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεῶν. διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν, ποιητικατέροις οὕτως ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ λέγων· δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὴν τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων· οὗτος θεασάμενος οὐκ ἤξιώσεν ἐν τι τούτων ὑποκειμενον ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο παρὰ ταῦτα.* Simplicius is here clearly importing the later definition of an *ἀρχή* because he thinks Anaximander first used it as a philosophical term (*ἐξ ἧς . . . γίνεσθαι*), just as below he introduces the Empedoclean four *στοιχεῖα*. What appears to be the authentic utterance of Anaximander (*διδόναι . . . τάξιν*) does not warrant the statement of Hirzel (p. 223) that "Anaximander das Vergehen aller Dinge an ihr Werden durch dieselbe Nothwendigkeit knüpfte, mit der auf das Verbrechen die Strafe folgt". Diels, to be sure, gives essentially the same interpretation (Vorsokr. II, p. 653) in his note on ἀλλήλοις: "*Dativus commodi*: das Untergehende dem Ueberlebenden und dieses wieder untergehend dem künftig Entstehenden". In our passage *διδόναι αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας* implies contestants that are of right *ῖσα* (clearly the *ἐναντιότητες*), but periodically encroach upon one another. In *τῆς ἀδικίας* lies a form of *ὑβρις* or *ὑπερβασία*; cp. *ὁ μετὰ τῆς ὑβρεως ἔρως . . . ἠδίκησεν*, applied to *τὰ τε θερμὰ καὶ τὰ ψυχρὰ καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ ὑγρὰ*, Plato, Symp. 188 A. The *ἐναντιότητες* are in this respect like the elements of Empedocles, fr. 17, 21:

*ταῦτα γὰρ ῖσα τε πάντα καὶ ἡλικά γένναν ἔασι . . .
ἐν δὲ μέρει κρατοῦσι περιπλομένοιοι χρόνιοι.*

This last phrase also explains Anaximander's *κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν*, with which one may likewise compare Solon, fr. 32, 3 *ἐν δίκῃ χρόνου*. The thought of Anaximander is parallel, not to Heraclitus, fr. 36 (Diels) and Euripides, Chrysippus, fr. 839, 13, which Lucretius loves to ring the changes on, but rather to Heraclitus, fr. 94 (Diels). See Archiv f. Gesch. der Philos. XIX, p. 360, n. 81.

We thus find in Anaximander's system a recognition of *ισονομία* (cp. Hirzel, p. 248, n. 4) and of *ισορροπία*; in Empedocles, of *ισοκρατία* and *ισονομία*. The same conceptions occur also in Heraclitus. The word *ισονομία* is found in Alcmaeon, fr. 4, but Hirzel (p. 227, n. 1) declines to admit it. It is quite true, as Zeller says (I, 491, 6) that there are Aristotelian and Stoic terms in the doxographic report, but in view of Plato, Symp. 186 CD, 188 A, where Eryximachus, like Alcmaeon a physician, rehearses the same views, one may accept *ισονομία* as genuine, as Diels appears to do. With *ισονομία*, regarded from the Pythagorean point of view as predicated of *λόγους ἢ γεωμετρικῇ*, is intimately connected the conception of corrective justice *δίκη διορθωτική* (Hirzel, p. 162). Cp. Heliodorus, Paraphr. Eth. Nic. 100 30 ff. Closely parallel to this conception, in turn, runs that of equalization, compensation, *ἀνίσωσις, ἐπανίσωσις*. Hirzel repeatedly cites passages in which the notion occurs (pp. 90, n. 1; 274, n. 2; 277, n. 3; 279, n. 2), but does not seem to observe its bearings. Cp. Arist. Eth. Nic. V 7, Esp. 1132^a, 24 foll. and Anonymi Comm. in Arist. Eth. Nic. 241, 11 *ἔστι δὲ δικαιοῦσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνισοῦσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἐπανορθωτικὸν δίκαιον*. This idea of compensation is important in the physical theories of the Greeks, notably among the pre-Socratics in that of Empedocles. See Diels, Vorsokr. I, pp. 112, 40 foll., 165, 15 foll., 168, 26 foll.

Hirzel presents some interesting observations (p. 212 foll.) on the relation of animals to *δίκη*. Thus he speaks (p. 218 foll.) of the conception of an animal 'kingdom' having its king, as a copy of human society, presented chiefly in the fables. He seems to overlook the other side of the shield, as when the Sophists appeal to the animals to point a moral and define *φύσις* as opposed to *νόμος*. One thinks at once of Plato, Gorg. 483 D foll. where Callicles cites the lion as his ideal (like the eagle, the lion is the symbol of royalty, cp. Hdt. V 92 and Stein ad loc.), and one wonders whether in this passage also Plato may not have had in mind Alcibiades, to whom Aristophanes (Ran. 1431 foll., cp. Plut. Alcib. 16) refers as the lion's whelp. Such designations become familiar and naturally come to the mind. The strong man, corrupted by living in a corrupt state and needing to be softened and guided by philosophy, whom Plato portrays in Repub. 494 foll. in terms which point unmistakably to Alcibiades, has much in common with the leonine hero of Callicles. So to interpret the passage gives added point to the rejoinder made to Socrates, the admirer of Alcibiades, whom he was in fact trying to

charm into docility. Such a reference would seem to gain support also from Thucyd. VI 16, 1 and 4. Hirzel collects these passages (p. 276, n. 2) but does not connect Gorg. 483 D foll. with Alcibiades.

Another matter involving the partial equation of man with the lower animals is the transmigration of souls. To this Hirzel alludes (p. 218, n. 2), referring to Sext. Empir. IX 127 foll. There is here recognized a *δικαιοσύνη*, that is to say a basis of rights and duties, founded on *κοινωνία*. This community of interests is due to *συμπάθεια* and the common *πνεῦμα διῆκον* (after the manner of the Stoics) δι' ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων. But Sextus points out that this principle holds equally well for gods and stocks and stones as it does for animals. In Heraclitus (fr. 53) the cosmic πόλεμος, which is also *διακ*, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, and in the κύκλος γενέσεως described in fr. 62 we find ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοί ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες. Dieterich (Nekyia, p. 74, n. 5) conjectures that this fragment discloses Orphic influence; in any case the connexion of the physical cycle through which the elements run (cp. Arist. Gen. et Corr. 331^b 2, 337^a 5, *ibid.* B 11) in passing from one node (λόγος, Heraclitus fr. 31 cp. Eusebius, Diels Dox. 469, 12 foll.) round to its ἀνάστασις (variously known as ἀνακύκλῃσις, ἀποκατάστασις, κύκλος παλιγγενεσίας, παλιγγενεσία τῶν ὄλων) and the religious κύκλος γενέσεως (cp. Harrison, Prolegomena to Greek Religion, p. 591, n. 2) is manifest in Heraclitus, whom Lucretius echoes in his familiar words (1 263),

alid ex alio reficit natura nec ulla
rem gigni patitur nisi morte adiuta aliena.

Whether Alcmaeon, a physician of Pythagorean sympathies, was aware of the analogy does not clearly appear from Aristotle, Probl. 916^a 24 foll.

The connexion, however, is obvious in Emped. fr. 115, where transmigration is Ἀνάγκης χρῆμα as the physical cycle is the work of ἀνάγκη in Aristotle (Gen. et Corr. B. 11); cp. also Plato, Repub. 616 B foll. The *κοινωνία* mentioned by Sextus is *ἰσότης ἐκ διαδοχῆς*. Human generations καθάπερ λαμπάδια τὸν βίον παραδίδόντες ἄλλοις, like Shelley's cloud, pass but do not die—ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων αἱ τροφαὶ καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ σπέρματα (Hippocr. περὶ ἐνυπνίων II, p. 14). Apply this to the cosmic process and we obtain (as Lucretius clearly perceived: why not others at the dawn of philosophy?), what Aristotle repeatedly declares to be the common assumption of the early physical philosophers, *nil igitur fieri de nilo posse fatendumst*. It is interesting to observe how Plato reversed the historical order of development; for in the Phaedo he adduces the physical κύκλος γενέσεως, involving the principle of the conservation of substance, as an argument for the immortality of the soul.

Mention was above made of the notion of ὕβρις, which is the essence of sin; for sin is transgression, and ὕβρις is ὑπερβασία (cp.

Nägelsbach, Hom. Theol. 315 foll.). Correlative to *ὑβρις* is *μέτρον*, of which Hirzel says less than one might reasonably expect. In Homer *Μοῖρα* plays a prominent part (Nägelsbach, 120 foll.). Noteworthy are such expressions as *ὑπὲρ μοῖραν*, *παρὰ μοῖραν*, *ὑπὲρ μόρον*, *παρὰ μοῖραν*. The *Μοῖραι* appear as the powers who assign unto each his *μέρος* or *μέτρον*. To overstep this bound is *ὑβρις* and invites punishment (*κόλασις*, curtailment, docking) at the hands of *Δίκη* or of her *ἐπικούροι* the *Ἐρινύες* (Anaximander, Heraclitus). The state also makes allotments of land to the citizens (*γαμόροι*). The Spartan may not, without losing cast and character, alienate his *ἀρχαία μοῖρα*. To remove the ancient landmarks is a heinous crime; cp. *ἀκίνητα κινεῖν* and Schol. on Plato, Theaet. 181 B, where *δροι* stand alongside *βωμοί* and *τάφοι*. As the Englishman's home is his castle, so the *δρος* or *ἔρκος*, whether of a home or of a *τίμενος*, is a *φρουρά* (cp. the interesting passage in Syrian, Comm. in Arist. Met. B 4, 1000^a 19, p. 43, 23 Kroll). In Lucret. I, 75 foll. the *alle terminus haerens* is the bulwark of reason. The family has its *Ζεὺς ἑρκείος*, the god of the pale that encircles and constitutes the family. This *ἔρκος* is sacred, and *ἔρκος ὑπερβορεῖν*, like *finem et modum transire*, is *transcendere fines juris* or *ἀκόλασις*—the *ἀκόλαστος* is *ὑβριστής*. The city, as well as the home, has its charmed circle (cp. Usener, Vorträge und Aufsätze, 113 foll.). So *Δίκη δρίζει*, *ὁ νόμος δρίζει*, and Nature sets bounds to every creature. Man has his *φυσικὰ μέτρα* (Epictetus IV 6, 26) and *intra Naturae fines vivere* is man's highest duty. The *ἀρχαία μοῖρα*, marked by its *δροι*, is the property that descends to the individual through his *γένος*, and the *δρος* or *ἔρκος*, as we have seen, secures the entity and character of the citizen. Hence Eurip. fr. 217 τὸ δοῦλον . . . γένος | πρὸς τὴν ἐλάσσω μοῖραν ὤρισεν θεός. In the folk-lore of the Greeks to know the measure of a man was to have power over him (cp. Fritz Pradel, Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen, und Rezepte des Mittelalters, p. 131). Hdt. I 47 the Pythia says οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης (cp. Isaiah 40, 12), asserting the omniscience, and therefore the omnipotence, of the god. To know the precise number of a thing, like knowing its measure, confers magical powers, as in Catullus 5. In Lucret. I 594 foll., II 1087 foll. the *terminus* serves to support the doctrine of fixed species, the correlate of the unchangeable atom; and V 88 foll. (=VI 64 foll.) to defend the *foedera naturae* against the encroachment of divine intervention and providential fate. Relative to this conception is that of logical definition—*δρίσασθαι κατὰ γένος καὶ εἶδος*. As the property (*οὐσία*) of the citizen consisted of his *ἀρχαία μοῖρα*—which he might not alienate—or *πατρῷος κλήρος* *plus* his personal acquisitions (*ἴδια*, *ἐπικτήτα*)—which in Sparta it was a disgrace (*αἰσχρόν*) to sell—, so in logically defining the *οὐσία* of a thing one takes account first of the *γενικά* then of the *εἰδητικά* and *ἴδια*. Money, as we say, is the man; so, according to Lucret. I 199 foll. the available supply of *materies* fixes the *fines* of the stature of species and individuals. In a way

a man's *οὐσία* becomes his *δύναμις* and determines his function (*ἔργον*). Conversely one's *οὐσία* may be defined with reference to his *ἔργον*, as in Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. But the *ἔργον* is also the measure of *δύναμις*: hence Aristotle can regard the *ἔρος* or *οὐσία* of a thing as expressed in the process leading from *δύναμις* to *ἐνέργεια*, from the state of the *δυνάμει ἐν* to *ἐντελέχεια*. Finally, the end is seen from the beginning, and the *μέτρον* becomes a *τέλος* or *σκοπός*; and, according to the teleology of Plato and Aristotle, it is the goal that defines the course of nature and of man, as everything is defined by its contemplated function (*πάντα τῷ ἔργῳ ὁρίζεται*).

There is much that one might add to this sketch, but this will suffice to show the significance of the notion. The *μέτρον* of Protagoras must be explained by this conception. Since *νόμος ὁρίζει* and everything is *νόμῳ* rather than *φύσει*, man as the maker of *νόμος* becomes *πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν*. The constitutive force of *ἔρος* and *μέτρον* was noted above; as it appears operative here, so also in the primitive procedure observed in *definition* by the Pythagorean Eurytus, a (perhaps somewhat older) contemporary of Philolaus and Socrates. Aristotle says *Met.* 1092^b 8 *οὐδὲν δὲ διώρισται οὐδὲ ὁποτέρως οἱ ἀριθμοὶ αἴτιοι τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, πότερον ὡς ἔρος, εἴον αἱ στιγμαὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν, καὶ ὡς Εὐρυτος ἔταττε τίς ἀριθμὸς τίνος, οἷον ὅδῃ μὲν ἀνθρώπου, ὅδῃ δὲ ἵππου, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἀγοντες εἰς τὰ σχήματα τρίγωνον καὶ τετράγωνον, οὕτως ἀφομοιών ταῖς ψήφοις τὰς μορφὰς τῶν φυτῶν*. Alexander ad loc. gives a graphic picture of a man thus outlined, and in an earlier passage (p. 38, 16 Hayduck) there is a hint that the same procedure originally obtained in other cases where the Pythagoreans thought to discover in numbers *ὁμοιώματα τοῖς οὐσι καὶ γιγνομένοις*, as Aristotle says (*Met.* 985^b 27 foll.). From this conception, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Archiv für Gesch. der Philos.* XIV, 394 foll.), it is but a short step to the definition of secondary properties of things in terms of the shapes and arrangement of atoms as practised by Leucippus and Democritus. Again, the Platonic Idea (*εἶδος, μορφή*), as the definitional essence of a thing, whose constitutive force is shown in many ways, naturally falls into place.

Other conceptions touched upon but lightly if at all by Professor Hirzel might be instanced and developed if space allowed. The book under review is well printed. In the course of a rather careful reading only a few typographical errors were noted: p. 78, n. 2 delete period after *αὐτοῦ*; p. 325, n. 4 read *θέσμος* for *θέρμος*; p. 323, n. 2 read 413 C for 412 C; p. 327, n. 3 *Zusammengehörigkeit*. A difficulty not easily avoided in so large a book is the want of forward references. Where so much matter is thrown into notes as is done in this case and the same subjects are discussed from slightly varying points of view in different connexions, such references become highly important. No doubt the author hoped to supply this want by means of the Index,

which is however hardly complete enough fully to serve the purpose.

It would be ungracious to close this review without a final word of appreciation and commendation for a book so helpful and suggestive. If others profit by it as the writer cheerfully acknowledges that he has done, the author must feel amply repaid for his labor, though a labor of love is its own reward.

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Album Terentianum picturas continens ex imagine phototypa Lugdunensi Terentii codd. Ambrosiani H 75 et Parisini 7899 sumptas et lithographice expressas. Praefatus et picturas Latine interpretatus est JACOBUS VAN WAGENINGEN.

Scaenica Romana, Scripsit JACOBUS VAN WAGENINGEN; Groningae, in Aedibus Heredum P. Noordhoff, Anno MCMVII.

The series of *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti*, issued at Leyden under the direction of S. G. de Vries, reaches in Vol. VIII (1903) the noteworthy addition of the *Codex Ambrosianus* (F) of Terence, by means of which there becomes available for the first time in extended form a reliable reproduction of the scenic pictures characteristic of the group of manuscripts represented by CPOF. The recognized value of these as a source of information for the customs of the Roman stage has long warranted a better apparatus than that afforded by the crude and ancient wood-cuts, drawn from C, of de Berger, Fortiguerra and Cocquelines, and a more comprehensive one than that produced by recent American interest in the single play of the *Phormio* (Harvard edition, Cambridge, 1894; Weston, Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil. XIV). To the Leyden publication, therefore, with its exhaustive and authoritative preface by E. Bethe, attaches a unique value which is shared, and in a measure extended, by the newer Album Terentianum professedly dependent upon it. This, in a convenient volume of one hundred and forty-eight lithographs, presents all of the pictures of the Ambrosianus, supplemented by those of the Parisinus where the other is deficient (*Andria*, Eunuchus to v. 416, *Phormio* from v. 832 to v. 1015), but is recommended more by its appeal to general usefulness than by the author's briefly appended expositions of the pictures. Correct interpretation of these and supplementary conclusions concerning the significance of portrayed gestures, must depend not only upon an intelligent use of the text, but also clearly upon a proper identification of the figures involved, since these are often erroneously designated by the copyist. The effort, therefore, is hazardous

without more critical method than in the present case is evident. In the author's ignorance of the showing in other manuscripts of the group, the impression of dilettantism might have been averted by at least a knowledge of the serviceable and scholarly work of Dr. Watson (*The Relation of the Scene-Headings to the Miniatures in Manuscripts of Terence*, Harv. Stud. 14, pp. 55-172), who has discussed most of the problems.

To cite, at Heaut. 2, 3 (v. 242) the blunder of the copyist of F, in which the names of the two young men are reversed, is responsible for the confession, *Quid in medio gestus Clitiphonis sibi vult non perspicuum*. However, in the first of the scene, to which the picture refers, since Dromo is still upon the stage (cf. v. 9), the melancholy youth is Clinia (cf. vv. 246, 247, 250), not Clitipho, and is properly drawn in attitude of distress. The vigor of action portrayed in the figure of the other, erroneously designated Clinia in F, points to the impatience of Clitipho revealed at v. 251. This correct order is shown further by COP (cf. Watson, p. 80). Again the strange misconception of the picture before Hec. 3, 4 (v. 415), apparently a heritage from Umpfenbach, is scarcely longer tolerable. Pamphilus and three slaves appear upon the stage, one of whom, a mute character, is whimsically designated in F, "Orlando". The order of Pamphilus v. 359, *Tu pueris curre Parmeno obviam*, the comment on his arrival, v. 410, *Adest Parmeno cum pueris*, and Parmeno's injunction to those he has brought, v. 429, *Ite intro*, all sufficiently explain the presence of the three slave figures in the picture which represents the situation at v. 16 ff. The slave whom Pamphilus engages is clearly Parmeno (cf. the text). Save in the erroneous identification of this character, the picture is therefore correct and leaves the author's apology, *Pictor duas imagines eiusdem scaenae ad unam iunxisse videtur*, without point (cf. Watson, p. 66 f.). Exposition of the picture before Eun. 3, 2 (v. 455) resolves itself into elaboration of the groundless criticism, *In hac imagine pictor vehementer errat*, where again not the *pictor* but only the *librarius* of P is at fault in exchanging the names of Parmeno and Chaerea. Knowledge of C, or of Watson (p. 84), or of even the text (v. 471), would have saved the wonder that, *Parmeno non servili vestitu, sed ornatu Eunuchi indutus est*. There is no attempt to depict the *verus eunuchus* (one hand shows *Eunuc' Cherea* above the figure which is really Parmeno), and that Pythias appears on the extreme right should create no surprise, since she might naturally attend her mistress throughout the scene, though her presence is not recognized before the injunction of v. 500. There is no reason to suppose that she here *in scaenam prodit*. The picture is therefore explicable and correct save for the blunder, in P, of exchanging the names of the slave and the eunuch (Chaerea) who stand side by side. Other similar matters are involved at Heaut. 5, 5 (v. 1045); Eun. 4, 7 (v. 771); Phor. 2, 3 (v. 348). Without the help of P, the so-called Demea of F should have been recog-

nized from the costume as really Geta, since he wears the κορύμβη of the *servus*. The interpretation, *Astat a dextra Parmeno puellae pulchritudine . . . stupefactus*, Eun. 2, 2 (v. 232), stresses too much the susceptibility of Parmeno and wars against the text: he is first imagined downcast (*tristis*, v. 267), then actually is mocking (vv. 269, 274), then impudent (v. 272). Equally undiscerning is the criticism at Eun. 4, 4 (v. 668), *Prave tamen post fores Chaerea, falsus Eunuchus, depictus est*. The superscription is correctly *Eunuc* and it is not surprising that Dorus is portrayed in the guise of the youth. Chaerea at v. 906 still appears in the eunuch's clothes; in what meanwhile was the eunuch clad? A lapse of another sort is involved at Eun. 3, 5 (v. 549), where beneath the picture the exposition is, *Gaudio exsultans . . . Chaerea dextram supra caput tollit*: on the other hand in the accompanying Scaenica Romana (p. 60) the gesture is correctly associated with the action of the *hortator* (cf. v. 562 and Quint. 11, 3, 103). It remains, therefore, that the real value of the Album rests upon the accessibility of the reproductions which is supplied, rather than upon the interpretations which are named as its *raison d'être*, and in view of the expected publication of the pictures of C, promised by Father Ehrle of the Vatican Library, it is perhaps to be regretted that the author's zeal was not transferred to the execution of a similar task for P. In point of form, the present work would prove more usable, had the scene numbering been given instead of merely the verses with which the picture is supposed to be associated.

The supplementary treatise, Scaenica Romana (67 pp., Ch. I, De theatro Romano; Ch. II, De histrionibus), supplies professedly a convenient compilation of much that has been said before, yet under the captions, *De personis sive larvis* and *De histrionum gestibus*, attains to independent value. Ribbeck's attempt to reconcile the conflicting testimony of ancient sources concerning the innovation of masks (Röm. Trag., p. 661), juggles with the chronology of Minucius Prothymus (Donat., de Com. VI, 3, Wessner), undervalues the letter of Donatus' report, and leaves in the end the whimsical practice of the squint-eyed Roscius (Diomed., K. I., p. 489; Cic., de Nat. Deor. 1, 79) the potent cause for the introduction and dominance of a custom conspicuously foreign to the Roman stage. The theory of the present author strains less one's power of credence and the testimony. From the diversity of names assigned to the principal actors of the Eun. and the Ad. in the *didascaliae* (Ambivius Turpio and Hatilius Praenestinus), and the *praefationes* of Donatus (Ambivius and Minucius), it is argued, with Dziatzko (Rh. M. 20, p. 591 ff; 21, p. 68 ff.), that repeated performances were differently reported. The effort is, therefore, to discover the relative periods of the actors named. If Ambivius, a *senex* in 160 B. C. (Heaut., Prol. 10), lived as late as 150, and was succeeded respectively by Hatilius and Minucius (Leo, Rh. M. 38, p. 342),

the former's period of presumable activity would fall 150-130 B. C., the latter's, 130-110 B. C. Since *senes* of 91 B. C. remembered an unmasked stage (Cic. de Or. 3, 221), while men of middle age (e. g., Catulus and Crassus) did not, the introduction of masks some forty years before 91 B. C. would coincide with the *floruit* of Minucius, to whom Donatus (de Com. VI, 3) assigns the innovation. A clue to the force at work is given by Tacitus (Ann. XIV, 21), who associates with the conquest of Achaia and Asia a new order of things in public spectacles. The increasing number of actors with Greek names from this time (Aesopus, Eros, Panurgus, Antipho, Diphilus, Spinther, etc.)—Minucius himself bears the Greek cognomen Prothymus—points to the dominance of the foreign influence. Diomedes' claim for Roscius as the innovator of the mask may mark the notoriety of his defection from an opposition-set of native actors. Under *De histrionum gestibus*, there is attempted, first, a comparison of Donatus' assignments of gesture with the scenes of the manuscript and, second, an independent estimate, by the use of Quintilian, of certain gestures there portrayed. The first effort ceases after the exposition of seven categories. It might have included also, under the category of the *gestus stomachantis*, Ad. 1, 2, 5 (v. 134); 5, 3, 9 (v. 795); And. 1, 5, 2 (v. 237), and the additional categories of the *gestus mirantis*, Eun. 3, 1, 13 (v. 403); Hec. 4, 1, 7 (v. 522); *gestus comminantis*, And. 4, 4, 14 (v. 753), cf. Eun. 4, 7, 27 (v. 797); 5, 4, 26 (v. 948); *gestus exeuntis*, Eun. 3, 5, 1 (v. 549); *gestus quaerentis nec invenientis* (i. e., of perplexity), And. 1, 1, 61 (v. 84), cf. Ad. 4, 2, 46 (v. 585); *gestus irrisionis*, Ad. 4, 1, 20 (v. 536); *gestus amatoris*, Eun. 1, 2, 108 (v. 188); *et al.*—without attaining the exhaustiveness implied in *haec sunt indicia de gestu histrionis, quae in Donati commentario inveniuntur*. The later interesting attempt to expound the gestures and attitudes of the miniatures by the use of Quintilian extends the similar work of Weston upon the Phormio (Harv. Stud. 14, pp. 49-53), but again the result is often unconvincing by reason of hasty generalization and defective method. I cite only the so-called *narrantis gestus* (p. 56). The gesture is described by Quint. (11, 3, 101) as *approbantibus et narrantibus et distinguuntibus decorus*: Andrea de Jorio shows it perpetuated as a Neapolitan sign of inquiry (*La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano*, p. 86). An effort to generalize as to its value in the miniatures should primarily involve consideration of all the occurrences. To the five cited by the author should be added: Ad. 3, 4 (v. 447); 5, 6 (v. 889); Eun. 3, 2 (v. 455); 5, 8 (v. 1031); Hec. 4, 2 (v. 577); 4, 3 (v. 607); Phor. 2, 3 (v. 348). In three of these, as revealed by the text, the gesture is clearly interrogatory: at Eun. 4, 5 (v. 727), in the case of Pythias (cf. vv. 733, 735, 736); at 5, 8 (v. 1031), Parmeno (cf. v. 1034); at Heaut. 3, 3 (v. 562), Chremes (cf. vv. 595, 596, 597, 598, 602, 605, 606, 607, 611, 612, 613). By like analysis it marks Laches *approbans* at Hec. 4, 2

(v. 577); and so, Demea (correctly in P) at Ad. 5, 6 (v. 889). In the description of the picture at Eun. 4, 7 (v. 771) no note is made of the striking difference of Thais' attitude in P and F, nor in the exposition is it clear which is described. The position of the woman and Chremes behind the door, shown only in F, is referred to; but the description of Thais is continued confusingly from P (p. 58). An evidently second-hand knowledge of the colors employed in the pictures of F and their adjustment leads to the inaccuracy of naming them *ruber* (a conclusion doubtless from Bethe's *color rubescens*) *et caeruleus* (p. 45, n. 7) and the misleading mention of Antipho's *tunica rubra* (p. 45). Since the figures of F are drawn in brownish ink and shaded characteristically in blue, the colors of the manuscript have no more scenic significance than the regularly appearing blue of the hair or the bridal yellow of Hymen's *soccus* in Catullus (61, 10). From such matters it appears that the work, justifiable in its interesting intent, lacks in execution the authority of dependable investigation.

PRINCETON.

JOHN W. BASORE.

REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LXII.

Pp. 1-8. Zu den *Scriptores historiae Augustae*. F. Rühl. In Lampridius, Commodus, 14. 1, read "cum fruges et oleum non deessent". In Spartianus, Severus, 5. 3, for "quod" read "quot". In Lampridius, Heliogabalus, 4. 4, read "Symiamira auctore"; in 10. 1, read "qui iam Caesar erat appellatus a senatu eo tempore, quo Macrinus interemptus est, consobrinus huius Antonini". In Capitolinus, Maximini duo, 15. 5, perhaps we might write "proditis his, qui missi fuerant, ad Maximinum cito eos per milites detulerunt"; in Gordiani tres, 27. 10, "parenti principum, praefecto totius orbis, tutori rei publicae"; in Maximus et Balbinus, 15. 5, "chronicorum scriptor", instead of "Graecorum scriptor". In Trebellius Pollio, Valeriani duo, 1. 1, for "vel solus" read "filio solis" or "fratri solis"; in Tyranni triginta, 32. 1, in place of "relictus" write "relegatus". In Vopiscus, Quadriga tyrannorum, 12. 6, for "minima quaeque" read "minima quoque".

Pp. 9-32. Hiatusscheu bei Dionys von Halikarnass und Textkritik. H. Kallenberg. This article deals with the *Antiquitates Romanae*. Some of the passages discussed are I 87. 2; XX 3; XX 16. 2; VII 42. 4; IX 10. 5; VIII 26. 2; II 3. 1; II 70. 2; X 35. 4; I 86. 2; III 22. 1; IV 57. 4; IX 8. 3; XI 15. 3.

Pp. 33-45. De Lucreti prooemiis. P. E. Sonnenburg. A study of the relation of the various prooemia to one another. The first is closely related to the second, the third to the fourth, the fifth to the sixth. R. Heinze is wrong in saying that Lucretius himself did not write the fourth.

Pp. 46-53. Handschriftliches zu römischen Dichtern. P. Thielscher. Collation of a fifteenth century MS of Manilius (Marcianus 3949).

Pp. 54-60. Zu einigen Fragmenten Heraklits. W. Zilles. Discussion of Hippas Maior, 289 B. Fr. 83 should be struck out of the collection. In fr. 82 the reading ἀλλὰ γένεσι should be restored.

Pp. 61-72. Anyte und Simonides. M. Boas. On an echo of Simonides, VII 512, in Anyte, VI 153.

Pp. 73-85. Zum plautinischen Hiat. P. Friedländer. Hiatus is permitted at certain positions in the verse, because of the example and influence of the old Saturnian measure.

Pp. 86–101. Randbemerkungen (vgl. Bd. LX S. 552). W. Kroll. XII. On the meaning of γένος ἀδρόν and γένος ἰσχυρόν. XIII. On the arrangement of the treatise *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*.

Pp. 102–107. Philemon und die Aulularia. F. Blass. In reply to F. Leo (Hermes, XLI 629 ff.), the writer discusses his own suggestion that a certain fragment (Hibeh Papyri, I 24 ff.) belongs to a play of Philemon, and that this play was the original of Plautus' Aulularia.

Pp. 108–115. Bruchstücke einer Sallusthandschrift in dem norwegischen Reichsarchiv. C. Marstrander. Collation of five fragments of a 13th century MS of the Bellum Iugurthinum (probably from Drontheim).

Pp. 116–22. War der Schwiegersohn des Poseidonios ein Schüler Aristarchs? A. Gercke.

Pp. 123–32. Lectiones Epicureae. W. Crönert.

Pp. 133–50. Die römische Messing-Industrie in Nieder-Germanien, ihre Fabrikate und ihr Ausfuhrgebiet. H. Willers.

Miscellen.—Pp. 151–53. B. Schmidt. Zu Thukydides. In II 52. 4, for πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο read πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχυντίας δῆθεν ἐτράποντο ('ac multi ad impudentiam videlicet se converterunt'). In II 54. 2, strike out the words τοῦδε ὑστερος. In III 39. 6, perhaps we should read: πάντες γὰρ ἡμῖν γε ὁμοίως ἐπέθεντο οἷς δ' ἐξῆν ὡς ἡμᾶς τραπομένοισι νῦν πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι, τὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιότερον ξυναπίστησαν.—P. 154. C. Haeblerlin. Fragmente eines unbekannten Philosophen (see Revue de Philologie, XXX 161–172). Perhaps the author was Apollonius Syrus, of the time of Hadrian.—Pp. 154–6. F. Buecheler. Gewöhnliche und ungewöhnliche Schreibung von κύριος. The words ΠΙΕ QVIRI (in C.I.L. XIII 10018, 143) mean πίε κύρι.—Pp. 156–7. M. Ihm. Ein Fragment des Varro.—Pp. 157–9. G. Gundermann. Lateinische Inschrift aus Afrika. In an inscription from Ouled l'Agha, 'bide diote bide possas plurima bide', 'bide'='vide', 'diote' (acc. pl. of τὸ δίωτος)='diotas', 'possas'='posias' (pausias).—Pp. 159–60. A. M. Harmon. Ignis a romphaea. This is a proposed substitute for the 'ignis arumphea' of the Sermo de confusione diaboli. Compare the φλογίνη ρομφαία of Gen. III 24.

Pp. 161–9. Aufidius und Plinius. F. Münzer. The line between the two histories should be sought somewhere between Jan. 1, 49 and Jan. 1, 52.

Pp. 170–202. Die Replik des Isokrates gegen Alkidamas. A. Gercke. Not Isocrates, but only Alcidas and Plato, opposed the old τέχνη ῥητορική.

Pp. 203–28. Der Terenzkommentar des Eugraphius. P. Wessner. Eugraphius knew, and used, the commentary of Donatus. He probably lived toward the close of the 5th century.

Pp. 229-46. Zwei politische Gedichte des Horaz. K. Hiemer. An attempt to connect Ode I 12 with the formal opening of the Forum Augustum (perhaps in the year 24-23); Ode I 2 with the dedication of the Regia built by Domitius Calvinus (in 28).

Pp. 247-64. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften. H. Rabe. I. Nachrichten über das Leben des Hermogenes. II. Aphthonios der Schüler des Libanios.

Pp. 265-72. Varia. F. Blass. In Euripides, Bacch. 427, read σοφὸν δ' ἄπειρε, and translate, "fort mit dem klugen Geiste und mit dem Sinne der von überweisen Männern kommt". In Hesiod, Erga, 18, for ναίων read ναίειν. In 121, we may accept Plato's reading, κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψε, Cratyl. 397 E. In 194, for σκολιοῖς ἐνέπων read σκολιῶς ἐνέπων (cp. line 262). In Theocr. XXIV 49, the words of Amphitryon end with δμῶες ἐμοί, the rest of the line is a parenthesis of the narrator. Change ἀνακόψατ' to ἀνέκοψεν (cp. Homer, φ 47) or to ἀνεκόψατ(ο), "er schob sich die Riegel zurück". In Theognis, 463, read εὐμαρίως δ, τι χρῆμα θεοὶ δόσαν οὔτε τι δειλὸν (cp. Bacchyl. I 174 ff.: τὸ δὲ πάντων εὐμαρεῖν οὐδὲν γλυκὺ θνατοῖσιν' ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὰ φεύγοντα διζήτῃσι κίχρειν). Lines 493-6 are probably the close of the poem to Simonides; the preceding verses 479-92, an interpolation from the elegies of Euvenus of Paros. Textual notes on Reitzenstein's new Photius.

Pp. 273-94. Eustathianum. E. Martini. On the need of a new edition of Eustathius. The Parekbolai on the Iliad should follow Codex L.

Pp. 295-308. Untersuchungen zur athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte. W. Judeich. I. Der Staatsstreich der Vierhundert. An attempt to reconcile the accounts of Thucydides, VIII 67-70, and Aristotle, Athen, Pol., 29-32.

Miscellen.—Pp. 309-11. F. Rühl. Varia. Notes on Polybius, XII 3; Diodorus, XVII 109, 1 (for τῶν πολιτῶν, read τῶν ὀπλιτῶν); Seneca, De Clementia, I 8, 2 (keep the reading, "in tua pace"); in the first panegyric of Mamertinus on Maximianus (I, p. 89, 14 ff. Baehrens), read "sed Herculem hospitem Capitolium addidisse"; with Tacitus, Hist. I 3 fin., compare Pliny, Panegy. 35, "ingenti quidem animo divus Titus securitati nostrae ultionique prospexerat ideoque numinibus aequatus est".—Pp. 311-12. W. Crönert. Cercidae fragmentum.—Pp. 312-13. J. Burnet. Plato Epist. II 313 A.—Pp. 313-15. C. Hense. Ein Fragment des Athenodorus von Tarsus.—Pp. 316-18. R. Sabbadini. Die Ciris in den vergilischen Biographien. The Ciris seems to have disappeared almost completely during the middle ages. It was still unknown in 1425.—Pp. 318-21. F. Solmsen. Sprachliches aus neuen Funden. I. ἀνδραφόνος (a form quoted by Photius from Solon). II. ἐνο und ἔξο (= ἐνεσσι and ἔξεσσι).—Pp. 321-3. H. Ehrlich. Noch einmal ὕμνος (from *ὑφμνος = 'Gewebe').—Pp. 323-5. M. Ihm. CABIDARIVS (in Corp. gl. lat. II 334, 22), perhaps a

corruption from 'lapidarius'.—Pp. 325–6. M. Pokrowskij. Veno-
'Verkauf' (a late formation, on the analogy of such expressions
as 'esui divisui indutui esse habere, circumiectui habere', etc.—
Pp. 326–7. E. Bethe. Ithaka und Leukas. Argument from Strabo,
X 452, 9, that from the sixth century B. C. the Acarnanians knew
the island of Leucas as 'Leucas', not as 'Ithaca'.—Pp. 327–8. F.
Buecheler. Nachträgliches. Examples of 'deferre alicui' from
Ambrosius (see Vol. LXI, p. 308). In Kaibel, Epigr. 625, for
κοίραρος read κοίραρος, i. e. the Emperor (see Vol. LXI, p. 627).
St. Benedict seems to have written 'quirie eleison' (see Vol. LXII,
p. 155).—Pp. 328. Ch. Hülsen. Berichtigung zu S. 157. The
right explanation of the inscription from Ouled l'Agha is given in
Eph. Epigr., V, p. 521: "hoc vide, vide, et vide ut p[os]sis plura
videre". "Diote" probably means "idiote".

Pp. 329–38. Vordorisches in Lakonien. F. Solmsen. The
words Διδε Καβάρα, in a new inscription, are the first epigraphical
proof that in Laconia the shorter form of the preposition κατά was
used even before other than dental consonants. The new epithet
should be added to the list which Usener discussed in one of his
latest essays (Rh. Mus. LX, p. 11 f.; A. J. P. XXVI 353).
Καππώτας is shortened from Καππωτατάς, as κυβιστής¹ from *κυβιστητής
or ἐπαίτης from ἐπαυτητής.

Pp. 339–65. Der Terenzkommentar des Eugraphius (con-
tinued from p. 228). P. Wessner. This commentary seems to
have survived in only a single manuscript, which was brought by
Irish monks to northern France. The text on which it was based
was a manuscript related to the Bembinus, but already strongly
influenced by δ.

Pp. 366–79. Zu Martial. G. Friedrich. In IX 47, 5, write
'sed quod et hircosis miserum est et turpe pilosis'; explanation
of I 68; in XI 49, 3, write 'Silius artatae succurrere censuit
umbræ'; in Spect. IV 3, write 'traducta est laetis nec cepit
harena nocentes'; in VII 47, 6, write 'tristities; lacrimis iamque
peractus eras'; 'Monobiblos Properti', XIV 189, means the first
book of Propertius; in XII 52, 9, keep the reading 'ridet et
Iliacos audit' (as Lindsay has done); in XI 90, 3, keep the
reading 'Maeonio res carmine maior'; in X 51, 5, for 'Ravennae'
read 'verso'; in VIII 30, 6, read 'Tusci pascitur illa sacris';
In Spect. XXIII 9, 'ille tulit geminos facili cervice iuencos', we
may think of the matador in a Spanish bull-fight: 'aliquem ferre'
= 'impetum alicuius ferre', and with 'facili cervice' compare
'facili cardine', Juv. IV 63; in III 20, 10, 'templi' is probably the
temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

Pp. 380–9. Neue Lesungen des Didymospapyrus. W. Crönert.
Pp. 390–420. Das Signum. E. Diehl. An etymological study
of the various proper names known as 'signa' suggests the exist-

¹ On κυβιστής (?) see Herwerden Suppl. s. v.

ence of various associations or clubs. By their formation they belong to the Latin language, but they owe their origin to a Greek institution.

Pp. 421-37. Die Makrobier des Lukianos. F. Rühl. On the reliability of its literary history.

Pp. 438-75. Die dorische Knabenliebe, ihre Ethik und ihre Idee. E. Bethe. This practice (as a publicly recognized and respectable institution) was introduced into Greece by the Dorians. The underlying idea may have been (1) 'dass durch körperliche Berührung die Seele des Mannes dem Knaben in mysteriöser Weise mitgetheilt wird', (2) 'dass die Seele auch im männlichen Samen, wie in Hauch und Blut gesehen und geglaubt worden ist'.

Miscellen.—Pp. 476-8. F. Buecheler. Coniectanea. I. Defence of the word 'vitores'. II. *κίβερροι* in Hesychius should be *κικερροι* ('cicer'). III. In Cleonius (Keil, V 9) read 'fructus sibi lector colligat maturatos. Tu sume tuis praeceptis aggressa, circumspice'. IV. In Sueton. de gram. 3, read 'Apuleium . . . conductum ut osce doceret'.—Pp. 478-9. J. M. Stahl. Zu Thukydides. Defence of *θήκη* = sepultura, II 52, 4; explanation of III 39, 6: *πάντες γὰρ (οἱ τοῦ δήμου) ἡμῖν γε ὁμοίως (τοῖς ἀλλοίοις) ἐπέθεντο* (with *ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι* cp. IV 106, 1, *τῆς πόλεως οὐ στερισκόμενοι*, and Aristotle, Athen. Pol. XXVI 4, *μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως*).—Pp. 479-82. W. Crönert. Animadversiones in Photii fragmentum Berolinense.—P. 482. G. Mercati. Eustathianum. The Laurentian MS was sent to Rome by order of Clement VII.—Pp. 482-5. G. Némethy. Zur Ciris-Frage. The Ciris is a deliberate forgery. Lines 18-20 allude to Culex 1-3 and 35-6. The poem is later than the Pseudotulliana.—Pp. 485-6. P. Theilscher. Zu den Maniliushandschriften.—Pp. 486-7. A. Zimmermann. Zur Entstehung des Gentilnamens des Dichters Plautus. 'Maccius' is probably of Oscan origin.—P. 488. Th. Birt. *κεφαλῆς* als Buchterminus (= 'Rolle').—P. 488. L. Friedländer. Petronianum. A performance of the Cena Trimalchionis at the Prussian court in 1751.

Pp. 489-535. Neue und alte Daten zur Geschichte Diocletians und Constantins. O. Seeck. A long defence of the author's own statement that Constantine became sole Emperor in 324. Mommsen's date, 323, rests upon a false statement in Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum. Lactantius says that Maxentius died on the sixth day before the Kalends of November, after reigning five years. What he should have said was, on the fifth day after six years.

Pp. 536-49. Zu Thukydides. E. Petersen. Criticism of (a) Dörpfeld's interpretation of II 15, (b) Fr. Hauser's interpretation of I 6.

Pp. 550-58. Neue italische Dialektinschriften. F. Weege and F. Bücheler.

Pp. 559-90. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften. H. Rabe. III. Die Quellen des Doxapatres in den Homilien zu Aphthonios. IV. Athanasios, ein Erklärer des Hermogenes.

Pp. 591-600. Hellenistische Beiträge. Fr. Reuss. I. Bactra und Zarispa. II. Seleukos und Ptolemaios Keraunos.

Pp. 601-14. Maximianus und Boethius. F. Wilhelm. The influence of the Consolatio on the Elegies is very slight.

Pp. 615-18. Ueber irrealer Wunschsätze bei Homer. J. M. Stahl. There are none. In II. VIII 366, Od. IV 732, Od. XXIV 284, γάρ means "nämlich".

Miscellen.—Pp. 619-20. F. Marx. Der blinde Sänger von Chios und die delischen Mädchen. In line 171 of the first Homeric Hymn, read ὑποκρίνασθε ἀμφ' ἡμέων, "so gebt alle Bescheid über mich wie folgt". For the meaning of ἀμφί, compare Od. VIII 267, Pind. Ol. I 55.—Pp. 620-5. W. Crönert. Eine Telesstelle und Anderes. The "anderes" refers to a passage of Philodemus.—Pp. 625-31. A. Brinkmann. Rhetorica (notes on Longinus, Phoibammon and Eustathius, archbishop of Antioch).—Pp. 631-4. J. W. Beck. Eine verkannte Ode des Horaz 'Donarem pateras'. Horace has not mingled the glories of the two Scipios. He means only Scipio the younger.—Pp. 634-6. K. Brugmann. Βάνυσος, μανύεται, βανόν. Βάνυσος, or an older form *μάνυσος may be connected with μᾶνός μᾶνός = *μανός. —Pp. 636-8. F. Solmsen. Weiteres zum Suffix -άσιον (in the dialect of N. W. Greece; see Vol. LIX 503 f.).—Pp. 638-9. M. Siebourg. Ungewöhnliche Schreibung von γυνή und vivo. In QVINE IVIVAS (CIL. XIII 10026, 6) QVINE is the Latin transliteration of κύναι = γύναι. With IVIVAS compare EVIVAS (CIL. XIII 10018, 82) and the Italian "evviva".—P. 640. F. Bücheler. Vxor benemorientissima. This adjective, in an inscription recently published from Dalmatia, is the superlative of benemoria, as beneficentissima of benefica, pientissima of pia. Benemoria (= boni moris, καλότροπος) is doubtless the epithet which was applied to Melissa, Petron. LXI.

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ROMANIA, Vol. XXXV (1906).

Janvier.

A. Thomas. Provençal -enc; Italien -ingo, -engo. 21 pages. This article discusses numerous etymologies, especially those of proper names.

Paul Meyer. Fragments de Manuscrits français. 45 pages. I. Fragment d'une Chanson de geste relative à la Guerre d'Espagne. II. Fragments de la Vie des Pères: 1. Bibliothèque de

l'Institut de France; 2. Fragment de Macon; 3. Fragments de Cambridge; 4. Bibl. Nat. latin 10769. III. Fragment d'une Rédaction de la Parabole du Demi-Ami faite en Angleterre. IV. Fragment de Renart. V. Fragment d'un Ms. du Roman de Jules César par Jacot de Forest. VI. Fragment d'un Poème sur la Théologie morale composé en Angleterre.

J. A. Herbert. An early MS. of Gui de Warwick. 14 pages. The manuscript in question formerly belonged to Sir Henry Hope Edwardes, and dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. A facsimile of a page of this manuscript is annexed, and also one of a Cambridge fragment.

A. Thomas. Jamette de Nesson et Merlin de Cordebeuf. 13 pages. Biographical details are given concerning this little-known Old French authoress of the fifteenth century, as well as concerning her husband and various other relatives.

Mélanges. G. Huet, Encore Floire et Blanchefleur. Ferdinand Lot, Guenelon, Ganelon. Ch. Drouhet, Franç. Épaule. A. Thomas, "Giraut de Borneil" ou "Guiraut de Bornelh"? A. Thomas, Prov. anc. Albuesca; Prov. mod. Aubieco. A. Thomas, Un Sens rare du mot Voiture. F. Novati, Ital. Jana, Janara.

Comptes rendus. Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Adolfo Mussafia (A. Thomas). John M. Burnam, Glossemata de Prudentio (A. Thomas). L. Barrau Dihigo et R. Poupardin, Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent-de-Lucq (A. Thomas). Dr. G. Steffens, Die Lieder des Troveors Perrin von Angicourt (A. Jeanroy). Ernest Langlois, Table des Noms propres de toute Nature compris dans les Chansons de Geste imprimées (P. Meyer). Paul Le Cacheux, Le Livre des Comptes de Thomas du Marest (P. Meyer). David Hobart Carnahan, The Prologue in the Old French and Provençal Mystery (Henri Chatelain). Hermann Urtel, Der Hüge Scheppel der Gräfin Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken (Ferdinand Lot).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie XXIX 3-4 (Mario Roques, with discussion of L. Foulet's article on Marie de France et les Lais bretons). Revista de Bibliografia catalana, III 6 (A. Morel-Fatio). Studier i modern Språkvetenskap III (M. Roques). Annales du Midi XVII, Janv.-Oct. (A. Thomas). Studi romanzi II-III (P. Meyer).

Chronique. History of the publishing firm of E. Bouillon. Obituary notices of Gustave Saige, Achille-Jacques-Arsène Delboulle, Bernard Prost and H. L. Ward. Announcement of a critical edition of the *Eructavit* by T. Atkinson Jenkins of the University of Chicago.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 24 titles. The Farce of Master Pierre Pathelin, Englished by Richard Holbrook ("Cet élégant volume . . . nous apporte un nouveau témoignage du zèle

et de la compétence avec laquelle notre vieille littérature est étudiée de l'autre côté de l'Océan") (P. Meyer). *Concordanza delle Opere italiane in Prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri*, a cura di E. S. Sheldon, coll'aiuto di A. C. White ("On voit par cette magnifique publication que les États-Unis rivalisent de zèle avec l'Italie, l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne pour les études dantesques").

Avril.

A. Thomas. *Le Laterculus de Polemius Silvius et le Vocabulaire zoologique roman*. 37 pages. The text here studied lexicographically belongs to the fifth century of our era and was published by Theodor Mommsen in 1892. It contains numerous Popular Latin forms, and as such is of great interest in the study of Romance etymologies.

C. Salvioni. *La Declinazione imparisillaba in -a -âne, -o -ône, -e -éne -îne, -i -îne -éne nelle Carte medievali d'Italia*. 60 pages. The theory assigning a Germanic origin for these flectional forms having previously been disproved by Romance scholars in favor of a Latin origin, the author of the present article endeavors to show how such forms could have arisen out of the older Latin forms. From the examples cited it appears that these forms were known all over Italy prior to the earliest Germanic influence upon the Latin of the people. In the Southern portion of Italy, however, their force was early weakened.

Ferdinand Lot. *Vivien et Larchamp*. 20 pages. The attempted identification of the epic hero with the historical character killed in battle with the Bretons in 851 which was put forward by Prof. Suchier is clearly shown by M. Lot to be entirely fantastical, and scholars are warned against the danger of hasty conclusions based upon insufficient evidence bearing upon similar identifications.

Mélanges. N. Valois, *Nouveaux Témoignages sur Pierre de Nesson*. E. Philippon, *Espagnol -Anco; français -Ape*. Max Léopold Wagner, *Les Noms sardes du Mouflon*. Louis Brandin, *Le plus ancien Exemple du franç. Abrier*. J. Derocquigny, *Franch. dialectal Téguer, Téquer*. A. Thomas, *Note complémentaire*. A. Thomas, *Anc. normand Anoil*. A. Thomas, *Bretzel*. A. Thomas, *Franch. dialectal Guiteau*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Machet*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Oisdif*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Rojuel*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Tenoil*.

Comptes rendus. E. Wienbeck, W. Hartnacke, P. Rasch, *Aliscans: kritischer Text* (Raymond Weeks). Georges Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'Étude de l'Antiquité celtique* (A. Thomas). Jean de Jaurgain, *Cartulaire du Prieuré de Saint-Mont (Ordre de Cluny)*; l'Abbé Clergeac, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Gimont* (P. Meyer). Auguste Vidal, *Douze Comptes consulaires d'Albi du XIV^e siècle, t. I^{er}* (P. Meyer).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* XXIX 5-6 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Revue de Philologie française et de Littérature* XIX 1-3 (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Ed. Boehmer, L. Maximilien Kawczyński, and Jules Protat. Numerous literary notices.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 2 titles. W. Perrett, *The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare*. Alphonse Précigou, *Ornithologie de la Haute-Vienne*.

Juillet.

Paul Meyer. *L'Évangile de l'Enfance en Provençal* (Manuscrit du Marquis de Cambis-Velleron et de Raynouard). 28 pages. The manuscript in question is first mentioned in a catalogue published at Avignon in 1770. Some years later it was in the possession of Raynouard, and only recently it was purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Copious extracts from the text are here published with introduction and notes.

A. Jeanroy. *Sur quelques Sources des Mystères français de la Passion*. 14 pages. The complicated question of the origin of the oldest extant texts is investigated in connection with a recent work of M. Émile Roy upon the same subject.

Joseph Bédier. *Sur deux Chansons de Croisade*. 15 pages. Discussion of the authorship and peculiarities of two well-known Old French poems. The second one has undergone marked Provençal influence in its transcription by the scribes.

A. Delboulle. *Mots obscurs et rares de l'ancienne Langue française*. 34 pages. This is the last of the valuable series of lexicographical articles based on an extensive reading of Old French texts and documents. Copious footnotes by various scholars have again been appended in the present instance.

Paul Meyer et G. Guigue. *Fragments du Grand Livre d'un Drapier de Lyon (1320-1323)*. 17 pages. Business accounts of the Middle Ages have rarely been preserved down to the present day, but the few that are still extant throw a great deal of light upon the usual character of the transactions, upon the relative values of goods and coins, and in general upon the domestic economy and private life of the time.

G. Lavergne. *Fragment d'un nouveau Ms. de la Chanson de Roland (Version rimée)*. 9 pages. This fragment was found inside the cover of a Latin incunabulum from a private library of Moulins. It formerly was evidently the property of a jongleur, who is otherwise unknown.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, *L'Identité du Médecin Aldebrandin de Sienne*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Baucent "Blaireau"*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Bousacle, Bouzekle "Pastèque"*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Troïne "Trompette"*. C. Nedelcou, *Sur la Date de la Naissance de Pierre Alphonse*.

Comptes rendus. G. Kalff, *Geschiedenis der nederlandse Letterkunde, Iste Deel* (G. Huet). Marie Loke, *Les Versions néerlandaises de Renaud de Montauban étudiées dans leurs Rapports avec le Poème français*; Leo Jordan, *Die Sage von den vier Haimonskindern* (A. Jeanroy). Marcel Schwob, *Le Petit et le Grant Testament de François Villon* (Gaston Raynaud). Lazare Sainéan, *La Création métaphorique en Français et en Roman* (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* XXX (1906), I (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Annales du Midi* XVIII (1906) (A. Thomas). *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France*, N. S., n° 34 (A. Thomas). *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* LV 2 (A. Thomas). *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* XXXIX (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Elfter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig*, 1904 (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* XXVI 1-XXIX 2 (A. Jeanroy).

Chronique. *Table des trente premières Années de la Romania* par M. le Dr Bos. Literary notices. Reply to Schultz-Gora by A. Jeanroy.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 11 titles. *Mélanges H. d'Arbois de Jubainville*. *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, par Mario Schiff.

Octobre.

Jessie L. Weston-Joseph Bédier. *Tristan Ménestrel: Extrait de la Continuation de Perceval par Gerbert*. 34 pages. Certain adventures of Tristan are here recounted that have not been found in any other extant version. They seem to form an interpolation which was based on one or two short episodic poems now lost. Miss Weston supplies the introduction and M. Bédier the text of the critical edition of the poem here published. Many interesting questions suggest themselves in this connection for further investigation.

P. Meyer. *L'Instruction de la Vie mortelle*, par Jean Baudouin de Rosières-aux-Salines. 24 pages. This vast poem of the fifteenth century contains some forty-seven thousand decasyllabic verses, and it is preserved in a unique manuscript at St. John's College, Cambridge. The author was a native of the region near Nancy, and composed his poem about the year 1430. He gives his name in an acrostic at the end, after having discoursed at length about a great variety of subjects.

Kr. Nyrop. *Sone de Nansai et la Norvège*. 15 pages. In most Mediæval poems the descriptions of foreign countries are purely fantastic and deal largely with the marvelous and

imaginary, but in the poem under consideration the author gives evidence of possessing more definite information concerning the North of Europe. His account of the customs of Norway points to a time later than that of the vikings. The animals which the author describes are somewhat difficult of identification, but they evidently belong to a Northern clime.

Paul Meyer. Notice du Ms. Bodley 57 (Oxford, Bodléienne). 13 pages. This manuscript is of English origin and contains a miscellaneous collection of Latin and French works. It was written by various hands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A. Thomas. Notice biographique sur Eustache Marcadé. 8 pages. He was a monk of the abbeys of Corbie and Marmoutier in the early part of the fifteenth century, and was the author of the mystery entitled the Vengeance Jésus-Christ.

Mélanges. P. Meyer, Extraits d'un Recueil de Sermons latins composés en Angleterre. Ferdinand Lot, Un faux Tristan wurtembergeois en 807. A. Thomas, Anc. franç. Casigan, -ingan, Gasigan, -ingan. A. Thomas, L' Article Balani de Godefroy. A. Thomas, Un Document peu connu sur Alain Chartier (5 juillet 1425). A. Thomas, Note complémentaire sur Merlin de Cordebeuf. Victor Henry, Marisopa. Ferdinand Lot, Godoïne.

Comptes rendus. Albert Metcke, Die Lieder des altfranzoesischen Lyrikers Gille le Vinier (A. Jeanroy). Joaquim Miret i Sans, El més antic Text literari escrit en Català, precedit per una Coleccio de Documents dels Segles XI^e, XII^e i XIII^e (P. Meyer). L. M. Capelli, Petrarque: Le Traité De sui ipsius et multorum Ignorantia (P. Meyer). Gustave Cohen, Histoire de la Mise en Scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen Âge (Marius Sepet).

Périodiques. Revue des Langues romanes XLVIII (P. Meyer). Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie XXX 3 (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Joseph Mazzatinti, Sernin Santy, and Jacob Ulrich. The simplification of French orthography as compared with that of English orthography.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 14 titles. A. Carnoy, Le Latin d' Espagne d' après les Inscriptions: Compléments sur la Morphologie, le Vocabulaire et la Syntaxe. Monsieur Delboulle: Quelques Souvenirs recueillis par l' Abbé A. Tougard.

Additions et Corrections.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

In a discourse pronounced several years ago at Chicago I offered public thanks to Mr. WILLIAM JAMES for his indulgent estimate of the desultory mind, not simply in behalf of Pindar but for a more intimate reason, hoping that others, similarly afflicted, would have recourse to the same wise and sympathetic physician. To be assured that one's mind is not necessarily out of order because the intermissions are longer than usual, and that one's clock is not necessarily a defective machine because there is a long interval between ticks cannot fail to soothe many an introspective and self-distrustful soul. But as I confide this new confession to *Brief Mention*, the figure I have used reminds me that the inveterateness of my tropical language, which has given so much offence to some of my syntactical colleagues, is not without a show of justification. At all events I have derived no small comfort from M. DE GOURMONT's spirited defence of the *style concret*.¹ In fact, I believe in spite of Mr. HOUSMAN (A. J. P. XXIX 124) that metaphor often answers the purpose much better than definition. All language is ultimately concrete and the resort to the concrete often makes matters clearer. M. BRÉAL identifies *finis* and *funis*, and it would be a joy to me if some one would prove that *περίπαρ*, about which the late F. D. ALLEN wrote an interesting paper in the *Harvard Studies* (IV 165), has not two meanings but simply one, and that the controversy about 'end' and 'rope' could be settled in favor of 'rope'—at once the most primitive and the most persistent form of limitation. There is no better definition of definition itself than 'roping off'. All this is *à propos* of my amusement at the emergence of an old figure, and the prodigious ado that has been made of late years about 'punktuell' in the definition of the interminable aorist. 'Punktuell' has been widely recognized as meeting the needs of the situation. But alas!—as we say in book English—'punktuell' is German and defies translation. One scholar has suggested and actually dared to use 'punctiliar', after the analogy of 'punctilious'. Why not 'punctuous', after the analogy of 'unctuous'? Why not resort to Greek and speak of the

¹ La faculté maîtresse du style, c'est la mémoire visuelle. Sans la mémoire visuelle, sans ce réservoir d'images où puise l'imagination pour de nouvelles et infinies combinaisons, pas de style, pas de création artistique. Elle seule permet, non seulement de peindre au moyen de figures verbales les divers mouvements de la vie mais de transformer aussitôt en visions toute association de mots, toute métaphore usée, tout mot isolé même, de donner en somme la vie à la mort. Voltaire, type banal de l'écrivain abstrait est certainement un visuel (A. J. P. XXIX 125). Remy de Gourmont, *Le Problème du Style*.

'stigmatic' aorist as one speaks of the 'sigmatic' aorist? The bodily transfer of German words to English is offensive by the very reason of the kinship of the two languages. We miss the necessary 'forshoving'. So I should far prefer 'metaphonesis' to 'Umlaut' and 'apophonesis' to 'Ablaut.' But I am solitary in my preferences. The real point, however, is the scientific triumph of a metaphor which has been familiar to me in the school room since the days when I learned the Greek alphabet and noted the resemblance of ϕ to the astral lamp of the period. I leave to others the task of tracing the metaphor to its source and ascertaining the name of the desperate teacher who resorted to the 'point' for the aorist and the 'line' for the imperfect, with a ferule for an object lesson. Look at this ferule lengthwise. It is an imperfect. Endwise, it is an aorist. It is the same action from different points of view. And likely as not, the next day the forgotten metaphor was enforced by the same instrument that served to illustrate it. It must be nearer seventy than sixty years since that wonderful figure was impressed upon me. It is set forth at length in Crosby's Greek Grammar, a manual that had a certain vogue in its day, the first edition of which appeared in 1841. Why anybody should claim any credit for 'punktuell' passes my understanding. It is associated in my memory with the cheerful hymn:

A point of time, a moment's space,
Removes us to yon heavenly place
Or shuts us up in hell. ('Αἰδι παραψεν).

Professor BENJAMIN WILLIAM SMITH'S *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (Gieszen, Alfred Töpelmann) has been made the subject of a more or less elaborate review by W. SOLTAU in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for June 1, 1907. The time has gone by when a review by a foreign writer was a passport to American immortality but, beyond a doubt, in the widespread and profound ignorance of English on the part of German classical scholars, which I have had occasion to note more than once (e. g., A. J. P. XV 398, XIX 464), a translation into German, however brought about (A. J. P. XIX 112), does much to enhance, perhaps to establish the reputation of an American author. But to imitate SOLTAU and discuss Professor SMITH'S book at length, or even to give an account of its drift, would be to turn the Journal into what I have called elsewhere 'the powder magazine of a theological review', and I will not undertake to do more than make a few remarks of the *vita senis* order. One shoulders one's crutch and shows how fields were lost, and the chapter in which Professor SMITH argues that Justin Martyr had no acquaintance with St. Paul's writings recalls to my mind an ancient grievance, which has long since passed into the category of amusing reminiscences.

When the late Dr. PHILIP SCHAFF was getting up his edition of *Herzog's Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*, he invited me as the sole American editor, I will not say student of Justin to contribute an article on the Martyr. The only reward held out was the opportunity of making my edition known to the readers of the Encyclopaedia. Somehow the invitation did not allure me and the scholar who undertook the article made no mention of my contribution to the literature of the subject. Indeed, an evil star seems to have presided over the birth of that book. To be sure, I had no right to complain because my friend, Mr. Joseph W. Harper, refused to entertain my proposal to issue a poster with the heading JUST OUT JUST IN, but there was a somewhat unusual succession of mishaps. Shortly after the book was published, Mr. Douglass, the financial backer of the 'Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers' (A. J. P. XXV 484), went into bankruptcy. In the Harper's Catalogue the sins of my Justin Martyr were saddled on Professor March, the editor in chief of the series, and my *honorarium* or at least that part of it not spent in the purchase of the necessary books was swallowed up in a bank failure, so that the only comfort I have ever had out of the book was the use of it as a 'glory hole' for my syntactical formulae, so that I might not be forced to make obeisance to those who should appropriate without acknowledgment the result of my investigations (A. J. P. XVII 391, XX 354). In the same egotistical spirit I did not fail to refer to the book in the articles I contributed to the seventh edition of Liddell and Scott, all which references were promptly and properly expunged by the editors.

Not a very rich reward this for spending the leisure of two or three years with a lot of shabby Christians instead of roaming the fields of classical literature in company with a band of unregenerate but genial heathens. For I took my task seriously and read all the cognate literature from the beginning down to Justin and beyond, and, as I said in my preface, all my citations were at first hand unless distinctly credited. But the ban of Dr. Schaff was upon me and for aught that appears in the text of *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, my own countryman, Professor SMITH, who has sought to find fit audience on the other side by having his book translated, has not deigned to refer to my note on Justin, Apol. I 19, which is not taken from Otto, the well-known editor of Justin, who, by the way, thought well enough of my edition of the *Epistle to Diognetus* to follow it, and cite it here and there. This is my note on the passage—

ἀφθαρσίαν ἐνδύσασθαι. A Pauline reminiscence (?). Comp. I Cor. 15, 53: *δεῖ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν*. That it is not a mere coincidence would appear from Athenag. Res. 18, 68: *δεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν*. Comp. Tatian, c. 20; Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 7; Origen c. Cels. 7, 32.

Of course, I have no grudge against a man who is engaged in a tooth and nail struggle with Zahn for declining to consult an out-of-date edition of Justin, and the point involved is one of such slight importance in Professor SMITH's eyes that he dismisses it in the following contemptuous fashion (S. 210).

Nur ist daran zu erinnern dass kaum ein Sprachgebrauch unter den Alten allgemeiner und verbreiteter war als diese Metapher von anziehen (induo, ἐνδύω, labas): Der Hebräer, der Araber, der Grieche, der Römer, "zieht" fast jedes Ding "an"; Kraft, Schwäche, u. s. w., u. s. w. Der Satz des Justin braucht darum nicht auf den Korintherbrief, sondern nur auf den allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch zurückzugreifen.

But κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ought to have given him pause and might have given him pause, if he had shown the same consideration to American work as he desires American scholars to show to his. Nor can I agree with him in thinking the point of so little importance. The figure is common enough, but the combination is striking. 'Clothed with thunder' would at once be credited to Job (A. V.) and 'clothed with love' to Tennyson. 'Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love?'. Why not ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν to St. Paul?

Statistical syntax took its rise for me many years ago in the memorable paper of LUDWIG LANGE, *Andeutungen über Ziel u. Methode der syntaktischen Forschungen*, 1853, but my first published article belongs to the year 1876, and in most of the statistical work in which I have been involved my part has been largely that of an accessory before the fact. One of these statistical studies, The Imperfect in Pindar, in which my figures had the advantage of Professor MILLER's exact revision, appeared in the fourth volume of the Journal (158-165) and, as it is perhaps the most neglected of my syntactical lucubrations, it has naturally been one of my favorites. In this article I applied the statistical method to the narrative portion of Pindar in order to ascertain the range of imperfect and aorist in what were then called the dactylo-epitrite and logaoedic odes, with the result that on the whole there are proportionally more aorists in the lighter than in the graver metres (see my Pindar I. E. ciii), a result quite in line with the fluctuations of quantity in the Pindaric poems as ascertained by Breyer (A. J. P. XIII 385). In my comment on this result I accepted the tradition that the aorist was necessarily the dominant tense in the narrative. But the statistical researches of the last twenty-five years have made it necessary to revise current statements and I may refer to my remarks in A. J. P. XIV 104, XVI 259 and especially to Professor MILLER's article on the Imperfect (XVI 139 foll.), in which he has reviewed Hultsch's laborious study of the Imperfect and Aorist in Polybios and has made an important contribution to the statistics of usage in other ranges of Greek literature. The imperfect divides the crown with the aorist in different proportions at different times and in different

spheres. Indeed, there are those who have claimed for the epos the predominance of the imperfect, which, being quite in keeping with the descriptive character of that sphere of poetry, is too seductive not to find ready acceptance in the absence of definite figures.

Mere counting, however, will not settle such questions. There are imperfects, some of them of frequent occurrence, that are simple preterites. The aorist of *ἦν* is *ἐγενόμην* (A. J. P. XXVII 234),¹ but is *ἦν* always an imperfect? In the absence of an imperfect to *ἔρχομαι*, *ἦσαν* is predominantly imperfect. Is it always so, as Stahl has recently maintained? Are *ἔφην* and *ἐφάμην* always on the same line? Then there are pluperfects that are virtually imperfects. There are aorists that are practically perfects; and, while we are counting, we cannot fairly omit durative and aoristic tenses of the moods, the 'side moods' which are quite as 'paratatic' and 'apobatic' (A. J. P. XXIII 106) as the tenses of the indicative. We have, indeed, no right to accept and expound the traditional differences between *ἔφευγον* and *ἔφυγον* and pass over lightly or ignore the difference between *φεύγειν* and *φυγεῖν* as some have done. *ἔφευγον* differs from *ἔφυγον* only as *φεύγειν* differs from *φυγεῖν*. No exhaustive study can afford to neglect the 'kind of time' (A. J. P. XXII 350, XXVIII 110), nor was it neglected in the little article to which I have referred. But the conclusion reached, after all, was that the indicative gives the main lines and the other moods the shading, so that the study of the indicatives alone is justifiable—a conclusion which does not seem to me quite so certain now as it did then.

There are other things in that little paper, but I am not a resurrectionist of buried articles, and gladly turn to welcome a study that has recently appeared in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* XXII (1908) 202 fgg. by L. SCHLACHTER, entitled *Statistische Untersuchungen über den Gebrauch der Tempora u. Modi bei einzelnen griechischen Schriftstellern*. In this instalment the author deals with Homer. The next will discuss Herodotos.

I will not undertake to reproduce the formidable statistical tables, but will content myself with giving the main results which are sufficiently interesting. The First Part gives a statistic of all the verb forms of Iliad and Odyssey, arranged according to tenses and moods, followed by a table showing the relative representation of the different moods. The percentages in the two poems are:

	Ind.	Subj.	Opt.	Imp.	Inf.	Part.
Il.	57.5	5	3.1	3.9	8.9	21.7
Od.	56.8	4.8	4.2	3.8	8.8	21.3

a marvellous agreement. The only difference between Iliad and Odyssey worth noticing is the greater percentage of the opt. in the

¹ Where, l. 40, for Eccl. 277 read 177.

Odyssey, which SCHLACHTER does not undertake to explain. The potential opt. is more numerous in the Odyssey than in the Iliad and as the home of the potential opt. is in the speech, and the speeches in the Odyssey are to the speeches in the Iliad, according to MAX SCHNEIDEWIN'S count (*Jahrb.* 1884, S. 130), as 56:44, there is something but not much to be said on that score. A comparison of the modal proportions in other ranges of literature brings Iliad and Odyssey into the immediate neighborhood of the synoptic gospels, showing, according to SCHLACHTER, that the close agreement between Iliad and Odyssey is no proof of a common authorship. It is only a stereotype expression of a common sphere. But while the modal structure of the Iliad as a whole corresponds almost perfectly to the modal structure of the Odyssey, with the exception of the opt. as stated, the moods have a different share quantitatively in the tenses. Pres. subj. and opt. fall behind aor. subj. and opt. The participles run the other way. And finally all the moods do not bring out with equal sharpness the temporal relations of their forms.

The Second Part is summarized thus:

- (1) In both poems the aorists of the indicative are considerably more numerous than the imperfects.
- (2) In the Iliad still greater preference is shown to the aor. indicative.
- (3) In the extra-indicative moods, the 'side-moods', this preference of the aorist extends only to the subj. and opt.
- (4) In imperative, infinitive and participle, the durative ('paratactic') expression is more common.
- (5) These excesses, the excess of aorist subj. and opt., the excess of present imperative, infin., and participle are relatively greater in the Iliad than in the Odyssey.
- (6) In aor. subj. and opt. the asigmatic formations preponderate.
- (7) In the epic dialect the aor. pass. is not yet fully assimilated in its function to the other aorist formations. The Odyssey marks an advance in this respect.
- (8) The different aorist forms have a different share in the different moods, but in both epics the differences coincide.

Comment on the statistics from which these conclusions have been derived would require a special paper. Not the least interesting is the table in which SCHLACHTER has combined his results with Professor MILLER'S and from which it appears that the use of the aor. ind. gradually diminishes until it finds its low water mark in Xenophon. Then the aorist thrusts itself more and more to the front until it culminates in the N. T. The pseudo-naïveté of Xenophon suggests an answer to one problem. The Hellenica has the lowest percentage of imperfects, but it mounts up in the novellistic *Kyropaideia*. The other problem, the very low percentage of the imperf. in the N. T.—e. g., Matth.

13 per cent., Apoc. 7—SCHLACHTER approaches gingerly, and well he may. It stands in marked contrast to Josephus, whose 46 per c. of imperfects shows the artificiality of his style, somewhat as does his use of the participles (A. J. P. IX 154), which, according to SCHLACHTER, he uses more than thrice as often as St. John's Gospel (41 : 12). This predominance of the aor. ind. can hardly be dissociated from the predominance of the aor. imperative in the N. T. (Justin Martyr, Apol. I 16, 6), although the predominance of the aor. imper. has a psychological basis which cannot be made out so readily for the aor. indic. Besides, we have to take into consideration the growth of the perfect and the familiar use of the historical present, which is kept down in St. Luke alone (A. J. P. XX 109, XXVII 328). There is another question—the preference given to the aor. subj. and opt. in Homer. Note that subj. and opt. are largely used in temporal sentences and the aorist suggests priority. Note also that in Pindar the generic conditional splits into pres. ind. and aor. subj. (I. E. cvii).

C. W. E. M.: SCHLACHTER's theory (pp. 236–8) that the predominance in Homer of the aorist subjunctive and optative over the present is due to the lack of differentiation, at the formative period of those poems, between present and second aorist stems, is ingenious but nothing more. The difference is inherent in the nature of the constructions. At all events a specimen book of the Iliad has yielded, with rare exceptions, just the typical 'paratatic' and 'apobatic' uses, and a specimen construction such as that of the final sentence confirms my judgment. According to SCHLACHTER, the entire number of present and aorist subjunctives and optatives in Homer is 3347, and of these forms, according to WEBER, Absichtssätze, pp. 27–32, 556, or about one sixth, belong to the final sentence. The distribution is as follows :

All Constructions.					Final Sentence.				Eliminating Final Sentence.					
		Aorist.		Present.			Aorist.		Present.			Aorist.		Present.
		No.	%	% No.			No.	%	% No.			No.	%	% No.
Il.	{ Subj.	795	68	38	340	135	70	30	58	590	68	38	282	
	{ Opt.	430	63	37	254	40	56	44	31	390	64	36	223	
	{ Total.	1225	66	34	594	175	66	34	89	980	66	34	505	
Od.	{ Subj.	556	65	35	293	133	68	38	63	423	65	35	230	
	{ Opt.	473	63	37	276	64	67	33	38	409	63	37	244	
	{ Total.	1029	64	36	569	197	67	33	95	832	64	36	474	
Grand Total.		2254	65	35	1163	372	67	33	184	1812	65	35	979	

Except in the case of the optative in the Iliad, the large preponderance of the aorist over the present is about the same for the final sentence as for the total subjunctive and optative constructions, and when the final sentence is eliminated, the remaining forms show practically the same ratios, indicating a similar average preponderance of the aorist over the present, so that conclusions may be drawn as to the general behavior of the other sentences from the behavior of the final sentence shown in the following table based upon WEBER'S statistics, *l. c.*:

Iliad.												Odyssey.												Total Number.
Subjunctive.				Optative.				Subjunctive.				Optative.												
Aorist.		Present.		Aorist.		Present.		Aorist.		Present.		Aorist.		Present.										
No.	%	%	No.	No.	%	%	No.	No.	%	%	No.	No.	%	%	No.									
μή	37	92.5	7.5	3	13	87	13	2	35	83	17	7	9	75	25	3	109							
εἰς	15	68	32	7	4	57	43	3	6	37.5	62.5	10	10	71	29	4	59							
ὅφρα	56	63	37	33	11	48	52	12	59	66	34	31	18	64	36	10	230							
ἵνα	27	64	36	15	10	43	57	13	32	68	32	19	59	41	13	144	9							
ὅπως	0	0	0	0	2	67	33	1	1	100	0	0	4	80	20	1	5							
ἵεσθαι	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	80	20	1	5							
Total.	135	70	30	58	40	56	44	31	133	68	32	63	64	67	33	32	556							

μή, because of the affinity of the negative for the aorist, exhibits the greatest disproportion between aorist and present. ὅφρα, which is really a temporal particle of limit, naturally shows a decided preference for the aorist. Though ἵνα slightly exceeds ὅφρα in the use of the aorist subjunctive, yet it falls below it in the aorist optative in both the Iliad and the Odyssey. εἰς shows even greater fluctuations. Now, if SCHLACHTER'S theory were correct, substantial uniformity in tense usage of the various final particles would be inevitable. As this uniformity does not exist in the final sentence, the inference lies near that it does not exist outside of the final sentence, and as there can be no doubt as to the presence of tense-distinctions in the one kind of sentence, there is every reason to believe that there was no lack of discrimination in the others.

Whenever Goethe, wisest of the sons of men, was in trouble, love or other, he wrote a poem about it, or a book about it, and hey presto! the trouble was gone. 'Gab mir ein Gott zu sagen wie ich leide' is the poetical version of a practical remedy. Now Goethe was the guide of my youth and I have followed his example afar off, though not necessarily for publication. Still one sorrow I do confide to my little circle of readers, and that is the grievance of typographical blunders. That is the special

messenger of Satan sent to buffet me, and if I can catch such an imp and make an example of him, put him to an open shame, I am much more comfortable; so that my confessions in the *Journal* are perhaps, after all, not so purely matters of philological conscience as I have sometimes represented them to be. To be sure, there are those who say that in view of the character of the *Journal* the errors of the press are few and slight. βαία μὲν ἀλλὰ—σκόροδα, and their odor haunts me. βαία recalls καταβαίων for καταβαίων in the last number (p. 122, l. 14). For Epidamius (p. 98, footn. l. 2) read Epidaurus; p. 35, l. 8, for 'what' read 'that', 'we know *that* we see' and p. 125, l. 24 for 231 read 239.

FRANZ BUECHELER, JUNE 3, 1837—MAY 3, 1908.

I never heard Buecheler lecture except once, and that was in the summer of 1880. The profound impression that lecture made on me is recorded in my *Essays and Studies*, p. 507. No name is given there, and I have been asked more than once whom I meant. As a manner of tribute to the great scholar, so suddenly called from life, I subjoin the passage here in lieu of a more elaborate expression of the sense of loss I share with the world of classical scholars.

Some years ago I attended a lecture by a great master. The theme was the vanishing of weak vowels in Latin. Candor compels me to state that although I pride myself on being interested in the most uninteresting things, I should have chosen another subject for a specimen lecture. * * * I was much struck with the tone in which he announced his subject. It was the tone of a man who had seen the elements melt with fervent heat and the weak vowels vanish at the sound of the last trump. The tone, indeed, seemed entirely too pathetic for the occasion, but as he went on and marshalled the facts and set in order the long lines that connected the disappearance of the vowel with the downfall of a nationality, and great linguistic, great moral, great historical laws marched in stately procession before the vision of the student, the airy vowels that had flitted into the Nowhere seemed to be the lost soul of Roman life; and the Latin language, Roman literature and Roman history were clothed with a new meaning.

And as I copy these lines I recall what LEWIS said of our American Latinist LANE's 'instinctive and indomitable habit of linking the whole with every detail; of finding analogies between the dust and the stars of thought; of illuminating and ennobling what seemed trifling by side-lights from high places' (A. J. P. XVIII 371). There is no higher type of the scholar.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH.

There exists in London, England, an organization of scholars styling itself "The Viking Club or Society for Northern Research", which was organized in 1892 as The Orkney, Shetland and Northern Society. This club is founded as "a Society for persons interested in the North, or its Literature, History and Antiquities",¹ and for the investigation and elucidation of English-Scandinavian cultural relations. Particularly it devotes itself to the gathering and publication of evidence from all sources, archaeological, linguistic, literary, social, political, of Norse-Danish influence upon English life and speech and English civilization in general. The society holds meetings about six times a year in the King's Weigh House Rooms, Thomas Street, Grosvenor Square, W., where results of research are presented and discussed before publication, and where exhibitions of objects of Northern or other antiquarian interest are held. Here the society seeks to promote its objects also in various other ways, by social gatherings, concerts, and entertainments of other kinds, as we learn from the society's *Law-Book*, published April 18, 1902. The society further publishes a *Saga-Book* (its proceedings), encourages the transcription and publication of original documents relating to Northern history and antiquities, is building up a library of books, MSS, maps, photographs, drawings, etc., relating to that field, expends large sums of money in carrying out excursions to near-by or the most distant parts of Great Britain² for the purpose of carrying out its ends, conducts a book agency of works bearing upon English antiquities and Norse-English history, and publishes an extra series of translations of or studies in Old Norse literature. Its membership, which is very large, includes many names prominent in the literary life and the scientific world of England, Scotland and the North. The Honorary President for 1906 is Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Antiquary Royal of Sweden, while the President is W. G. Collingwood, F. S. A. (translator of *The Life and Death of Kormak the Skald*). The Honorable Editor is Albany F. Major (Bifröst, 30 Oakley Street, Chelsea, S. W.), and there are, besides other officers to carry on the work of the Society, a number of District Secretaries, whose

¹ Twelfth Annual Report of Council, 1904, p. 1.

² And the Scandinavian North; thus there was an excursion to Denmark, August 14 to 25, 1905.

reports and communications are printed in the *Saga-Book*. These represent Aberdeen, Denmark, East Anglia, Faroe Glamorganshire, Glasgow, Horncastle, Iceland, Lake District, Norway, Orkney (6 districts), Saxony, Shetland (three districts), Somersetshire, The Wirral, York and Yorkshire.¹ The Viking Club is, it will readily be seen, a society that is alive and strongly organized, it has able men at its head, well-supported by a large number of active and enterprising members and has at its command, it seems, funds sufficient for carrying out its work on a splendid scale. The Viking Club has brought to light a vast amount of valuable material, issued an array of highly significant publications which no "Northernist" (and indeed Anglicist either) can afford to be ignorant of, and has long ago taken its place in the world of antiquarian research as a dignified authoritative body and is fast making a place for itself also in the realm of philological workers. In the latter field it is at present issuing a translation of *Sæmundar Edda*, by Olive Bray, a handsomely gotten up publication, which, as an effort in Eddic translation, is of a very high order; and it is publishing a *Bibliography of Northern Literature*, by Jón Stefánsson, and a quarterly issue of *Miscellany and Diplomatarium Orcadense et Hjaltlandense*, as *Orkney and Shetland Old Lore Series*, ably edited by A. W. Johnston and A. Leslie. In its "Extra Series" the Club has published in the past such works as *Notes on the Folklore of the Raven and the Owl*, by W. A. Clouston, *Ruins of the Saga-Time in Iceland*, by Thorsteinn Erlingsson, and there is now in press one by F. T. Norris upon *Thing-Steeds of England and Scotland*. I do not wish at this time to review the work of the Club as published in the *Saga-Book*. As illustrative of the special work of the society the programs for 1905 may, however, here be cited: On Jan. 20, J. G. Carson gave the "Presidential Address" on Life and Scenery in Orkney, and on Feb. 17, Professor J. Wight Duff lectured on "Homer and Beowulf"; at later meetings there were addresses and papers given upon "Old Icelandic Churches", "Ship Finds in Norway", "The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names", "The Supernatural Element in Icelandic Literature", "Faroe and the Farøese", the last one being on "Ship Burials", by Haakon Schetelig, District Secretary for Norway. The Presidential address last year was upon "The Archaeology of the Viking Age in England", by W. G. Collingwood.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

¹ Why not also one for Lincolnshire, one for Cumberland-Westmoreland and one for the Western Isles?

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

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WHOLE NO. 115.

I.—STAHL'S SYNTAX OF THE GREEK VERB.

FIRST ARTICLE.

Prolegomena.

No one can appreciate the value of Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb so well as one who has worked on the same lines for as many years as Stahl has done and on the same general principle of direct study of the monuments of the language.¹ All honor to the untiring industry that has accumulated a mass of material which puts to shame many a specialist. All honor to the intellectual courage that undertakes to erect a new system on the basis of personal research. Special acknowledgments to his predecessors there are none and with a touch of national arrogance Stahl claims to have bettered his instructions everywhere. To verify this statement, to compare his treatment with that of the long list of syntacticians from Apollonios down to the latest file-closer of the psychological school, would be a task not unworthy of one who has the leisure for such a survey; and in a recent number of the Journal I made some such promise: but my time is short, and the best I can do under the circumstances is to summarize the book so far as that is possible in the compass of two or three articles. If, in the course of this summary, I refer to my own writings, it is not because I claim for my performances any startling originality but because these references will show that my previous studies have given me some right to an opinion on the points discussed.

¹ *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* von J. M. Stahl. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1907.

In the preface we are told that this is the first thorough historical treatment of the subject, the first comprehensive study of the growth, or, 'wenn das hübscher lautet', the *Werdeprozess* of the syntax of the Greek verb. True, to use his own figure, the sphygmograph that registers the beating of the pulse of language does not everywhere present so consecutive and so satisfactory a record as in the moods, but wherever any movement can be felt, the sphygmograph must be applied. <Unfortunately the sphygmograph is itself a throbbing finger, and the observer is apt to confound the beat of his own heart with the pulse of that very tricky personification, language.>

Now here at the threshold one pauses to remark that the history of a growth like language is not to be followed like the growth of a chick. We are in a world of conventions from the very beginning (A. J. P. XXIII 128). Our earliest monument of the Greek language brings us face to face with just such a world, face to face with a language that is not speech (A. J. P. XXIV 353). Nothing can be more futile than the assumption that the first emergence of a construction in literature is conclusive evidence of its date in speech (A. J. P. III 197; IV 434, 443). And yet this assumption vitiates much of the work that has been done in the historical line. Our early literature is all poetical, all the product of the school. The pulses are carefully regulated by the beat of the metre. You have *ιδιόθαι* and you yearn for the participle. Yearn as much as you choose, *ιδόμενος* is withheld. 'Quod versu dicere non est' holds for Homer as for Horace. 'On saute dans un cerceau', to borrow a phrase from Barbey d'Aurevilly. Our first great prose writer is as artificial, or if you choose, as artistic, as our first great poet. Inscriptions are precious, but most of our inscriptions are under the ban of legal formulae, and when the Greek took the graver in hand, the native flow of his blood was checked. We cannot trust the sphygmograph. We may speculate but we must not dogmatize, and yet what would a grammarian be, if he were not dogmatic?

Next we are told that this supreme achievement of Stahl's differs from its predecessors by its critical point of view. Other scholars have grazed these questions, have actually studied the texts they were citing with some regard to their soundness, but Stahl has excelled them all in the thoroughness of his study, the fulness of his discussion and the magisterial maintenance of his opinions. Opponents he never mentions, for he abhors po-

lemics. On questions of textual criticism he turns his thumb at times and mentions the name as he turns it; but his condemnation as well as his acceptance of current views is impersonal, and the man he means must be content to bite his thumb in response. He is in debt to his predecessors. Who is not? He has appropriated Delbrück's view as to the original signification of subjunctive and optative, and Windisch's view of the relative as an anaphoric demonstrative. But these are disputed views and Stahl claims to have improved on the arguments of the originators and thus made their theories his own. The ordinary text-books have failed to satisfy him. What specialist have they ever satisfied? The various monographs have likewise come short so far as he has condescended to read them. To him they were largely unnecessary, for he has gone back to the sources. A shining example, doubtless, but for the honor of our craft let us cherish the belief that it is not a solitary one.¹

Of course, working through all the authors, all the fragments, all the inscriptions over the whole range of syntax, over the whole extent of Greek literature was impossible even for the superhuman powers of a Stahl and so he has wisely limited himself to the verb and to the period that stops at Aristotle. Having done this independently, he felt himself able to renounce the study of all the monographic literature, though he believes that he has not overlooked anything of importance. To the Schanz series, however, he is indebted for much help, and he is very grateful for it. Of cis-Atlantic work he makes no special note though cis-Atlantic work has not altogether escaped the attention of the authors of the Schanz series, or of men like Brugmann and Delbrück. Not averse to statistics is Stahl but, as he gives no authorities, one is left to infer that he has done the whole work again for himself. To judge by the industry that has brought together an unparalleled wealth of illustrative material, he is perfectly capable of having done it and I, for one, will not dispute his claim to independence here also.

¹ Um Krüger's Gründlichkeit und Ausdauer bei dem Studium der einzelnen Schriftsteller behufs Ausarbeitung seiner Grammatik zu charakterisieren will ich nur aus seinem Handexemplar des Aristophanes die auf dem Vorblatte befindliche Notiz anführen: Sommer 1840 am 8. August den Ar. zum zweiten M. in diesem Jahre durchgelesen, 13. Aug. zum dritten, 21. Aug. zum vierten, 27. zum fünften Mal—Poekel, K. W. Krügers Lebensabriss, 1885, p. 21. Das war ein Mann, den möchte man mit den Nägeln aus der Erde kratzen, as was said of Fabricius (A. J. P. X 383).

In his Methodology Stahl takes up the different methods of syntactical study, the Empirical, which collects and sorts the facts and in this way arrives at mechanical rules that have no reasoned basis. This is the oldest form and is valuable so far as it goes, but is not scientific. The second is the Logical Method, which gives the logical content of the syntactical forms of expression. And there it stops or ought to stop. We are not to impose logical categories on language. Language and thought are not coëxtensive. We have to reckon with feeling and fancy, the sentimentality of concord between adjective and substantive, the absurdities and inconsistencies of grammatical gender <things discarded by our logical and practical English>. As a specimen of illogicality on the part of Greek, Stahl cites the use of the past tense to express unreality. 'If anything is real', he says, 'it is the past'. <But what we call unreality is past opportunity, the Tantalus suspense that becomes eternal. The imperfect needs no *do* to make it unreal. The psychologists claim the past as well as the future for potentiality¹ and the phenomenon is one of perpetual recurrence, so that Stahl might have selected a better example for a specific Greek manifestation.>

Then he goes on to say that strict logical definitions of the functions of the forms are impossible. We can only speak of an *a potiori* use. The so-called parts of speech are not to be taken too seriously. Noun and verb, adjective and substantive, active and passive, mood and tense often behave in a scandalous way <that can only be fitly described in Biblical language. Aholahs and Aholibahs are they all. They are as inconsequent as a French cocotte (A. J. P. XXIII 130), and their choppings and changings are not to be regulated by categories. And yet *a potiori* has its rights, and we must be thankful to Stahl for allowing us to use the old terms; for much that we call style—and my chief interest in syntax is frankly stylistic—depends in large measure on these deviations from the accustomed track, these leaping over the wall (A. J. P. XXIII 6)>.

Logic does not suffice, but the logic-chopper blazes the way for the historian. Language does not stand still and we cannot stand still to amplify with Stahl what was a trite observation in the days of Horace. Language is a living organism and the rest of it. It develops, it evolves, and it is our business to follow the

¹ J. van Ginneken, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, p. 97.

stages of its historical development, its organic evolution, which Stahl like the rest supposes to be absolutely coincident with chronological manifestation in literature. It lies in the nature of language that in the course of time it should tend to greater clearness and definiteness <and it is a thousand pities that writers on syntax do not avail themselves more freely of the facilities afforded by this evolution>. So long as language lived only in oral use and served the purpose of oral communication, much was left unexpressed, much had to be supplied by tone and gesture. Language lacking tone and gesture was forced to be more exact. The intellectual life became richer, the interpretation of thought finer and more complicated, until at the last we reach such a consummation as we have in Stahl. <But tone and gesture are still needed to interpret language. Else the actor's occupation were gone. Attic has lost subtleties that are no subtleties to Homer. 'Yea' and 'Nay' are slumped with 'Yes' and 'No' in modern English—a matter that roused the ire of Sir Thomas More,—and foreigners are apt to slump *oui* and *si*.> The language of the early time, Stahl goes on to say in no unfamiliar strain, puts the simple thoughts of that day side by side, the richer life of thought requires a more complex arrangement. Parataxis is followed by hypotaxis (A. J. P. XXIV 390, 391). 'All this is readily traced', says Stahl. But where? In the literature, which shows a decrease of parataxis, an increase of hypotaxis. <But where? Where the laws of style demand it. All this goes beyond our historical record. To reproduce the early conditions we have to study the language of the people, the language of children, our own consciousness of the process of thought (Nutting, *The Order of Conditional Thought*, A. J. P. XXIV 25 foll.; 149 foll.; 278 foll.), and the answers are very unsatisfactory. One recalls what Quintilian says, I. O. 3, 96: *Non ut quidque primum dicendum, ita primum cogitandum*. As our everyday speech is full of the fossils of dead philosophies, so we have inherited turns of expression that defy analysis. We accept the traditional totalities as totalities. The Roman did not analyze *quin* (A. J. P. XXIII 138). We do not analyze *but*.>

'With the development of the departments of literature', says Stahl, 'differences arise'. There is one kind of syntax for poetry, another kind of syntax for prose. Tragedy and comedy differ, oratory and history (A. J. P. XXIII 6). For the understanding of all this the empirico-logical method is impotent. It puts a

definite period of the language as a basis and counts as exceptions everything that varies from that. <And yet something is to be said in behalf of those who demand a *πρὸ στῶ* for any study of a language. The modern psychological study of language begins with the spoken language of to-day and sentences are made up—sentences which are sometimes ungrammatical—in order to illustrate the psychological processes of grammar. We have no such basis for the study of ancient Greek, and beginning with Homer has shown itself to be as unpractical as beginning with Chaucer would be for the acquisition of English. The best thing we can do is to take a point of reference, the conventional language (S. C. G. iv) which must have been understood by the people, even if it was not spoken by the people. Unless we have a standard there is no enjoyment in deviation. When Lindsay tells us that the rules of our grammars will not answer for Plautus throughout, we rejoice with exceeding joy, but we should not abandon our rules for all that, for we find after all that Plautus hews closer to the Ciceronian line than we should have supposed *a priori*. No one who has a right to an opinion about Greek syntax is a rigid uniformitarian, but we have each his own weakness, and as we shall see, Stahl is as relentless in some directions as he is liberal in others.>

The importance of the Comparative Method—really a part of the Historical Method—is recognized by Stahl, especially in the doctrine of the cases in which the comparison of kindred languages enables us to understand the syncretism of the dative with its triple element, of the genitive which carries the ablative in its bosom, so that we can separate and must separate the instrumental dative and the local dative from the personal dative and the ablative genitive from the genitive proper. <Can we? Must we? The doctrine of the syncretism of the cases goes back to Quintilian (A. J. P. XXIII 20) and what goes back to Quintilian goes much farther back, and I venture to say that the problem of assignment is one of the most puzzling that the student has to encounter, especially when that student has to face the ultimate question, which is not what analysis reveals to us but what synthesis has to say to those who used the language. It is the quest of the originals of the composite photograph, and, so far from being a mere matter of theory, the problem stares one in the face whenever we apply the practical test of translation (A. J. P. XXIII 21). Mr. Mackail has won great renown by his translations. I have

given up the practice of that difficult art, to which I was once addicted (cf. Pindar I. E. xxvii; A. J. P. XIII 517; XXI 108; XXII 104 al.); and I am happy to learn from those who are more gifted, for it is a gift. On the very first pages of his Anthology he renders (The Garland of Meleager, v. 10) *Νοσσίδος ἥς δέλοις κηρὸν ἔτηξεν* 'Epos 'Nossis, on whose tablets Love melted the wax'. The syntactician mindful of his Meisterhans,³ p. 209, might have a word to say in favour of 'for whose tablets Love melted wax'. In poetry the local dative is never to be preferred if the personal dative will serve (A. J. P. XXIII 21). But to return to our Stahl.>

Among the conquests of the comparative method Stahl counts the formation and original signification of the passive, the meaning of the tense stems and the augment, the separation of the injunctive from the imperative, the formation and original signification of the infinitive. But *modus totus noster est*. Here we can snap our fingers at other languages. In the Vedas there are only flotsam and jetsam subjunctives. In Latin subjunctive and optative are fused (A. J. P. XXV 481), and in Germanic the optative has thrust the subjunctive to the wall. In Greek we can afford to be independent.

Empiric and historic study, controlled by critical method, can give us external rules. Logic presses on to the fundamental forms of thought, to the inner laws. But language cannot be exhausted by logical processes. Its inmost secret can only be disclosed by psychological study. In fact the logical method leads to psychology. <The trouble is that in psychology we cannot shake off logic. The sting is in the tail of the word.>¹ 'The subjunctive', says Stahl, 'as the mood of the will, the subjunctive as the mood of a statement that is good for all time, the subjunctive as a prospective mood, all these subjunctives cannot be brought under the same category'. The indicatives of the real and the unreal exclude each other. The derived significations are not logical subdivisions, they are psychological ramifications. The optative, the mood of the will, passes over into a mood of assertion. 'It is a problem', says Stahl <but the problem is simplified for those who are born to the English language, who use our 'shall' and 'will', our 'would' and 'should' with the same shift, and think nothing of it. The wish which is father to the thought

¹ A Syntactician among the Psychologists. The Journal of Philosophy Vol. II, No. 4 (1905).

can hardly be told from its offspring and 'fancy' is now an optative, now an optative + *ā*>. As a specimen of the reverse process Stahl cites the future indicative used in the principal clause as a mood of assertion, in the subordinate clause as a mood of will. <But there are those who consider the future as originally modal, and maintain that the original signification survives as elsewhere in the dependent clause (S. C. G. 267). Translation is no test but the prevalence of the will future with the first person is worth noting.> Then, says Stahl, 'the mood becomes temporal when the subjunctive stands for a future' <a mere future, he should have said, for the subjunctive is necessarily future>. In the leading sentence the future is used as an imperative with the indicative negative, in the final relative clause with the imperative negative. The optative, which starts life as a wish of the speaker, becomes a notion of the speaker, then a notion of somebody else and so finally a gnomon of obliquity. <But there is a *salto mortale* between the potential and the *oratio obliqua* optative (A. J. P. XXVIII 206) in Greek, if not in German (A. J. P. XXVI 68) as there is a *salto mortale* between the negative of the optative with *ā* and the negative of the pure optative.>

Next we have to do with specializations. 'Die besonderen Arten des medialen Gebrauchs sind Spezialisierungen der allgemeinen Bedeutung des Mediums', says Stahl, blissfully unconscious that he is saying nothing more than 'Specialization is Specialization'. The process, he maintains, is from the general to the particular. <But the reverse view is tenable and not only tenable but fashionable. As Usener works up from the specialist gods, the transparent gods, to the opaque gods (A. J. P. XVII 361) so Morris and his school—a parallel suggested by Morris himself—are working up from specific manifestation to general principle. The specialist gods might be represented by the *πτῶσεις ἰδίαι* and the opaque gods by the *πτῶσεις κοιναί*. It is curious to watch the progress of doctrine and find that the progress is really refluxence. Take the cases. First comes chaos. Then the period of grand generalizations, of parisyllabic and imparisyllabic. Parisyllabic and imparisyllabic prove practically useless and the declensions multiply. There are ten in the Westminster Grammar of 1630. Then comes the era of the three declensions, doubtless hailed as a glorious advance, to be followed in our time by the further simplification into vowel and consonant declensions. But subdivisions become necessary so that the only scientific

method of handling the forms is to have as many declensions as there are stem-characteristics. And so in syntax the only scientific method of handling the accusative is to give all the nouns that are used in the accusative as Hübschmann has done for Zend (A. J. P. II 89). If this is not chaos from the teacher's point of view, it is a close approximation. And the same thing is true of the moods. There are as many subjunctives as there are frames of mind, and as many frames of mind as there are minds to frame.¹>

But Stahl belongs to the period, not yet closed, of basic meanings and he goes on to illustrate his doctrine of specialization by the optative with *äv*. The optative with *äv*, it seems, starts life as a general affirmation. Then it becomes a potential by which the predicate is represented as something possible, and finally conditional by which something is conditioned. <But the optative + *äv* can never represent 'objective' possibility. Potential and possible are not identical (A. J. P. XX 231); there is such a thing as *δυναίμην* *äv*, such a thing as *possim*. There is a potentiality of possibility, and all optatives with *äv* are conditioned by personal conviction. The speaker sees an *äv* that others may not, cannot, will not see. The multiplication of categories gives a delightful exercise to the genetic grammarian, but it can hardly be called either a scientific advance or a practical advantage, and he who undertakes to translate Stahl into English will find that the distinguished grammarian has made classifications that can never mean anything except to a German.>

'Another thing to be considered', says Stahl, 'is the shifting of the sphere as when a verb of saying and thinking is used as a verb of will and *vice versa*'. Amen and amen. We all know that, and the grammars are all full of such things, but I will allow myself to remark that the categories are not always carefully delimited. So the verbs of reflection, such as *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι* and *λογίζεσθαι*, ought to have a place of their own and though practi-

¹ The frame of mind, the mental pulse, the state of digestion, the feeling that comes over one after a French *apéritif*, after an American cocktail, that feeling which suggests a stimulative subjunctive to match the stipulative subjunctive, the balancing between will and desire, the poor cat in the adage attitude,—all these subtle shades are subjective states that require a finer calculus than we have thus far at our disposal; and yet they all have their ample justification in the nature of things. Why should not the Greek and the Roman have as many moods as the Turk, and if these ancient languages fail to note by distinct forms all the various phases of emotion, why may we not supply them?' *Oscillations and Nutations of Philological Studies*, p. 10.

cally it is well to speak of a shift, the process is not simply a shift. Will is at the bottom of everything.¹ Call it *προαίρεσις* in the conscious stage, call it appetite in the unconscious stage. Absorption and appropriation, peristaltic movement and expulsion—that is the life of language as of everything else that lives.>

Then comes the question of the economics of language. Language has not a custom-made dress for every thought. <Sometimes she wears *αναξυρίδες*, sometimes *θύλακοι*.> *ὥς* is 'how', but it may serve as 'that' at a pinch (A. J. P. XIV 375). *εἰ εἶχε* is a logical or unreal condition. The context must decide. The utterance is colored by its surroundings. 'That is a wise economy', says Stahl. <The Greek was a thrifty soul and could not be expected to waste his oil and toil on framing this category and that, categories that are clearly recognized in languages commonly considered inferior to the Greek, and Stahl might have pointed out the shameful laziness that kept the Greek from giving gender to the persons of the verb as does the Hebrew. Stahl is no less anthropomorphic than the rest of us when we come to speak of language with a big L (A. J. P. XVIII 368). Language like the rest of us saves at one end and squanders at the other. In fact, Wunderlich makes 'Sparsamkeit' and 'Verschwendung' the basic principles of 'Umgangssprache', and it is a matter of notoriety that the Greek is perfectly lavish in his expenditure of the fairy money of the future (A. J. P. XXIII 128).>

And here Stahl insists, as we all insist, on the difference of the point of view, which is not to be confounded with the difference in the thing itself, and this is a matter to which he returns with wearisome iteration. The Galata tower is the same whether you look at it from the Pera side or the bridge side. The stick is the same whether you look at it endwise or otherwise. Future is future and past is past. 'There is even a great waste of acuteness', thinks Stahl, 'in manufacturing vital distinctions'. <Freedom shares the throne of law. *Δίκη ξύνεδρος Ζητὸς ἀρχαίους νόμους*, sums up the whole thing—Justice, Divine Freedom, Ancient Use and Wont.> We know all that. But 'all that' only means that the grammarian is fully prepared to ignore differences made by other grammarians and to emphasize those which he has established for himself. Stahl refuses to distinguish between *δπως* and

¹ A Syntactician among the Psychologists, I. c.

ἄν, a distinction on which one Gildersleeve insists (A. J. P. IV 422; XXIII 12) cf. XXIV 394; and Gildersleeve declines to accept Stahl's categories of opt. + ἄν, as has just been set forth. The use of the aorist with definite numbers, which I consider a natural function of the aorist (S. C. G. 243), Stahl considers a freedom or rather an economy. 'It is not necessary', he says, 'to put the durative element in the form of the verb when it is indicated in the numeral'. That is one phase of his dislike to the use of the word 'complexive', in connexion with the aorist, whereas I am as fond of 'complexive' as if I had originated it. A participle may be at the same time temporal, conditional and causal,—that is to a German who always has trouble with the participle as I have shown elsewhere (A. J. P. IX 136), Stahl himself being one of my exemplars (A. J. P. XIX 463; XX 352). It is curious how we allow necessities of translation to interfere with the direct vision of a foreign language, how we multiply categories based chiefly on the auxiliary verbs employed in turning Greek and Latin into English (A. J. P. XIX 231, 351).

One bit of arbitrariness is evidently too much for Stahl. It is too much for most of us, and that is the restriction of the oblique optative to the sequence of the preterites, apart, of course, from instances of assimilation so-called. 'This restriction cannot lie', he says, 'in the nature of the *modus obliquus*, as we see by Latin, so that the only reason must be a psychological one'. Psychology is a fine covert from a storm of questions. In my judgment there is no woe upon us to explain this phenomenon by comparative syntax. These oblique relations belong to the after-growths and the ethnic grammarian has the right to pursue the search for the explanation within the range of the special language. The post-Homeric vanishing of the futural subjunctive in the leading clause Stahl attributes to the competition of the future indicative, which rendered the futural subjunctive unnecessary. Now the futural subjunctive being largely aoristic gave a shade which the future indicative does not give, and I should say that the real competitor is the optative with ἄν which is largely used to make up for the indeterminateness of the future, when it ceased to be a mood as it has ceased to be in the leading clause. Unfortunately Stahl does not believe in the modal nature of the future as I do, and he would not say with me that the future indicative has not succeeded in ousting the more exact expressions of temporal relations such as ὅταν and ἐπειδάν with present and

aorist subjunctive (A. J. P. XXIII 247), where the futural subjunctive holds its own. The subordinate sentence is the Ararat in the flood of change here as elsewhere.

The personification we call language being feminine picks and chooses. Being a woman she has often no other than a woman's reason and thinks it so because she thinks it so (A. J. P. XXIV 397; XXVIII 253), and Stahl sees a certain caprice in the restoration of the subordinate imperative to such phrases as *ολοθ' ε δπασεν*. It is feminine caprice, if one may judge by school girls' English. 'Do you know what let's do' has been a pet illustration of mine for many a decennium. Then again give Dame Language an inch and she takes an ell like the rest of her sex. The original accusative and infinitive was simple enough. There was the accusative, there was the infinitive, a legitimate accusative, a legitimate infinitive. There is no more trouble about that than about the accusative with the dative. Then came the accusativus cum infinitivo. That is a different story, that is a *solus cum sola* story and the combination is so close that all manner of grammatical scandal is afloat and one is fain to cry out with Cicero: *quid tibi cum Caelio, quid cum homine adulescentulo?* The absolute participles were not absolute originally. What is absolute in one period is not absolute at another (Pindar I. E. cxii). The unreal imperfect had originally a smaller territory (Goodwin, M. and T., R. E. 435).

Another category is that of assimilation or levelling, comparable with matching ribbons, if we dare to linger longer in the feminine sphere. The most notorious example is that presented by the behaviour of the relative. In the syntax of the verb Stahl bids us distinguish between mere formal assimilation and logical assimilation. His examples of purely formal assimilation are the use of the optative after optative + *δν* or the pure optative and the participle after *δντε* under the influence of another participle (A. J. P. VII 172). Are they merely formal? His example of the logical assimilation is the use of the indicative in sentences dependent on an unreal indicative in which, as I set forth long ago, the first unreality is merely parenthetical to the second (A. J. P. IV 434). 'All which shows', says Stahl, 'the importance of combining psychology with logic'. < 'All which shows', how easy it is to dress up familiar facts in fancy costume. Put the phenomena in other language and you seem to get something brand new. I have recently read that the queer French

genius to whom I referred in the beginning of this article (p. 258) had engraved on his seal the English words 'Too late'. Perhaps some English genius will engrave on his seal 'Trop tard'. One envies the virginal state of mind that can be impressed with such shifts from one language to another.>

I have spent some time on Stahl's 'Methodology': I shall make or try to make shorter work of his 'Grundbegriffe'. After these chapters are finished there will remain only 800 pages to be considered, but 'Fear not, little flock', most of these 800 can be despatched by simple references; for Stahl repeats a great deal, amplifies a great deal, and multiplies categories unnecessarily. It takes the courage of a syntactical specialist to make his way through this mass of material, I had well nigh said 'wade'. But 'wade' would imply that syntax is a morass (A. J. P. XXIII 106; XXVIII 487) and I do not wish to be disrespectful. Only one absurd distich comes up to my mind from Goethe's *Wahrheit und Dichtung*.

Ober Yssel. Viel Morast
Macht das gute Land verhasst.

But after all there is 'gutes Land' in Stahl.

Under the head of 'Grundbegriffe' Stahl extends the definition of syntax. 'Syntax ist die Lehre von der Bedeutung der Wortformen und ihrer Verbindung im und zum Satze'. This definition may serve to save the face of the syntactician who usually employs syntax as a rag-bag for holding odds and ends of linguistic observations. But syntax as the theory 'of the formation and combination of sentences' (S. C. G. 1) involves the determination of the constituents of the sentence and of the connecting links of the sentence. A definition is not an inventory of contents. 'Im Anfang war der Satz', says a high authority and properly understood the theory of the sentence will serve, though Krüger rebelled against that definition. What is the verb? But here my English fails me and I must transfer to my seal Stahl's own language. The verb according to Stahl is 'der sprachliche Ausdruck für den Erscheinungsbegriff an sich' in contradistinction to the substantive. 'Das Substantivum', he says, 'bezeichnet einen Begriff als Substanz, das Verbum als Erscheinung an sich', whereas the adjective gives 'die konstante an der Substanz haftende Erscheinung <die wir> Eigenschaft nennen'. The 'Erscheinung' can present itself as a

'Substanz' and then we have the infinitive, the verbal substantive. It may present itself as a quality and then it becomes a verbal substantive. Then we have the story of adjectives used as substantives and substantives used as adjectives. Nothing is gained by all this would-be metaphysic from my point of view and if I should undertake to discuss Stahl, I might be accused of misrepresenting his theory. What I am concerned with is the registry of sensations, the analysis of sensations. Sensation is a current and the *ῥῆμα* is a *ῥεῖμα*. We are in the realm of the Herakleitean flux. Stahl is welcome to his Parmenidean *ἔν*. Fix the verb, it becomes a noun. Melt the noun, it becomes a verb. The verbal noun is a noun that deliquesces. The verbal adjective is a verb that clings, that deposits a film on the substantive. I have actually called it a skin (A. J. P. XX 352; XXIII 259), and I am not sorry that I have done so. I could not live without metaphor, nor can any one else (A. J. P. XXIX 239).

So I am not going to follow Stahl's criticism of current definitions and the defence of his own. One trouble is the incommensurability of German and English. Distinctions that may work perfectly well in German will not work in English. So under 'Erscheinung' he distinguishes 'Tätigkeit' and 'Zustand', 'activity' or 'action' and 'condition'. That might pass, but under 'Tätigkeit' he makes a distinction between 'Handlung und Tat'. 'Handlung' involves consciousness. 'Der Jäger erzählt von den Taten, aber nicht von den Handlungen seines Hundes; in der Fabel aber handelt der Fuchs klug'. We do not make the distinction in English, and forty years ago I thought it expedient to make special provision for animals considered as agents, 'a cane non magno saepe tenetur aper'. The rule was sorely needed as appears from a Latin Reader made up from Livy by one of the leading contributors to Harper's Latin Dictionary, in which the world was informed that 'Romulus et Remus lupa nutriti sunt'. Surely the taste that could distinguish between 'he-wolf' and 'she-wolf' as articles of diet must have been as subtle as the London alderman's with his 'callipash' and 'callipee'.

'Tätigkeit' and 'Handlung' defy the English language, but we can manage 'Ereignis' as 'event' and 'Vorgang' as 'process'. Against 'Zeitwort' for 'verb' Stahl contends valiantly, charges a paper screen and demolishes it utterly, as Mommsen says somewhere of Cicero. By 'Zeitwort' one would naturally understand

an adverb of time and the victory was won long ago. Apollonios Dyskolos finds no favor in Stahl's eyes. His definition is an inventory from which the participle is omitted, and moreover it applies only to Greek. Unsatisfactory to Stahl is 'Aussagewort.' The verb is not the only thing that predicates. Every word says something. Especially offensive to Stahl is the definition of the verb as a 'Tätigkeitsäusserung'. All these are contemptuously rejected in favor of 'Erscheinung', which I dare not translate phenomenon because of Aratos' Phaenomena, and what is to become of 'Erscheinung' in the dark? Shall we call it 'manifestation'? But there is *λανθάνω*, a most excellent verb. Is all this hopelessly frivolous? Not quite so frivolous as it seems. Definitions are much more easily dodged than metaphors. Is *σκιά* abstract or concrete? My answer would be. It is oxytone like *αἵμασι* *ἄλι*, and the rest of the 'concrete' *ιά*'s which cast it.

Subject and predicate are necessary to every logical sentence. The so-called copula, the verbum substantivum is really a predicate. Every grammarian uses it and every grammarian abuses it. Stahl differs only in his vehemence and his claims to greater consistency. Touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing. It is a false, a fallacious expression. False it may be, but fallacious it is not. '*ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ* is an incomplete thing', says Stahl. Attribute cannot be predicate. True, a logical sentence may be involved in an expression. *αἰβοί* may suggest *ἀπέπτυσσά, ψύττα* may suggest *φθέρων*, but that does not constitute a sentence any more than the expletive one indulges in when reading a tiresome grammatical treatise can be considered a judicial sentence. But the interjection is multisignificant. Everything depends on the tone, the gesture. *ἦ Χάρθια* is interpreted by *βάδιζε δεῦρο*. The vocative is not a sentence, and Stahl, though he names no names, is fighting against those who wish to extend the area of the sentence (A. J. P. XXIII 6). As to the omission of the forms of *εἶναι*, Stahl says that the frequent occurrence of the omission in the oldest language makes it not unlikely that it goes back to primeval time before *εἶναι* had lost its force, not to say had become a copula, and before there was any distinction between adjective as predicate and adjective as attribute.¹ <Then why insist so

¹ According to some scholars (see J. van Ginteren, l. c., p. 110), the primitive copula is a pronoun, nay, *ειμί* itself has been claimed as a verbalised pronoun. The Hebrew omission of the copula and the reinforcement of the

rigidly as Stahl has done on the difference between attribute and predicate? If we are to go back to primeval times, the predicate might be considered as an accusative of the object effected as in Arabic, a significant fact which I gleaned from Ewald *Lehrb.*, § 279, 1855, many, many years ago.¹ In that case the concord of subject and adjective predicate would be a mere assimilation. After the familiar ellipsis of forms of *εἶναι* (A. J. P. XXIII 7) Stahl takes up the ellipsis of verbs of motion, of verbs of saying and doing, of verbs involved in the context. All this may be considered elementary, but supplying ellipses may be dangerous sport, as Stahl himself has shown, when he follows Kühner and Goodwin in paralleling *οὐχ ὁπῶς* (p. 780) and *οὐχ ὅτι* (A. J. P. XX 228; XXVII 234).

The great division of sentences is into 'Urteilssätze' and 'Begehrungssätze' and the 'Urteilssätze' are further divided into 'Aussagesätze' and 'Fragesätze'. 'Opinion' and 'Desire'. Why not the other way? It is the common way, the genetic way. And the question is not a sentence at all unless it borrows its answer. Word-questions and sentence-questions, simple and disjunctive questions, questions proper and questions rhetorical, principal sentence and dependent sentence, coördination and subordination, simple, expanded and compound sentences, require no comment. Subject sentences and object sentences are comprised under the name of the substantive sentence. They stand in the same relation to the leading verb as do the corresponding nominal forms, and include adverbial relative sentences, the adverb representing time, place, manner and cause.

To causality Stahl devotes especial attention, as well he may (A. J. P. XXVIII 353), and causal sentences are distinguished thus: 1. Hypothetical (*des vorausgesetzten Grundes*). 2. Causal proper (*des vorhandenen Grundes*). 3. Concessive (*des nicht wirkenden Grundes*). 4. Consecutive (*des umgekehrten Grundes*). 5. Final sentences (*der erstrebten Folge oder Absicht*). I keep the German because 'Grund' is susceptible of a varied translation into English and because Germans play tricks with technical Latin terms. So the first translation of 'Voraussetzung' is 'pre-

identical relation by the pronoun (compare the use of *οὗτος*) are familiar facts. No one who has ever read can forget the ring of I Kings 18, 39.
 יהוה הוא האלהים!

¹ See now J. van Ginteren, p. 112.

sumption' and lo! we have a subdivision of the hypothetical sentence which we call conditional sentence into the 'presumptive' and 'conditional' sentence. Stahl is evidently proud of this distinction and he takes half a page to provide for the 'presumptive' group in which the leading verb involves the notion of will, the *ἀναμένειν* *ἰάν* group, the *expectare si* group, in which *ἀναμένειν* and *expectare* denote suspended action (*μέλλειν*). These sentences have been roughly classed by some as interrogative sentences. Against this Goodwin protested years ago (M. and T., R. E., §§ 493, 680), and on the corresponding Latin phenomenon Gaffiot has recently written a special treatise. The thing is plain enough and there is no need of Stahl's division. It is merely a matter of involved condition. At any rate 'presumptive' would not be a happy term in English, and I wish Stahl's English translator joy in rendering the German phrases 'in dem Fall' for the conditional and 'für den Fall' for the 'presumptive'. In idiomatic English we should use 'in case' for both and the German distinction, though comprehensible, seems to me more or less manufactured as 'in case' and 'against the case', 'in the event' and 'against the event' would be in English. 'Proviso' will not answer for 'presumptive', because 'proviso' carries with it an element of purpose. Compare the so-called conditional *ὥστε* (*μή*), *ἐφ' ὅτε* (*μή*). At all events, it seems to me a mistake to make such a category basic. Concessive sentences Stahl divides into those in which the inefficient cause is represented as real, and in those in which it is assumed as real. The distinction between concessive and adversative, to represent the two classes *καὶ ἐῖ* and *ἐῖ καί*, seems to me more practical. But no two grammarians will agree on these points and I will pass over Stahl's discussion of the difference between 'Nebensatz' and 'abhängiger Satz'. 'All dependent sentences', he says, 'are subordinate sentences, but all subordinate sentences are not dependent, such as relative clauses, the form of which does not depend on that of the leading verb.'

Important for Stahl's system is the division of subordinate sentences into Synthetic, those that have an inner nexus with the leading clause and Parathetic, those, the forms of which are not determined by the leading verb. To the former class belongs, f. i., *ὥστε μή* with inf., to the latter *ὥστ' οὐ* with ind.

The primitive nature of parataxis is recognized by Stahl, as we have seen, and the later development of hypotaxis, but Stahl is

not parataxis mad. That peculiar form of *furore* is becoming obsolete (A. J. P. XXIII 253). But I am not quite satisfied with his statement. 'There is', he says, 'a widespread use of parataxis in Homer, and, though it gradually receded, it was never quite given up and even lent itself occasionally to rhetorical effect'. 'Never quite given up' and 'rhetorical effect' are not scientific expressions. One craves exact figures.

Transitive verb in the language of Apollonios is ῥῆμα ἀλλοπαθής, intransitive ῥῆμα αὐτοπαθής. The ordinary definition of transitive and intransitive Stahl finds as unsatisfactory as I do and have always done (cf. LG³ 213 R.), but he bids us distinguish carefully between the accusative of the object after the transitive verb and the accusative of the content after the intransitive verb, so that he is evidently working a different theory of the accusative than that which makes the outer object only a different phase of the inner object. That is the theory to which I have been addicted for half a century (LG³, p. 208 Note). Whether I owe it to Bernhardt or not, I cannot tell at this distance of time. Some one, I forget who, gives the credit of it to Erdmann, who is relatively of yesterday (A. J. P. XIV 372). Stahl's leading example of the combination of the accusative as the nearer, and the dative as the more remote, object is κεφαλὴν τινι ἀποτέμνειν. The example is not well chosen. With such a verb as ἀποτέμνειν, we should almost inevitably have the genitive (cf. A. J. P. XXIII 232).

Impersonal verbs (ἀπρόσωπα) ought to be called, according to Stahl, unipersonal verbs and he considers it a contradiction in terms to speak of these verbs as subjectless after the manner of most recent grammarians. He agrees with Apollonios in maintaining that σωφρονεῖν προσήκει has a subject just as much as σωφροσύνη προσήκει or to use Priscian's illustration 'bonum est legere' is only another form of 'bona est lectio', LG³ 422 Note 1, and compare Lodge, A. J. P. XVI 372. The whole controversy turns on the conscious or sub-conscious survival of the original dative sense of the infinitive which it is hard to maintain in view of Il. 2, 455: τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένητ' ἢ νείεσθαι and 10, 174: θεῶρες ἢ βιῶναι in which the inf. could not have well been other to the Homeric singer than it was to Euripides, Eur. Med. 542: μήτε χρυσὸς μήτ' ὑμνήσαι. The articular infinitive is, of course, a flat surrender. We are now luckily out of the forecourt of the Syntax of the Greek Verb, where I always kick my heels impa-

tiently. There is so little to be gained by all this would-be profound discussion for the real appreciation of the things that interest me. In my day the German professor, no matter what the subject was, used to give in his preliminary lecture a specimen of his house-philosophy and present to the admiring novice his theory of the universe and said admiring novice used to wonder at the 'mossy heads', who failed to jot down these outgivings of a great thinker. Now I am an ancient of days myself, and ought to have known better than to spend so much time on these preliminaries. The real business will begin with The Tenses and Moods. But before attacking them, let me say a few words about Stahl's presentation of

THE VOICES.

Of course, what we call in English after the old French grammars the Voices, Stahl calls Genera—the Greek γένη—a term based on a fancied resemblance to the genders, a positively indecent nomenclature. Compare ὑπιτιος, *supīnus*, and in another sphere *pathicus*. Things that are nowadays the common property of all school grammars, it will not be necessary to mention; as, f. i., the fact that the passive is a matter of function rather than of form, that there is but one distinctively passive form and that of seemingly late origin—the -θησομαι future. To the lone example of a distinctly fut. pass. form in Homer *μυγήσεσθαι* Il. 10, 365 (S. C. G. 168) Stahl adds *δαήσεαι*, Od. 3, 187, 325.

The intransitive use of transitive verbs is illustrated by a long list of verbs of motion that belong to this category, arranged for the most part alphabetically, for which we may be thankful just as we are thankful for the glimmer of an alphabetic arrangement in the fragments of Theognis. In so many other chapters the only order is the Teutonic order of Kraut und Rüben. Indeed, the lack of a definite and uniform principle of arrangement is one of the marked defects of the book from my point of view; and if any one will be at the pains of ordering the examples according to the departments of literature, he will appreciate the difficulty of a stylistic syntax. It is only when Stahl happens to take an interest in a special quest that the historical or artistic side is considered in mustering the proof texts. The transitive use of the intransitive, the causative use of the active, have only short lists. The latter it might have been well to emphasize because some scholars have considered the use as belonging in a special manner to the middle

(Pindar I. E. ciii; S. C. G. 144). The evasion of responsibility in most of the verbs in which the active is used for the passive (S. C. G., 172) Stahl has not noticed or not thought worth noticing. On the use of the future middle form of active verbs he has not been able to throw any light (A. J. P. III 227). What earthly help is it to say that the reason is to be sought in the fact that in many verbs the distinction between active and middle has vanished and that *ἴσομαι* has set a bad example? '*βήσομαι*', he thinks, 'is due to differentiation from *βήσω*'. The problem remains where it was.

The middle with its general reflexiveness is subdivided by Stahl into various classes. What is usually called the direct reflexive, roughly equivalent to active + acc. Stahl calls the objective middle, which would not answer for English in which the objective case covers both acc. and dative, and in which there is a merging of forms. Whoever translates Stahl should be alive to these differences of idiom. English uses the reflexive more sparingly than German. The German reflexive is much lighter than the English which has practically discarded the simple personal pronouns for the cumbersome self-compounds, so that we use instead intransitives and passives much more than the German does, the passives, in fact, riotously in the face of heredity (A. J. P. XXIII 18). The Greek is, of course, still lighter than the German and the differences of idiom lead to analyses that may be superfluous for this and that idiom, but are after all not without interest. So in the long alphabetical list of 'objective middles' few will be found that do not involve a natural action (S. C. G. 146; cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 235), and the few that do not may be otherwise conceived. To Stahl and his fellow-Germans *ἀπόλλυσθαι* may be 'sich zu Grunde richten', but the first and most natural German rendering seems to be 'zu Grunde gehen'. To the Romans it was *perire* not *se perdere*. To us it is 'perish' not 'ruin one's self'. And so the other list of verbs of feeling, from *αἰσχύνεσθαι* to *τέρπεσθαι*, which are for the most part passively conceived in English. 'I am ashamed', 'I shame' (Shakespeare), 'I take shame to myself,' present different facets.

The indirect reflexive Stahl calls 'das Medium der Beteiligung'. The Latin is *sibi*, *in suum usum*; in German as in English the rendering is often the possessive pronoun. There is a long demonstration of *ἄρχειν* and *ἄρχεσθαι*, *ποιεῖν* and *ποιεῖσθαι*. Thuk. 6, 58, 2 he reads *πομπὰς ποιεῖσθαι* for *πομπὰς ποιεῖν* and Plat.

Legg. 865 A he drops τῶν ἀρχόντων in consonance with the general principle; for he is a uniformitarian, when it suits him.

The causative middle is treated at much greater length than the causative active for which Stahl had curtly referred us to the context. ἴστεφανώσατο Pind. O. 7, 81 and στεφανωσάμενος O. 7, 15 are no more causative than O. 14, 24 ἴστεφάνωσε χαίταν.

There is no disputing the value of these lists, but the interpretation of the differences between active and middle is in many cases, if I may say so, not so much grammatical as lexical; that is to say, the grammatical definition does not determine the practical use, the conventional use. So γῆμαι of the man, γήμασθαι of the woman. We might insist on a uniform translation of 'marry' for the man, and 'get married' for the woman, but the antique bride did not rope in her husband as the modern bride does hers and the *in suum usum* formula does not help.

A further division is made for the local middle, the 'towards', 'from' and 'with' middle, illustrated by μεταπέμπεσθαι and ἐφέλκεσθαι, ἀποπέμπεσθαι and ἀποσείεσθαι, ἄγεσθαι and φέρεσθαι. To be sure, the middle in all these verbs is not compulsory and the use of the active where the middle would be customary produces what I have ventured to call an aristocratic disdain of effect (S. C. G. 148). With the ἄγεσθαι and φέρεσθαι verbs Stahl classes σκοπεῖσθαι, λογίζεσθαι, ἐνθυμείσθαι. 'This conception', he thinks, 'is borne out by the Homeric ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν, φράζετο θυμῷ and the like'. He may be right, but a great deal of mischief has been wrought by the appeal to the fuller expression. The fuller expression does not necessarily give the conception of the briefer expression, just as in the theory of the cases it does not follow by any means that we have a whence-conception with the genitive wherever we can give a whence-turn by a preposition such as ἐξ or ἀπό.

The reciprocal middle comes to its rights in Stahl, but while he takes ἐρίζεσθαι as a reciprocal (see my note on Pind. O. 1, 58: ἐρίζεται rendered necessary by the remark in Fennell's first ed.), he excludes ἀγωνίζεσθαι, μάχεσθαι, μάρνασθαι, because 'mutuality' is not involved, as if it did not take two to make a quarrel.

And now we come to what I would fain call the drip-pan middle, the πανδέκτης middle, the middle that is put at the bottom to catch the drippings of the other uses as the ablative is put to catch the drippings of the other cases. It is called the intensive middle, the dynamic middle. We have five *chevaux de frise* pages on the subject and after all the catego-

rising, individual authors baffle us. There is, f. i., *παρίχειν* and *παρίχεσθαι*. If you read certain authors you are ready to formulate. *ὁ παρίχων* shirks responsibility for disagreeable things, *ὁ παρεχόμενος* takes the credit for agreeable things, but alas! Plato who after all writes Jove-like Greek sends the distinction *ἐς κόρακας*. In short the dynamic middle might as well be called the ethical middle and spelling it out with the help of 'out of one's own means' and the like is in many cases a mere concession to the mania for explaining the reflexive notion, which is often so faint that one forgives Curtius for his untenable explanation of *-μαι, -σαι, -ται*. After one has done one's best, one must needs fall back on the way of the language. *λαβεῖν* may be rendered to 'grip', and *λαβέσθαι* 'to get one's grip', the *-εῖν* and *-εῖσθαι* may be differentiated, *πολιτεύειν* 'to be a citizen', *πολιτεύεσθαι* 'to play one's part as a citizen', but *ἔπεισθαι* like *sequi* does not yield to us a reflexive sense without forcing, and after all is said and done we have to admit, as Stahl has done, that the language is capricious in such matters. We translate *ἰδεῖν* 'see', *ἰδέσθαι* 'to see with one's own eyes', an overtranslation as *ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρᾶν* shows, but if there is such virtue in *ἰδέσθαι*, why not in *ιδόμενος*? Ah! the verse. Like the rest of us Stahl has to go into bankruptcy. Translation will not suffice. 'The middle may be quite appropriate', he says, 'and yet when there is no essential difference between the middle and the active the <frivolous> author may go to work <or rather to play> and use the active'. And the whole thing winds up with a chapter on the difference between the *-κα* and the strong perfects, the use of the aorist active (e. g., *ἔδρακον*) side by side with the present middle (e. g., *δέρκομαι*) and the tendency of the sigmatic aorist to the causative signification, *ἔστησα*(*ἔστην*). All this is very disappointing in a work that was to have illuminated the whole track of our studies. The book will be a God-send to those who like to write about Greek syntax without reading Greek, and every Greek scholar will welcome the material, but the specialist in syntax who is really seeking light and who has worked through the whole period covered by Stahl will not be edified by the false points he has made and the ruthless way in which he breaks off those that he has not developed himself.

Then follows the chapter on the medio-passives, the future middle used as a passive and the small group of verbs in which the aor.-middle is used passively. Even in Attic *ἰσχόμεν* appears as a passive, *ἰσχήθην* being late. But I will spare myself and my

reader the trouble of going through these and other familiar categories which Stahl's wider definition of syntax has brought into the range of his study.

A word or two as to the passive. Theoretically the passive ought to be formed from transitive verbs only with an accusative object, and he might have added that the word 'transitive' itself suggests the limitation. A transitive verb is a verb that passes over to a passive rather than one that passes over to an object. But with a lordliness that reminds one of English, the passive can be used with a subject which with the active would appear as a genitive object rarely or a dative object not infrequently.

But Stahl's rule seems to me incautiously worded (p. 69): 'Tritt zu einem persönlichen Dativ dieser Art im Aktivum ein sachliches Objekt im Akkusativ hinzu so bleibt dieses bei der Verwandlung ins Passivum'. Strictly construed this would warrant us in saying, **δίδονται πλοῦτον οἱ Ἕλληνες*. Even English rebels against such a liberty, or at least is uneasy under it (A. J. P. XXIII 18; cf. II 92). The few examples he can rake up outside of the famous *ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς* group, which does not count (A. J. P. XXV 110) are to be subsumed under the accusative of the inner object and are nearly all Thukydidean and on the same lines as the famous or infamous *ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν* = *ἐπιτροπήν* (S. C. G. 175).

The use of the passive aorist as the passive of the middle as well as the passive of the active (e. g., *ἤρεθην*), the use of the deponent middle and passive and the variations of prose and poetry in these respects—these are matters that seem to clog syntax proper, and the conclusion that Stahl reaches that there is no hard and fast rule about the use of the voices will not console the student who has religiously worked through the long lists that can only be mastered by a personal familiarity with the living and moving body of the language.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

II.—ACCENTUAL CLAUSULAE IN GREEK PROSE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES OF OUR ERA.

(I. The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.)

It is now nearly twenty years since Professor Wilhelm Meyer, using as his starting point the earlier observations of Bouvy, set forth certain rules followed by writers of late Greek and Byzantine prose for producing rhythmical cadences at the ends of phrases and sentences. The formulation of these rules and the general limitation of the phenomena involved have been accepted without much dissent or essential modification, and pass current in the guild of scholarship under the name of Meyer's law. To the immense importance and interest of Meyer's discovery, all who have had occasion to deal with the matter, from whatever point of view, have borne willing and grateful testimony. And indeed the range of its significance is remarkably wide: for it not only discloses to our sight, but almost puts into our hands, one of the principal tools of the rhetorical workshop, it contributes to the phonology of the language, and in the field of text-criticism it affords a criterion free from the chances of mechanical error and, in varying degrees, independent of scribal caprice. It may be assumed in general that readers of this Journal are familiar with Meyer's law, but for those whose studies have not extended to the later periods to which it belongs, let it suffice here to state briefly that the phenomena embraced in it consist of certain final cadences which are constructed not by syllabic quantity, but by the collocation of word accents (primary or secondary).

Concerning the history and origins of these clausulae Meyer does not speak in his original monograph, but in the *Fragmenta Burana* (1901)¹ he observes: "Die von mir nachgewiesene Form des Schlusses, wonach vor der letzten Hebung [i. e. Accent] zwei Senkungen stehen müssen, tritt kurz vor 400 auf. In derselben Zeit hatte sich die accentuirte Form des lat. Schlusses

¹ Now in *Gesam. Abhandlungen*, Vol. I (1905), p. 19.

fixiert. . . . Die lat. accentuirte Form ist ganz natürlich aus der quantitierenden Form [i. e. of Latin] gewachsen. Sie ist ganz sicher nicht der griechischen nachgebildet. *Kann für die griechische durchaus keine quantitierende oder anders gestaltete accentuirte Vorstufe gefunden werden*, dann sind wir bei der grossen Ähnlichkeit des griech. und des lat. Schlusses gezwungen anzunehmen, dass ein griech. Redekünstler im 4ten Jahrhundert den lat. rhythmischen Schluss in der griech. Sprache nachgeahmt habe und dass dieser Versuch durchgedrungen sei". I have quoted this passage because in the words which I have italicised it formulates precisely that which I shall here endeavor to set forth, viz., an accentual 'Vorstufe' to the developed accentual clausulae of the early 5th century, which in turn will appear as a natural development from the earlier quantitative clausulae of Asiatic-hellenistic prose.

But before passing to the text upon which my conclusions are based, I would call attention to a brief inquiry into the accentual clausulae of Himerius, which Wilamowitz incorporated into an early series of his *Lesefrüchte* (*Hermes* 34 (1899), pp. 214-218). He finds in this rhetorician, in the middle of the 4th century, the observance of certain rules for the construction of phrase endings, not identical with Meyer's formulation, but still obviously of related character. He infers (and without doubt correctly) that what Himerius practises had been the usage of his teachers, and concludes therefore that the phenomenon may go back as far as the end of the 3d century: "Hier [i. e. at Athens] ist also gegen Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts der denkwürdige Schritt gethan, der eigentlich der antiken Tradition ein Ende macht: der Ersatz des quantitierenden durch das accentuirende Princip in der Prosa". The observations of Wilamowitz concerning Himerius, in spite of Meyer's repudiation of them (l. c., p. 19), are unquestionably sound in principle, but his concluding generalization with its implications (which my citation does not fully reveal) is, I believe, wrong in fact and misleading in tone. For I think that it can be shown that accentual clausulae were in use at a much earlier time, and that transition from quantitative to accentual terminations was a gradual process, during which both forms appear side by side in different writers of the same time, and even side by side within the work of the same writer. There was no time of abrupt or sudden change, nor can the change be referred, I suspect, to any one writer or place or school as its author or source.

Within the limits of the present article I must confine myself practically to a single text, the Epistle to the Corinthians attributed to Clement, commonly designated as third in the succession of bishops of the Roman Church after St. Peter. Concerning the date of the letter I have accepted without independent inquiry the last decade of the first century, the period upon which practically all more recent students of the question have reached agreement.¹ It will, I suspect, require a somewhat detailed proof to make plausible to others my own conviction that accentual clausulae are in fact present in this letter; but if my conclusions win credence, I shall in a subsequent discussion trace the further history of accentual clausulae in the period before 400, and set forth the bearings of my results upon the phenomena embraced in Meyer's law, and upon the formulation of the law itself. From these introductory words the reader will gain, I fear, the impression that I have gone forth deliberately to seek the accentual 'Vorstufe' which Meyer desiderated—and there is prevalent, perhaps not without reason, a human suspicion that the philologist will find what he seeks for. But in fact I came upon the Epistle of Clement quite from the opposite direction, that is working down through specimens of Asiatic-hellenistic rhetoric, and, so far as the clausulae are concerned, contemplating them in the first instance merely from the point of view of syllabic quantity.

The Clementine Epistle to the Corinthians, as being perhaps the earliest extra-canonical writing of the Church, has engaged the attention of theological students in an exceptional degree, especially in later years, during which the discovery of important new sources of the text have greatly stimulated its investigation and study. It was first discovered in the famous Alexandrine MS of the Greek bible (A), which was presented to Charles I in 1628, and from this source the editio princeps was published by Patrick Young in 1633. This remained the unique source of the text until 1875, when Bryennius re-edited the letter from a MS of Constantinople (C), which supplied many smaller lacunae and the missing leaf at the end of A. Only a few months later a Syriac version (S) was acquired by the library of the University of Cambridge and its readings were made available by the

¹ Cf. Gebhardt u. Harnack, *Proleg.*, p. 59, Lightfoot, Vol. I, p. 346, Harnack, *Chronologie*, Vol. I, p. 255: "Unser Brief ist am Ende der Regierungszeit Domitian's zwischen c. 93–95 geschrieben, schwerlich erst 96 oder 97."

reports of Lightfoot in his 2d edition (1890). The absence of a Latin version of the epistle had led Lightfoot and others to suspect that the letter had remained relatively unknown to the Western Church, but in 1894 Germain Morin, an eminent scholar of the Benedictine order, published as the second fascicle of his *Anecdota Maredsolana* a Latin version from a MS of Namur (of about the 11th century). For the purposes of our investigation it would be very valuable to determine exactly the time at which this translation was made, but for the present I must content myself with reporting the opinion of Harnack, who agrees with Morin in placing it not long after the Greek version itself, that is rather before than after 150 A. D. Finally in the present year, as the latest addition to the noble series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, it has been published in Coptic translation (K) by Carl Schmidt. For ordinary purposes of study and for exact information concerning the status of the text all has been done that could reasonably be asked in the thorough-going editions of Gebhardt and Harnack (2d ed., Lpz., 1876), Lightfoot (2d ed., 1890), and Knopf (Lpz., 1899), who was the first editor to make thorough use of the Syriac and Latin versions. But let me add here in passing a sigh, born of much futile page turning, that no one of those admirable books is equipped with a complete index verborum.¹ The discovery of a Coptic version (or versions) leaves something still for the definitive edition, which must form a part of the Berlin series of early Christian writers, and I venture to add, with reserve and caution, my belief that considerations of the rhythmical structure of the work will enable a subsequent editor in some places to arrive at more certain conclusions in the face of conflicting witnesses to the text.

The existence of accentual clausulae in Greek prose, like accentual rhythms in Greek verse, was of course dependent upon the gradual change of Greek accentuation from the principle of pitch or musical variation to the principle of intensity or stress. This transition had begun much earlier than the date of our document, but concerning the progress of the change it has been difficult hitherto to obtain any other data than those afforded by vulgar orthography. On this point let me quote from Kretschmer in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. 30 (1890), p. 599. After quoting

¹ In the final revision of this paper I was able to use the admirable *Index Patristicus* of Dr. E. J. Goodspeed and his pupils, lexicographical work of a self-sacrificing type which deserves the highest credit.

examples of false orthography from papyri and inscriptions he summarizes as follows: "In der Mehrzahl der Fälle sind betonte Kürzen als lang oder unbetonte Längen als kurz bezeichnet. . . . Thatsache ist also, dass die vulgäre Aussprache bereits im 2. Jahrh. v. Chr. Länge und Kürze zusammenfallen liess". He proceeds then to the conclusion, based upon the date of the evidence employed, that the transition from musical to expiratory accent, at least in vulgar and colloquial speech, must have taken place in the 2d and 1st centuries B. C. "Dieser Übergang kann nur als ein allmählicher gedacht werden, und so mögen damals noch eine Zeit lang Tonhöhe und Tonstärke neben einander fortbestanden haben."

The conditions which Kretschmer describes seem to me to fit the phenomena which the clausulae of our letter reveal with considerable accuracy. We shall find that the accent has lengthened practically all short syllables upon which it stands, but it has not yet produced a thorough-going shortening of adjacent long syllables. That is, long unaccented syllables, as well as accented syllables (whether short or long), may under certain conditions be used as the starting point of rhythmical groups, and in this fact of the presence of both rhythmical principles side by side the peculiarity and the perplexity of the rhythmical structure of our document lie.

Let me begin with a list of quantitative clausulae taken from the opening lines of the letter. I shall cite usually from the edition of Knopf, and unless otherwise indicated it will be understood that I cite only true clausulae, that is the ends of longer or shorter phrases and sentences.¹

ἐκλεκτοῖς | τοῦ θεοῦ
ἀνοσίον | στάσεως
οὐκ ἐκ|ρυξεν
πάντα ἐποι|εῖτε
νο|εῖν ἐπε|τρέπετε

¹ So far as possible, in order to eliminate subjective interpretation, I shall confine myself to those places marked by Knopf either with a comma (,) colon (:) or period (.). But as every student of these problems knows there is much superfluous, i. e., 'unphraseological', punctuation in all of our editions, while on the other hand, in some places, modern editors regularly omit punctuation where, from the point of view of colon or phrase structure, it should stand, as for example, between two co-ordinate phrases connected by καί. These circumstances frustrate the attempt to obtain with anything like completeness an objective statistic.

which might be accounted for by resolutions ($\theta\epsilon|\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon|\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$), by the admission of a dactylic basis ($\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\delta\omicron|\kappa\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), and perhaps by still other means. But nothing can save some of these forms as quantitative clausulae. Either they are not intended to afford a rhythmical cadence, or else they have cadence value only by virtue of the lengthening effect of the accent. And that I believe to be the case, as for instance in these examples, which no manipulation can render quantitative: $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\iota|\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \mu\epsilon|\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma \beta\lambda\alpha\phi|\theta\eta\gamma\alpha\iota, \pi\alpha\rho' \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu | \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\iota\varsigma, \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon \sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$.¹ I should not therefore have recourse to resolution in the example given above, but I would read boldly $\theta\epsilon|\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron|\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$, and so also $\delta\pi\omicron|\nu\omicron\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi}|\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$. Throughout this list it will be seen that the quantities are more or less awry, but that for the most part the accents stand in the same positions as in the preceding lists. It may be said: why assume clausulae at all in these cases? But it will be conceded by all who are familiar with the subject of prose rhythm that its manifestation, in a work where it appears at all, may be expected to be fairly regular and consistent.

I shall endeavor presently to devise something like a demonstration of the accentual character of the clausulae, as shown in certain words and word-types of frequent occurrence, but first let me add another passage which will illustrate not only the clausulae, but also the noteworthy continuous rhythm which is frequently found throughout the work. For this purpose I select ch. 45, and to avoid repetition I shall indicate at once my interpretation of the clausulae, and I add also in parallel columns the corresponding words of the Latin translation. The juxtaposition will be serviceable as furnishing a clue to the rhythm with which the Greek cadences were read by the translator.² As a specimen of continuous rhythm I shall set down the whole of the first sentence, and after that the clausulae throughout the chapter, following the punctuation of Knopf.

$\Phi\iota\lambda \delta\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$	$ \epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon,$	$ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\acute{\iota},$	$ \kappa\alpha\iota \zeta\eta\lambda\omega \tau\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\iota $
$\pi\rho\upsilon \delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\varsigma$	$ \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon,$	$ \phi\rho\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma,$	$ \epsilon\tau \zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron \tau\iota\pi\acute{\iota}' \delta\epsilon $
$\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta \kappa\omicron\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma$	$ \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu.$		
$\epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\upsilon \iota \pi\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\mu.$	$ \alpha\delta \sigma\alpha\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\mu.$		

¹ Concerning this form, see below, p. 299.

² Cf. Knopf, *Prolegomena*, p. 45: "Den Ohren, für die diese Übersetzung berechnet war, muss das Griechische als Gemeindesprache noch etwas geläufiges gewesen sein."

(clausulae)

τῶν ἀνη κόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν	pertinent ad salutem
ιε ρὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἀληθεῖς	sacras scrip turas veras
πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου	spiri tu sancto cognovistis
γέγραπται ἐν αὐταῖς	neque fic tum in eis
ἀπὸ ὁσ ίων ἀνδρῶν	repro batus a sanctis viris
ἐδι ώχθησαν δίκαιοι	sustinu erunt iusti
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων (or perhaps	sed ab in i quais
ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀν όμων)	
ἐφυλα κίσθησαν	} om. L.
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνοσίων	
c. S. <ἀλλ' > ὑπὸ παρανόμων	lapi dati sunt ab scelestis
ζῆλον ἂν εὐληφόντων	in i quum ¹ receperunt
εὐκλεῶς ἤνεγκαν	fortiter tulerunt
εἰπωμεν ἀδελφοί	dicimus carissimi
	(ἀγαπητοί?)
λάκκον λε όντων	lacu le onum
θρησκείαν τοῦ ὑψίστου	ex celsi re ligionem
εἰς κάμι νον πυρός	in fornace ignis
μηδαμῶς τοῦτο γέ νοιτο	ne quaquam hoc fiat
ταῦτα δρᾶ σαντες	qui hoc ges serunt
ἐξ ήρισαν θυμοῦ	conten derunt ful roris
αἰκίαν περιβαλεῖν	poenas im mittere

(continuous)

μη εἰδότες οἷτι ὁ ὑψιστος ὑπε έρμαχος	
ignorantes quia ex celsus pro pug nator est	
καὶ ὑπερ ασπιστής ἐστιν τῶν ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδέσει	
. . . . om. L. qui puro corde de-	
λατρεύντων τῷ πανα ρέτῳ ὀν όματι αὐτοῦ.	
serviunt mag nifico nomini illius. ²	

¹ *Iniquum* here, and *iniquis* above may be tetrasyllabic. In the clausulae of Ammianus -qu- usually has the value of a separate syllable.

² Concerning the Latin translation and its clausulae a word before passing on. The translator's aim was clearly to be as literal as possible, and it would be open for any one to say that (qui = quae) *pertinent ad salutem* was the inevitable literal rendering of (τῶν ἀνη|κόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν, and that the fact of clausular agreement was therefore meaningless. The same thing might be said of a number of the other terminations, where verbatim literalness yields the same clausula in Latin as is found in the Greek. But this explanation will not apply to a large number of other examples. The sentence of the Greek text ending in the clausula πνεύματος | τοῦ ἁγίου has in the Latin been merged with the following in such a manner that the phrase does not end with *spiritu sancto*, but with *cognovistis*, corresponding to τοῦ ἁγίου. Again in the next sentence, the Greek has the clausula γέγραπται | ἐν αὐταῖς, to which the Latin corresponds with the clausula *neque fictum in eis*, omitting *scriptum est*, which would complete the translation entirely. Observe also that the Latin

It will be seen, if my interpretation is correct, that the rhythmical structure in the clausulae consists of a loose trisyllabic basis, with an accent in either or both of the places corresponding to the longs of the cretic, while instances occur of correct quantitative cretic bases with violation of accent, like *εἰς κάμτ-, αἰκίαν, θρησκείαν*. Similarly the cadence is constructed for the most part accentually, but in some instances quantitatively. So for example *σωτηρίαν* and *τὰς ἀληθείς* have both the rhythmical value of a ditrochaeus, the one accentual, the other quantitative. The continuous rhythm, as in the last three lines, is for the most part cretic, but it alternates with trochaic sequences like *συνειδήσει, λατρεύόντων*.

I will now turn to some explanations. First of all it should be stated that the apparent arbitrariness in constructing clausulae according either to accent or quantity has some limitations, and was subject to some rules dependent upon the pronunciation of the language at this time. In the transitional stage of Greek accent which Kretschmer describes, it is reasonable to believe that the lengthening of accented short syllables took place at a much earlier time than the second or complementary stage of the shortening of adjacent unaccented long syllables. That is, *πῶνος* for example became trochaic much earlier than *θυμοῦ* became iambic. In this circumstance, that long unaccented syllables still had phonetic value as longs, and still asserted a retarding force upon pronunciation, lies the possibility of using the twofold rhythmical principle which the examples reveal. Some definite groups in which quantitative value still remained will be discussed and classified below. But some arbitrariness of treatment will still remain unexplained.

Let me first take up instances of the lengthening of short vowels under the stress of the accent, or if perhaps this statement

has transposed the arrangement of words in *θρησκείαν | τοῦ ὑψίστου* = *ex|celsi re|igionem*, thus making the final cadences identical. But the translator was not able in all cases to reproduce the same rhythm as the Greek affords, and so contented himself with another admissible type. Thus in place of the double cretic *εἰς κάμινον πυρός* he was satisfied to use the cretic-trochaic termination *in fornac' | ignis*, and in the continuous rhythm at the end he substitutes for the trochaic rhythm of *συνειδήσει | λατρεύόντων* the cretic movement of *corde de|serviunt*. The Latin clausulae afford no demonstration of the character of the Greek cadences, but they do afford a certain cumulative confirmation of a conclusion which may be reached by other means.

of the matter be inexact, let us say cases where a short syllable reinforced by the accent is allowed to stand in a place where quantitative usage would have required syllabic length. Simple examples of this type are very numerous:

3, 2	o	ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος
3, 2	e	ἐρις καὶ στάσις
38, 7	ā	κοσ μήσας ἐ χάρη
48, 1	ā	τοῦτο ἐν τάχει
35, 7	e	λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή
9, 3	e	εὐρεθεῖς μετετέθη
19, 3	ī	πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ
11, 1	ī	αἰκισμὸν τίθησιν
5, 4	o	ἐπ ήνεγκεν πόνους
37, 5	o	δλω τψ σώματι
37, 5	o	δλον τδ σώμα
37, 3	υ	δύνανται εἶναι

More striking, but not fundamentally different from these examples, are clausulae, the rhythm of which depends upon the accentuation of formative terminations like *-ία*, *-μένους*, *-σύνη*, *-ότες*, *-έρους*, etc.

But before turning to such examples of purely accentual treatment I would first note the treatment of certain words which yield naturally the syllabic material for correct quantitative clausulae. For example *ἀλήθεια* requires only a long syllable before it to yield the commonest form of quantitative clausula. It occurs, however, only once (35, 2), and the corresponding accusative form once also (31, 2), but in neither case in clausula. For this position we have invariably a form like *καὶ ἀληθείᾳ* (19, 1), or *τῆς ἀληθείας* (35, 5). That is to say (though the evidence of a single word is not sufficient) the writer chose for clausular position those forms in which the main accent was carried over into the final cadence, and avoided forms like *ἀλήθεια ἀλήθειαν*, which deprived the cadence of such an accent, though yielding equally well correct quantitative values. Again *πεποίθησις* and *ταπείνωσις* occur only in the genitive and dative forms (7 exx.) with a preceding accent, yielding thus always a form like *καὶ ταπειν|ώσει. καὶ ταπείνωσις*, of the same metrical value in clausula, was apparently avoided.

The evidence by which the character of the non-quantitative clausulae may be determined, must be some more or less consistent grouping of accents in such a manner as to yield accentual equivalents to the quantitative forms. I have already pointed out (p. 285) that the quantitative clausulae in our letter usually

reveal coincident accent also, and in the examples just cited the apparent intention to bring about this coincidence by the choice of some forms and the avoidance of others has been seen. Let me therefore illustrate the method which I shall employ with the non-quantitative clausulae upon an example of correct quantitative structure. 'Αλαζονεία lends itself naturally by quantitative form to ditrochaic rhythm, with coincident accent. To obtain our trisyllabic basis we should expect it to be preceded in clausula by two syllables of which the first should bear the accent. This expectation we find confirmed in the two clear instances where it stands in clausula: ἐν | κόμπῃ ἀλ|αζονείας (16, 2) and πᾶσαν ἀλ|αζονείαν (13, 1). The same form occurs in the very short phrase in 14, 1 τοῖς ἐν ἀλ|αζονείᾳ. But in 21, 5 where it does not stand in clausula there is apparently no effort made to accommodate the preceding words to the ditrochaic cadence.

An *accentual* ditrochaic cadence is yielded by tetrasyllabic words ending in -ία. A list follows, which for the words selected is complete for clausular position.

7, 7	ἐλαβον σωτηρίαν
45, 1	ἀνη κόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν
59, 2	ταύτης τῆς ἁμαρτίας
47, 4	ἤττονα ἁμαρτίαν (ὅμῃν ἐπ ήνεγκεν.)
50, 5	δι' ἀγ άπης τὰς ἁμαρτίας
53, 4	ἄφες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (τῷ λαῷ τοῦτω.) ¹
2, 2	ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ
33, 1	ἐκτεν είας καὶ προθυμίας
35, 5	ἀδι κίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν (Α)
	πονηρίαν (L)

From the divisions into clausulae which I have made it will be seen that I interpret all of these forms as consisting of a ditrochaic cadence accentual in character. The evidence for this interpretation is found in the consistent use of the trisyllabic, quasi-cretic, basis, a rule to which I have found but one exception where the examples occur in clausula. The exception is 31, 1 οἱ ὁδοὶ | τῆς | εὐλογίας.

From the negative side this conclusion receives some confirmation from the fact that the trisyllabic basis is neglected in positions where no definite rhythmical cadence was felt to be necessary. So for example in 7, 4 we find διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν not in clausula, and two citations from the LXX, although they termi-

¹ A very free adaptation and rearrangement of Exod. 32, 32.

51, 2	δε καίως ὁμ οφωνίας
35, 1	ζω ῆ ἐν ἀ θανασία ¹
3, 2	καὶ αἰχμαλω σία.

With less violence to the rhythmical traditions of the language, but still quite irregularly, forms like *ὁμονοίας-α*, *διανοίας-α* are regularly found in clausula with ditrochaic value, preceded by the trisyllabic basis. They are significant as showing the rhythmical equivalence between *-οίας-α*, and *-ίας-α*.

There is no other group of words in which the complete parallelism of accentual and quantitative (or partially quantitative) forms can be shown so clearly. But if we may now accept the presence of certain types of clausulae as a reasonable presumption, it will be possible to demonstrate accentual rhythm for some characteristic words of more frequent occurrence. Let us take *ἀγάπη*.

33, 1	ἐγκατα λίπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην
49, 5	οὐδὲν βάνανσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ
49, 5	ἀ γάπῃ οὐ στασιάζει
50, 1	θανμασ τόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀγάπῃ
50, 3	οἱ ἐν ἀ γάπῃ τελ ειωθέντες
50, 5	ὁμο νοίᾳ ἀ γάπης
50, 5	δι' ἀ γάπης τὰς ἁμαρτίας
53, 5	ὦ με γάλης ἀ γάπης
54, 1	τίς πεπλη ροφορη μένος ἀ γάπης.

These are the only examples of the occurrence of the word in clausula, and it will be seen that in every instance some one of our recognized cadence forms is yielded, dependent for its rhythm at some point on the accent of the word. Finally a short passage of continuous rhythm from 49, 5:

ἀ|γάπῃ κολ|λῆ ἡμᾶς | τῷ θεῷ
 ἀ|γάπῃ καλ|ύπτει || πληθὺς ἀ|μαρτιῶν.

A nice illustration of rhythmical change dependent upon the shift of accent is afforded by the three examples of *ἀπόστολος* which occur in clausula. We have in

42, 2	οἱ ἀ πόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
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¹ I have omitted from this discussion one characteristic word which is found several times in clausula, viz., *ἀγαθοποιία*. It occurs some three or four times and is usually preceded by a trisyllabic group, e. g., 33, 1 ἀπὸ τῆς | ἀγαθοποιίας. My first inclination was to read it with resolution thus: ἀγαθοποι|ίας. But something is to be said for the lengthening of *ο* in compounds, and in that case we should have to accept the remainder of the word thus: ἀγαθο|ποι|ίας, or better, ἀγα|θοποι|ίας (see p. 300).

but in

5, 3	ἀγαθούς ἀποστόλους
47, 1	Πάβλον τοῦ ἀποστόλου

cf. also

47, 4	ἀπο στόλοις με μαρτυρη μένοις.
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A similar word is *πρεσβύτεροι*. Thus we have in

44, 5	προο οιπορή σαντες πρεσ βύτεροι
-------	---------------------------------

but in

1, 3	παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέρους
3, 3	ἐπὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις
54, 2	τῶν καθ'ε σταμένων πρεσβυτέρων
55, 4	παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
57, 1	ὑποτά γητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις
21, 6	πρεσβυ τέρους τι μήσωμεν.

Note also two examples of *ἐτέροις*, the only occurrence of the word, or any form of it, in clausula,

55, 2	ὅπως ἐ τέρους λυ τρώσονται
55, 2	ἐ τέρους ἐ ψώμισαν.

The usage with *ἡμέρα* is obscured by a defective text, but it seems to correspond to the preceding examples,

24, 3	ἀν ίσταται ἡ ἡμέρα (ἡ, C et fort. A)
25, 4	ἡ μέρας βλε πόντων πάντων
50, 3	ἕως τῆσδε ἡ μέρας παρ ῆλθον (A.)
20, 2	ἡ μέρα τε καὶ νύξ (init., not cl.).

The usage with participial forms like *-μένος*, *-μένοις*, *μένων* is not consistent, but in most instances where they occur in positions which give a clue to their rhythmical value, the rhythm will be found to depend upon the accent. This is especially true in the cadence; quantitative usage is chiefly confined to the basis.

3, 1	ἐπετελ έσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον
17, 5	χρηματισ μοῦ αὐτῷ δίδομένου
23, 1	ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβου μένους αὐτόν
59, 1	οὐ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένους
47, 4	ἀπο στόλοις με μαρτυρη μένοις
47, 4	ἀνδρὶ δε δοκιμασ μένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς
51, 1	παρεμ πτώσεις τοῦ ἀντικει μένου
43, 1	νενομο θετημένους (cf. νομοθέτης),

with which last example cf. ib. *συνεπι|μαρτυροῦντες*, the initial word of the phrase: a corresponsion seems intended.

The examples are numerous and only a small selection can be given, but in conclusion let us note a word of this type of frequent occurrence, ἡγούμενοι :

(in nom.)

32, 2	καὶ ἡ γούμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰούδαν
51, 5	οἱ ἡ γούμενοι αὐτοῦ (C)
55, 1	βασί λεις καὶ ἡ γούμενοι

(in obliq.)

1, 3	τοῖς ἡγου μένοις ἡμῶν
5, 7	ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων
37, 2	τοῖς ἡγου μένοις ἡμῶν.

Examples of quantitative, or partially quantitative treatment (chiefly in basis) :

54, 2	τῶν καθε σταμένων πρεσβυτέρων
44, 6	αὐ τοῖς τετῖ μημένης λειτουργίας
35, 4	τῶν ἐπηγ γελυμένων ὠρεῶν.

In cadence

43, 1	κατ έστησαν τοὺς προει ρημένους,
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and the same phrase in 44, 2.

For the participle in -ότες, etc., the material is meagre, but

45, 4	ζῆλον ἀν ειληφότων
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and repeatedly in continuous rhythm, as in 20, 11: ὑπερεκ|περισ-
σῶς | δ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς | προσπεφεν|γότας τοῖς | οἰκτιρμοῖς | αὐτοῦ.

It is difficult to know how much exemplification of this sort is necessary to illustrate adequately the usage of our writer, but at the risk of needless prolixity I shall still add a few characteristic examples. We have observed above that ταπεινώσις (πεποίθησις) is always used with a preceding accent, yielding forms like καὶ ταπεινώσει—ώσεως, which are clausulae of pure quantitative type with coincident accent. Ταπεινοφροσύνη is a word of more frequent occurrence, and it also, in the 6 exx. of its occurrence, is always preceded by an accent, e. g.,

56, 1	καὶ ταπει νοφροσύνη
44, 3	με τὰ ταπει νοφροσύνης.

This would seem to be adequate evidence that the cadence was meant to be ditrochaic in rhythm. This is confirmed by the usage of ἀφροσύνη, preceded by a trisyllabic basis in 13, 1 τύφος
καὶ | ἀφροσύνη (καὶ ὀργάς). Δικαιοσύνη is a meagre word. The rhythm

δι|καιοσύνη would seem to be the most natural one, and it apparently occurs in

33, 8 ἔργον δι|καιοσύνης.

The remaining examples would seem to require δικαιο|σύνη, following the analogy of δικαίος (cf. 45, 4 ἐδι|ώχθησαν | δικαιο).

13, 1 κρίμα καὶ | δικαιο|σύνη (citation but altered.)

35, 2 λαμ|πρότης ἐν | δικαιο|σύνη,

and this rhythm seems confirmed by the corresponson in

48, 2 πύλη γὰρ | δικαιο|σύνης
εἰς ζωὴν | ἀνεω|γνῖα (ἔσταν αὐτή).

Ἅγιος occurs frequently, especially in the phrase πνεῦμα ἁγίον. The rhythm of the word as dependent upon its accent is nicely seen in these examples :

13, 1 πνεῦμα τὸ | ἁγίον (and so 16, 2 and 58, 2)

45, 2 διὰ τοῦ | πνεύματος | τοῦ ἁγίου (and 22, 1).

In clausula it is always found in either of these forms. But contrast 2, 2 πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου, and 63, 2 διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, which are not found in clausula and which do not conform to any of the rules that have been observed. Finally note an interesting example showing variation in rhythm with shift of accent :

59, 3 ἡμιστον | ἐν ὑψίστοις
ἁγίον | ἐν ἁγίοις (ἀναπαν|όμενον.)

I have thus far devoted myself especially to demonstrating the presence of clausulae dependent upon accent for their structure. I have indicated also that there are many correct quantitative clausulae with coincident accent. But there remain still a number of clausulae which are quantitative (though not always strictly), but with violation of accent, or better without coincidence of accent. Participial forms like ἐπηγ|γελμένων | δωρεῶν I have touched upon above. Other examples are such as these :

(basis)	42, 3	τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ
	34, 5	ἀγγελῶν αὐτοῦ
	42, 5	πὺν λέγει ἡ γραφή
	51, 4	εἰς Ἀίδου ζῶντας
	45, 7	εἰς κάμ νον πυρός
(cadence)	25, 5	ἀν αγραφᾶς τῶν χρόνων
	21, 8	παρ ὰ θεοῦ ἰσχύει
	33, 3	ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμει
	30, 3	δικαι σύμενοι μὴ λόγοις.

Concerning the explanation of such cases I am somewhat at a loss. May it be that the stress accent was still not strongly marked, and had the effect only of retarding the movement of the (cretic) rhythm, not of destroying it? Or it is a license admitted against the writer's habitual usage (but familiar to him from contemporary and earlier literature) for the sake of constructing the desired clausulae more easily? Both considerations probably have something to do with the truth of the matter.

There is, however, a group of words, usually found in quantitative positions, in which I do not doubt that there is present a peculiarity of the pronunciation of a transitional time. I refer to dissyllabic words with a final accent and with long penultimate syllable (or trisyllabic words of the same structure plus a light initial syllable) such as *βωμός* (or *βοηθός*). The phenomenon is so characteristic and illustrates so well a condition of instability between accent and quantity that I shall make a rather full enumeration of examples.¹

5, 1	γενο μένους ἀθ λητάς
9, 4	ζῶα εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν
24, 5	ἐκφέρει καρπὸν
25, 4	ἡλλου βωμόν
38, 2	ἐπιχορη γείτω τῷ πτωχῷ
39, 2	δύναται θνητός
42, 5	τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς
45, 2	ιερ ὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἀληθεῖς
47, 6	Χριστῷ ἀ γωγῆς
47, 6	καὶ λίαν αἰσχροῦ
48, 5	ἦτω τις πιστός
58, 1	ἀπει θοῦσιν ἀ πειλὰς
59, 3	κινδυνευ όντων βο ηθόν

The same phenomenon appears in verb forms such as 25, 2 *εἰσέρχεται* | καὶ *τελευτᾷ* and 5, 7 *δύσεως* | *ἐλθόν*. This does not exhaust the words of this class, but it will suffice for illustration. The characteristic feature of these examples is the long penult, which final accent has not yet shortened. In consequence the weight of this syllable takes away from the force of ultimate accent, and makes it possible and natural to use the words with

¹ Related to this class, but handled with much more freedom, are the pronouns *ἡμεῖς*, *ὑμεῖς*, *αὐτός*, which are used with the rhythmical ictus upon either syllable indifferently, and so also *Ἰησοῦς* and *Χριστός*. The dissyllabic prepositions *ἀπό*, *ὑπό*, *ἐπί*, etc. share this treatment, as is true also of the later periods embraced in Meyer's law. See exx. in Meyer, Vol. II, p. 210.

their original quantitative values.¹ It may be recalled in this connection that Nonnus, in the construction of his hexameters, deviates from his general rule, of coincidence of accent and quantity in the 5th and 6th foot, only with occasional words of this type: ἀνδρῶν, βουλὴν, ὀπωπὴ, κεραυνῶν, and the pronouns ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, αὐτός, are a few examples selected at random.

As rules to be mastered by any one who would read the composition correctly these details would be intolerable, but in practice it will be found that they are all yielded easily, and for the most part inevitably, when once the general proposition is apprehended, that our work represents a transitional stage from quantitative to accentual rhythm, a stage in which the developing stress accent had already lengthened most short syllables, had shortened some long syllables, but had not yet obliterated the quantitative value of others. It mirrors a living condition of a transitional time, a condition which made it even possible for the same syllable, according to the rhythmical context in which it stands, to be treated at one time with quantitative value, and at another time with neglect of quantity. This last statement will doubtless seem a hard doctrine to accept, but I think that its truth can be made reasonably apparent.

Take for example *ἄκοντες*, which by itself might in our author constitute either the basis or the cadence of a clausula. But in 2, 2 it stands in this rhythmical position: εἴ τι ἄ|κοντες ἢ|μάρτετε. The accent of the word here attaches itself to the preceding quasi-cretic foot, leaving the long syllable -κοντ- to become the starting point for the basis of the clausula. That is to say, the treatment becomes quantitative because the accent has been absorbed by the preceding context. This is what I mean by saying that the usage may be determined by the rhythmical context. Again *λάβωμεν* by itself may afford the customary trisyllabic basis, as in 24, 4 *λάβωμεν* | τοὺς καρπούς; but in *ἀναλάβωμεν*, the two initial syllables, yielding a suitable secondary accent, usurp the main accent, and leave the long syllable -βω- free to become the starting point of another rhythmical group, as in 56, 2 *ἀναλάβωμεν* παι|δείαν. If still another syllable is added (*ἐγκαταλίπωμεν*) the accent may resume its place at the beginning of the foot as in

¹ Contrast with these, trisyllabic words with long penult plus *long* initial syllable. Here the reinforcement of initial secondary accent has been sufficient to allow them to stand in cretic position. E. g. 46, 9 πολλοὺς εἰς | διαταγ-μὸν; 11, 1 αἰκισαὺν | τίθησιν; 56, 1 οἰκτιρῶν | μνεία.

33, 1 *έγκατα|λίπωμεν | τήν αγάπην*. But in cases such as *λάβωμεν* or *λίπωμεν* it is not my thought that the time value of pronunciation was the same as if the second syllable were short, like (*ε*)*λάβωμεν* or (*ε*)*λίπωμεν*. The long *ω* of the subjunctive was still felt with an effect of retardation of utterance, and this retardation in turn was sufficient, when the accent could attach itself to a preceding context, to allow the retarding long syllable to become the starting point of another rhythmical group. The phenomenon does not, therefore, seem to me arbitrary, but probably subject to the conditions of the pronunciation then prevailing. Let the following examples serve to illustrate the usage: those on the left hand may be called roughly quantitative, those on the right accentual.

2, 2	<i>ει τι ά κοντες ή μάρτετε</i>	29, 1	<i>αἰροντες πρὸς αὐτόν</i>
51, 5	<i>έρυθρὰν καὶ ἀπώ λοντο</i>	55, 2	<i>έ τέρους λυ τρώσονται</i>
45, 7	<i>ταῦτα δρᾶ σαντες</i>	7, 1	<i>ύπομμ νήσκοντες</i>
49, 1	<i>δύναται έξηγή σασθαι</i>	27, 2	<i>ό παραγ γεῖλας μὴ ψεύδεσθαι</i>

Theoretically one might sometimes be in doubt as to which form was intended, as in 55, 1 *έθνῶν ένέγκωμεν*, but in such cases I feel confident that the accentual cadence should be preferred—*έθνῶν έν|έγκωμεν*. Finally both forms appear in the same context in 7, 6 *ύπακού|σαντες έ|σώθησαν*, and more strikingly in 44, 4 *έ|ποίησαν | καὶ ποιή|σουσιν*. The application of these principles to the reading of the text will be found for the most part easy and free from perplexity. Let me take a passage of continuous rhythm from 20, 2 (a rhapsody on the order of the universe), the commata of which I shall make graphic by separate lines:

*ή|μέρα τε | καὶ νύξ
τὸν τεταγ|μένον
ἑπ' αὐτοῦ | δρόμον
διανύ|ουσιν
μηδέν ἀλ|ληλοῖς
έμποδί|ζοντα.*

Or again at the end of the same chapter (20, 10):

*τά τ' έλά|χιστα τῶν | ζώων τὰς | συνελεύσεις
αὐτῶν έν | όμονοία | καὶ εἰρή|νῃ ποιούνται.*

There is a license of usage which disturbs the regularity of the clausulae, which in lieu of better term I venture to call an extra-metrical anacrusis. Its occurrence is relatively quite infrequent, and yet the number of cases is in fact considerable. The nature

of the phenomenon may best be seen in some passages of continuous rhythm, which in the nature of things cannot be treated so strictly as the clausulae. Take, for example, 46, 7 *ἵνα τί | δι|ἐλκομεν | καὶ δια|σπῶμεν τὰ | μέλη τοῦ | Χριστοῦ*; The writer's intention to construct a continuous series of (accentual) cretics is apparent, but he allows himself the freedom of using the initial syllable of *διέλκομεν* extra-metrically. The usage occasions no surprise in such passages as this, but the question arises as to how freely it is admitted into the more carefully constructed clausulae. The number of certain instances in which it occurs in such position is relatively so small that it would seem clearly to have been avoided. But of the admissibility of the license there can be no doubt. For example, in 45, 4 we have the clausula *ζῆλον ἀν|ειληφότων*; but in 3, 4 we have *ἀσεβῇ | ἀν|ειληφότας*. Again, in the consistent series of examples like *ἐλαβον | σωτηρίαν*, we find as noted above (p. 290) one exception in 31, 1 *οἱ ἔδοι | τῆς | εὐλογίας*. The syllable thus treated is usually of light accent, and does in fact only slightly interrupt the rhythmical movement of the cadence. Let these examples suffice for illustration :

37, 4	<i>δίχα τῶν με γάλων</i>
63, 2	<i>τῇδε τῇ ἐ πιστολῇ</i>
29, 1	<i>εὐσπλαχνον πα τέρα ἡμῶν</i>
43, 2	<i>ὁ νόματι κε κοσμημένη.</i>

The short chapter 31 is very exceptional in that, of a total of eight clausulae, it presents five examples of this type. Practically its effect is to transform the quasi-cretic character of the basis into ditrochaic rhythm, and so to give to the whole clausula the effect of trochaic movement.

This movement, in fact, is found in a few other clausulae, in which we cannot reasonably speak of such an anacrusis.¹ I refer to examples such as these :

1, 3	<i>πάνν σωφρο νοῦσας</i>
3, 4	<i>δικαιο σύνη καὶ εἰ ρήνη</i>
5, 7	<i>τόπον ἐπο ρεύνθη.²</i>

¹ I have used this term to describe only those cases in which an apparently superfluous syllable intervenes between a regular trisyllabic basis and the final cadence. In the examples above *δίχα τῶν*, *τῇδε τῇ*, etc., the preceding basis is clearly defined by natural syllabic grouping: in *πάνν σωφρονόσας*, etc., it is not.

² These examples correspond to not uncommon accentual clausulae of later Latin, like *ille properabat*. The Latin form would seem to have been derived from the accentual treatment of such a resolved form as *esse videatur*.

The number of these clausulae is not great, but if we should put them together with the preceding examples, characterized by an anacrusis, and accept the whole group, not as a sharply defined clausula, but merely as evidence that our writer was satisfied at times with a somewhat indeterminate trochaic rhythm in clausula, we should have a formula which would cover practically all exceptions to our regular forms. To this class then I should assign ἀγα|θοποι|ία referred to above, and it would afford a consistent explanation for the otherwise puzzling δεσπότης. This word affords a perfect quantitative cretic, but the presumption, that our investigation up to this point has established, is that its accent should determine its rhythm thus: δεσ|πότης. This presumption is confirmed by clausulae such as these:

7, 5	ἔδωκεν ὁ δεσπότης
9, 4	δι έσωσεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ δεσπότης
36, 2	διὰ τοῦτου ἢ θέλησεν ὁ δεσπότης
55, 6	τὸν παντεπ όπτην δεσ πότην
64, 1	θε ὸς καὶ δεσ πότης τῶν πνευμάτων

and in confirmatory contrast, with shift of accent,

59, 4	ἀξι οῦμέν σε δέσποτα.
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But on the other hand we have the phrase δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων, where our usual rule of trisyllabic basis would give us δεσπότης as a cretic. In this case, however, it proves to be misleading, as the analogy of another word shows. For we find δημιουργός in the same phrase in several instances, and there can be no doubt, I think, about the necessary rhythm of this word, thus

26, 1	δημι ουργός τῶν ἀπάντων.
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Upon its analogy we may read, I feel confident,

8, 2	ὁ δεσ πότης τῶν ἀπάντων
33, 2	δημι ουργός καὶ δεσ πότης τῶν ἀπάντων
20, 11	ὁ μέγας δημι ουργός καὶ δεσ πότης τῶν ἀπάντων.

Similar trochaic rhythm is afforded also by the remaining examples:

11, 1	ποι ήσας ὁ δεσ πότης
36, 4	οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσ πότης.
56, 16	τοῖς παι δευο μένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσ πότου.
49, 6	ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσ πότης.

The fondness of our author for this rhythm in such resonant phrases as *ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων* may be due to the familiar formula of the doxology, *τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*.

Concerning hiatus it is to be said that our author shows much the same indifference as is found in the writings of the New Testament. Only the simplest cases are avoided by elision which our MSS have usually recorded.

With regard to resolutions there is not much to record. In the accentual clausulae of later Greek and Latin they play a very small rôle, and this condition is foreshadowed here. The examples that I have noted are chiefly of compounds with *ἐπί*.

7, 1	νουνθε τοῦντες ἐπι στέλλομεν
33, 1	ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν
40, 2	ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι (Lightfoot)
28, 1	μαρὰς ἐπιθυμίας
44, 2	ἐπινομήν ἔδωκαν
52, 1	ἐξ ομολογεῖ σθαι αὐτῷ (cf. 51, 3)
34, 7	ἐπ αγγελίων αὐτοῦ
25, 2	ἀποθανεῖν αὐτό
45, 7	αἰκίαν περιβαλεῖν.

It would be untimely to claim at once any value for these observations in questions of text criticism. But I will not refrain from pointing out in a few instances (out of many) of conflicting evidence, which forms agree with the rhythmical habit of our author, and which are at variance with it. Thus in 24, 3 Knopf reads *ἀνίσταται ἡμέρα*; but the more natural cadence is afforded by C, *ἀνίσταται ἡ ἡμέρα*, with which Tischendorf's reading of A agrees. In 38, 2 Knopf reads *μὴ λόγοις μόνον ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς*. But C and A omit *ἐν*, and this omission yields such a rhythmical clausula as might be expected:

<i>μὴ λόγοις μόνον</i>	<i>non tantum verbis</i>
<i>ἀλλ' ἐργοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.</i>	<i>sed et o peribus bonis.¹</i>

In 30, 6 Knopf reads, with A, *ὁ θπαινος ἡμῶν ἔστω ἐν θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν*. But before θεῷ C affords τῷ and so gives the balance of clausulae which seems most natural:

*ἔστω ἐν | τῷ θεῷ
καὶ μὴ ἐξ | αὐτῶν.*

¹ The insertion of *et* shows the translator's desire to obtain, in addition to verbatim literalness, a suitable form of clausula.

But these are trifles, and indeed it is likely that text criticisms can expect little more from the disclosure of rhythmical technique than such considerations as may help to restore external form.

I am aware that there are many questions upon which I have not touched, and some, such as the matter of hiatus and elision which demand more thorough consideration. But I hope to have made it plain that I submit my results in no dogmatic spirit, but interrogatively, and in the hope that more competent students may give answer to some of the questions which I have raised.

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III.—THE ACCUSATIVE OF EXCLAMATION IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

Ever since Ritschl brought the study of Plautus into fashion monographs on special points of Plautine syntax have been appearing with bewildering frequency, and, consequently, not the least merit of Professor W. M. Lindsay's recent book on the Syntax of Plautus (Oxford, 1907) is its collection in convenient summaries of the main conclusions reached by the authors of these monographs. For one thing, we can now see at a glance which subjects have been made the object of special study and which are still outstanding.

Among the few topics which are unsatisfactorily treated in Lindsay's book and for which no bibliographical references are given is the accusative of exclamation. Neglect of this construction, however, is not peculiar to Lindsay, but is shared by all books on Latin syntax. The treatment in the school grammars is especially unsatisfactory. Some of them do not so much as mention the fact that interjections ever accompany the construction; others content themselves with citing *o* (though in Plautus that is not even the most common interjection used) or *heu* (though that word never played an important rôle in the construction); and none, so far as I am aware, intimates that the accusative of exclamation has a history and a regular course of development like any other construction.

In the following discussion I have not considered several words that are generally included under this construction. For example, *en* is an old imperative form and the accusative after it is no more one of exclamation than it would be after the imperative of any other transitive verb; cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Secondly, *pro* is often cited in this connection; cf. e. g., Harkness' Latin Grammar, § 421, but incorrectly; cf. Lindsay, p. 138. Again, *malum* (= "the deuce") in interrogative expressions is sometimes explained as an accusative of exclamation; cf. Elmer's note on Phormio 723 and Ashmore's on Ad. 544, but it is almost certainly

an elliptical form of *malum tibi sit*; cf. Lindsay, p. 138. Furthermore, I have not treated the various forms of *ecce*, which really demands and has already received separate consideration. Finally, I have in general been conservative in the matter, and, when another construction seemed possible or a verb could easily be supplied from the context, I have preferred to adopt such an explanation rather than to present under this head a large collection of examples, many of which might just as well be explained otherwise.¹

Of all the interjections used with the accusative of exclamation in Plautus *edepol* is found the most frequently, occurring no less than twenty times; cf.

- Amph. frag. VI *edepol hominem miserum* ²
 Asin. 292 *edepol hominem infelicem, qui patronam comprimat*
 Bacch. 293 *edepol mortalis malos*
 Cas. 848 *edepol papillam bellulam*
 Epid. 32 *edepol facinus inprobum*
 Epid. 686 *edepol mancupium scelestum*
 Merc. 204 f. *edepol cor miserum meum,*
 quod guttatim contabescit quasi in aquam indideris salem.
 Poen. 324 *edepol Milphionem miserum*
 Pseud. 519 *edepol mortalem graphicum, si seruat fidem*
 Pseud. 1205 *edepol hominem uerberonem Pseudolum*
 Rud. 686 *edepol diem hunc acerbum*
 Stich. 356 *edepol rem negotiosam*
 Trin. 128 *edepol fide adolescentem mandatum malae*
 Trin. 335 f. *edepol hominem praemandatum ferme familiariter,*
 qui quidem nusquam per uirtutem rem confregit atque eget
 Trin. 591 ff. *di uostram fidem!*
 edepol re gesta pessume gestam probe,
 si quidem ager nobis saluos est
 Trin. 890 *edepol nomen nugatorium*

¹ For example, Lindsay, op. cit., p. 30, cites Amph. 882 f.:

durare nequeo in aedibus. ita me probri,
stupri, dedecoris a uiro argutam meo

as an accusative of exclamation. It is rather an infinitive of exclamation; so Palmer, see note ad loc. in his edition and Lindsay himself elsewhere, p. 75. He also quotes Cist. 685:

ilicet me infelicem et scelestam.

But *me* is here the subject of the infinitive (*ire*); cf. Pseud. 16: *licet me id scire.*

² Citations follow Lindsay's edition of Plautus and Tyrrell's of Terence.

Sometimes *edepol* occurs in combination with *eu*; cf.

- Epid. 72 *eu edepol res turbulentas*
 Poen. 603 *eu edepol mortalis malos*
 Rud. 415 *eu edepol specie lepida mulierem*
 Truc. 695 *eu edepol hominem nihili*

It is noteworthy that, whenever in the above instances an adjective or participle occurs, it invariably follows the noun. In view of the number of examples this can scarcely be accidental.

In connection with *edepol* it is natural to consider *hercle* and *ecastor*.¹ The former occurs nine times; cf.

- Bacch. 999 *malum quidem hercle magnum*²
 Epid. 212 *hercle rem gestam bene*
 Miles 977 *hercle occasionem lepidam*
 Stich. 379 *hercle rem gestam bene*.

Sometimes *eu* is added to the phrase; cf.

- Men. 316 *eu hercle hominem multum et odiosum mihi*
 Men. 872 *eu hercle morbum acrem ac durum*
 Miles 394 *eu hercle praesens somnium*
 Miles 1056 *eu hercle odiosas res*
 Poen. 1107 f. *eu hercle mortalem catum,*
malum crudumque et callidum et subdolum.

Ecastor occurs but twice, once in connection with *eu*; cf.

- Stich. 234 *ecastor auctionem hau magni preti*
 Miles 1066 *eu ecastor hominem peiurum*.

It will be seen that also with these words the adjective regularly follows the noun, though there are two exceptions.

The four following examples are closely associated with those already considered; cf.

- Capt. 418 f. *di uostram fidem,*
hominum ingenium liberale
 Most. 206 *pro di immortales, mulierem lepidam et pudico ingenio*
 Trin. 501 *pro di immortales, condicionem quouismodi*
 Trin. 1024 *ita me di ament, graphicum furem.*

¹ Needless to say, the use of these three words depends upon the sex of the speaker as much in combination with the accusative of exclamation as elsewhere; cf. Nicolson, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* IV (1893), pp. 99 ff.

² The unusual word order makes it extremely doubtful whether this example really illustrates the construction under consideration; but cf. Eun. 254.

Next to *edepol* Plautus uses *o* most frequently in this construction. In four instances the modifier precedes; cf.

Aul. 704 *o lepidum diem*
 Bacch. 136 *o praeligatum pectus*
 Miles 725 *o lepidum caput*
 Most. 55 *o carnuficium cribrum*.

In the following eight cases the noun precedes; cf.

Bacch. 759 *o imperatorem probum*
 Cas. 842 f. *o*
 corpusculum malacum
 Men. 640 *o hominem malum*
 Men. 1004 ff. *o facinus indignum et malum, Epidamnii ciues, erum*
 meum hic in pacato oppido luci deripier in uia,
 qui liber ad uos uenerit
 Most. 1071 *o mortalem malum*
 Pseud. 734 *o hominem opportunum mihi*
 Pseud. 931 *o hominem lepidum*
 Rud. 393 f. *o facinus inpadicum,*
 quam liberam esse oporteat seruire postulare

In one case a modifier both precedes and follows; cf.

Miles 649 f. *o lepidum semisenem, si quas memorat uirtutes habet,*
 atque equidem plane educatum in nutricatu Venerio.

Only two interjections remain to be considered, *heu* and *eugae*. The former occurs twice; cf.

Aul. 721 *heu me miserum, misere perii*
 Merc. 624 *heu me miserum;*

the latter occurs but once; cf.

Bacch. 991 *eugae litteras minutas.*

It thus appears that in thirty-four instances in which interjections (other than *o*) are used with this construction in Plautus the modifier follows the noun in every case but four. This ratio is so decisive that we must consider it intentional. In the case of *o*, however, the proportion is so even that the word order must be thought to have been a matter of indifference with that interjection.

We have still to discuss the occurrence of this construction without any interjection at all. This is both the most common form of the construction in Plautus and also the most interesting and difficult, since here the origin of the construction must be

sought. The accusative of exclamation is not a construction derived from the original Indo-European speech, hence its beginnings must be found within the Latin language itself. We have not far to seek. It has often been pointed out that many examples may be explained by the suppression of a verb. In this connection Lindsay (op. cit., p. 30) aptly quotes Rud. 1322 ff.:

Gr. quid dare uelis qui istaec tibi inuestiget indicetque?
 eloquere propere celeriter. La. nummos trecentos. Gr. tricas.
 La. quadringentos. Gr. tramas putidas. La. quingentos. Gr. cassam
 glandem.
 La. sescentos. Gr. curculiunculos minutos fabulare.
 La. dabo septingentos.

Here the outcome clearly shows that one speaker has been mentally supplying *dabo* and the other *fabularis* all the way through; yet we should be almost as certain of this, even if the words themselves had not finally been expressed. Often the presence of a personal pronoun in the nominative leaves no doubt as to the ellipse of a verb; cf. Cas. 319: *quam tu mi uxorem?* and Poen. 972: *quid tu mihi testis?* Other examples of suppressed verbs are Heauton 526 ff.:

sed habet patrem quendam auidum misere atque aridum
 uicinum hunc: nostin? at quasi is non ditiis
 abundet, gnatus eius profugit inopia.
 scis esse factum ut dico? Ch. quid ego ni sciam?
 hominem pistrino dignum! Sy. quem? Ch. istunc seruolum
 dico adulescentis.

and Stich. 118: *hau male istuc (sc. dixisti).* Thus it appears that not only verbs appearing in the immediate context but also other verbs (especially, *dico*, *fabulor*, etc.) that do not so appear can be freely supplied as needed.

Another factor in the rise of the construction may be found in the use of the accusative as a "quoted" case. This usage is not confined to the accusative; a good example of a "quoted" genitive occurs in Poen. 472 ff.:

sexaginta milia hominum uno die
 uolaticorum manibus occidi meis.
 Ly. uolaticorum—hominum?

"Quoted" datives are found in Men. 389 f.:

egon te iussi coquere? Er. certo, tibi et parasito tuo.
 Men. quoi, malum, parasito? certe haec mulier non sanast satis.
 Er. Peniculo.

and Truc. 800 f.:

erae meae extemplo dedit.
Ca. quoi, malum, erae?

A "quoted" accusative is found in Capt. 450 f.:

eadem opera a praetore sumam syngraphum. Ty. quem syngraphum?
He. quem hic ferat secum ad legionem.

Nor must it be supposed that this idiom is restricted to the interrogative form; perhaps the most illuminating example is declarative; cf. Poen. 848 ff.:

eru' nequiu't propitiare Venerem suo festo die.
Mi. lepidam Venerem! Sy. nam meretrices nostrae primis hostiis
Venerem placuere extemplo. Mi. o lepidam Venerem denuo.

In such a passage, then, we may see the origin of the construction both with and without an interjection. Yet I consider this not an example of the construction itself but only an approximation to it, for we can reproduce this effect in English without using an accusative of exclamation. In such "quoted" cases the noun (being a repetition) would usually be relatively unimportant, while any new element in the phrase would naturally be somewhat emphatic, and this emphasis would normally be indicated by the word order. Hence, in examples that owe their origin to the "quoted" case the modifier regularly precedes the noun.

Turning now to the actual examples of this construction, it must be granted in advance that the line of demarcation between the passages that illustrate the accusative of exclamation and those that only approximate it and show its derivation is often hard to draw and that I have both included in this list and omitted from it passages which others might have interpreted differently.¹ In the first place, we find several instances of *nugas*, which Lindsay (loc. cit., p. 30) places here, though *ago* or *dico* might be easily understood (cf. Asin. 91 and Men. 54); cf.

Amph. 603 f. priu' multo ante aedis stabam quam illo adueneram.
Am. quas, malum, nugas? satin tu sanus es?
Capt. 612 quid ais? quid si adeam hunc insanum? Ty. nugas! ludificabitur.

¹ Thus, in Most. 642, Fay considers *speculo claras, candorem merum* accusatives of exclamation; cf. the note ad loc. in his edition. But *claras* clearly goes back to *aedis* in l. 640, and *candorem* is appositional.

Most. 1086 f.

suos mihi omnis quaestioni. edepol dabit.	seruos pollicitust dare Tr. nugas! numquam
--	---

Persa 717 f. quo illum sequar?
in Persas? nugas!

Curc. 109 bene monstrantem pugnis caedis, hanc amas, nugas meras,

the last example is somewhat similar to the Greek accusative in apposition with a sentence.

Here belong also some examples of the personal pronoun ; cf.

Amph. 1056 me miseram, quid agam nescio

Most. 730 me miserum,¹ occidi

Bacch. 1178 lepidum te.

The importance of this category will not appear until we consider Terence's usage.

In the remaining instances the modifier precedes in the following ; cf.

Asin. 802 pulchre scripsti, scitum syngraphum!

Asin. q3r bellum filium

Bacch. 455 fortunatum Nicobulum, qui illum produxit sibi

Men. 713 *rogas me? hominis inpudentem audaciam*

Miles 248 nimi' doctum dolum

Miles 1385 facetur puerum

Poen. 1335 [bellum hominem, quem noueris]

Poen. 1384 bellum hominem, quem noueris

Pseud. 435 lepidum senem

Stich. 570 graphicum mortalem Antiphonem

Trin. 936 nimium graphicum hunc nugatorem.³

In the following examples the noun precedes its modifiers ; cf.

Miles 837 bono subpromo et promo cellam creditam

Poen. 255 f. diem pulchrum et celebrem et uenustatis plenum,
dignum Veneri pol, quoi sunt Aphrodisia hodie

Poen. 653 mortalis malos

Pseud. 366 cantores probos

Trin. 1035 f. petere honorem pro flagitio more fit. Ch. morem in-
probum!

St. strenuos<os> praeterire more fit. Ch. nequam
quidem!

¹ Two examples of this phrase with *hen* have already been cited, p. 306.

³ Perhaps Most. 926 eam dis gratiam atque animo meo ought to be added to the above list, but the text is very doubtful; cf. Fay ad loc.

Thus, out of twenty-five instances the modifier precedes in thirteen, and follows in eight, the four remaining cases counting neither way.

We may summarize the construction in Plautus as follows. It occurs some seventy-six times or about once in every two hundred and eighty-one verses. It is in a very plastic state, being used freely with or without interjections. Of the interjections used none seems to have the field to itself, but several are employed with about equal frequency. Without an interjection there is a tendency for the modifiers to precede their nouns, while with all interjections except *o* the modifiers almost invariably follow. With *o* the word order seems a matter of indifference.

When we turn to the usage in Terence, we find that a great change has taken place. *Edepol*, which played so prominent a rôle in Plautus, seems to occur but once; cf.

Ad. 783 f. *edepol commissatorem haud sane commodum,
praesertim Ctesiphoni!*¹

Hercle, likewise, is reduced to a single instance; cf.

Eun. 254 *scitum hercle hominem!*

Of *ecastor* I have not found a single example accompanying this construction in Terence.²

In the case of the other forms of invocation, however, there seems to be no restriction; cf.

Eun. 418 f. di uostram fidem, hominem perditum
 miserumque et illum sacrilegum

Eun. 943 pro deum fidem, facinus foedum! o infelicem adolescentulum
Phormio 1008 pro di immortales, facinus miserandum et malum

¹This passage disproves the assertion by Schmalz that "Der sog. Akk. exclamationis findet sich . . . verbunden . . . mit *edepol* nur bei Plautus", Iwan Müller's Handbuch II 2, p. 234. The statement of the whole subject given by Schmalz in this place is the best known to me, yet it is not free from slight inaccuracies of the sort noted. For example, he makes no mention of *hercle*, *ecastor*, or *eugae* as ever accompanying the construction.

²It is true that Terence uses these three words (*hercle*, *edepol*, and *ecastor*) only one half as often as Plautus; cf. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology IV (1893), p. 99; but the disproportion, when they are used with the accusative of exclamation, is still greater than this. Plautus employs them in this connection once in every 686 verses and Terence once in every 3037 verses; i. e., less than one-fourth as frequently.

Ad. 366 f. **pro Iuppiter,**
 hominis stultitiam

Ad. 447 pro di immortales, facinus indignum, Geta¹

Ad. 757 f. o Iuppiter,
 hancine uitam! hoscin mores! hanc dementiam!

The use of *o* with the construction has suffered a great extension, completely overshadowing other interjections. The word order still seems a matter of no importance. In the following eleven instances the modifiers follow their nouns; cf.

And. 401 o facinus audax
And. 767 o facinus animum aduortendum
And. 769 o hominem audacem
Eun. 296 o faciem pulchram
Eun. 531 o capitulum lepidissimum
Phormio 233 f. o facinus audax, o Geta
Hec. 376 o facinus indignum, monitor³
Ad. 173 o facinus indignum
Ad. 183 o hominem inpurum
Ad. 304 o genera sacrilega, o hominem impium.

It is noteworthy that nearly half of these examples (five) is furnished by *facinus*. As its modifiers here all begin with vowels, it is likely that the word order is largely due to a desire to avoid hiatus; cf. Afranius, *Diuortium*, frag. IV (Ribbeck): o dignum facinus, and the next footnote.

In the following eleven instances the modifiers precede; cf.

And. 876 o ingentem confidentiam
And. 948 o lepidum patrem
And. 956 o faustum et felicem diem
Heaut. 313 o hominis inpudentem audaciam
Eun. 70 o indignum facinus²
Eun. 298 o infortunatum senem
Eun. 365 o fortunatum istum eunuchum qui quidem in hanc detur
domum

¹ If *quod* be read in the next line (so, e. g. Dziatzko), *facinus* is probably nominative.

¹The proximity of a vocative does not preclude the use of the exclamatory accusative, cf. Horace, Sat. I, 9, 11 f: o te, Bolane, cerebri felicem.

*Tyrrell follows Fleckeisen here in deleting *o*, while Fabia and Dziatzko retain it. The presence of *o* makes the scansion harsh by requiring at once elision, partial hiatus, and iambic shortening, *supplīcium ō Indīgnum*. In view of the usual word order in this phrase (see above) I think a better method of attack would be to reverse the order and read *supplīcium o fācinus Indīgnum*, which would remove all objections.

Eun. 709 Iuppiter magne, o scelestum atque audacem hominem

Eun. 943 f. pro deum fidem, facinus foedum! o infelicem adulescentulum!

o scelestum Parmenonem, qui istum huc adduxit

Ad. 966 o lepidum caput

Four other examples should be cited here; cf.

Phormio 360 o audaciam

Phormio 559 o lepidum

Ad. 228 o scelera

Ad. 304 o scelera.

Eugae does not occur in this connection in Terence. A new word, however, makes its appearance; cf.

And. 589 uah consilium callidum,

unless this phrase be considered a nominative. *Heu* occurs thrice; cf.

And. 646 heu me miserum qui tuom animum ex animo spectauī meo

Hec. 271 heu me miseram

Hec. 282 heu me infelicem.

It will be noted that *heu* seems to be used only with personal pronouns, and that in four out of the five cases of its use in Plautus and Terence, it accompanies the phrase *me miserum* (-am), and the fifth instance is nearly the same (*me infelicem*).

The accusative of exclamation without an interjection is relatively far less important in Terence than in Plautus. In fact, it is for the most part confined to the phrase *me miserum* and its variations; cf.

And. 240 miseram me, quod uerbum audio

And. 788 me miseram

And. 882 me miserum

Heaut. 1029 miseram me

Eun. 81 miseram me, uereor ne, etc.

Eun. 197 me miseram

Phormio 749 miseram me

Hec. 205 me miseram, quae nunc quam ob rem accuser nescio

Ad. 291 miseram me, neminem habeo, solae sumus

Ad. 305 me miseram

Ad. 310 me miserum, uix sum compos animi

Ad. 329f. ah,

me miseram

Ad. 486 miseram me, differor doloribus.

It will be remembered that a few examples of this category in Plautus have already been cited (p. 309). If we consider the be-

ginning of the idiom, we shall understand why I was unable to quote more instances there. This form of the accusative of exclamation undoubtedly arose from the parenthetical use of the adjective, the personal pronoun having a definite construction in the sentence; cf. *Amphit.* 160: *me miserum homines octo ualidi caedant*; *Amphit.* 897: *eccum uideo qui <modo> me miseram arguit, et passim*. This attached use of the phrase is very common in Plautus and, of course, greatly reduces the examples of the independent form. The second step in the development is seen in such a sentence as *Most.* 739: *me miserum, occidi*, "as for me, poor wretch, I am done for". Though in such a context the phrase is really detached, it may be explained as a sort of *anacolouthon*. Cf. also *Eun.* 81, *Amph.* 1056, *Ad.* 291, and *Ad.* 486 (quoted above). Such phrases would naturally be used without an interjection, except occasionally *heu*, which is often employed parenthetically. It is noticeable that the word order is of no importance in this phrase. Thus, in twenty-one instances of the personal pronoun in Plautus and Terence sixteen times no interjection is used and five times *heu* is used; no other interjection ever occurs.¹

Two examples of the interrogative pronoun, in which a verb is harder to understand than usually in such phrases, may be quoted; cf.

Eun. 590 *at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit*
Phormio 367 *at quem uirum! quem ego uiderim in uita optimum.*

Also one instance with a demonstrative pronoun; cf. *Ad.* 304:

hocine saeculum! o scelera, etc.

Of course, interjections never accompany the interrogative pronoun; for the demonstrative pronouns it is not possible to draw a hard and fast rule; cf. *Rud.* 686; *Trin.* 936; *Eun.* 365, 418 f., and *Ad.* 757 f.

Only a few more examples remain; cf.

And. 144 *uenit Chremes postridie ad me clamitans:*
indignum facinus; comperisse Pamphilum
*pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam.*²

¹ I agree with Lindsay *op. cit.*, p. 29 in not considering *Asin.* 481: *vae te* an accusative of exclamation; cf. *Stich.* 709: *bene uos, bene nos, bene te, bene me, bene nostram etiam Stephanium*.

² So interpreted by Fairclough, see his note *ad loc.* It is equally possible to supply the proper form of *sum* (here *esse*; cf. *comperisse*) as in so many other

And. 868 f. o Chremes,
 pietatem gnati
 Heaut. 380 [o]¹ hominem felicem
 Heaut. 530 hominem pistrino dignum
 Phormio 134 iocularem audaciam
 Phormio 259 artificem probum.²

The development of this construction may best be seen in the following table:

	Plautus.	Terence.
edepol	20	1
hercle	9	1
ecastor	2	—
other invocations	4	8
o	13	26
heu	2	3
eugae	1	—
uah	—	1
without interjections	25	22
Total	76	62

The first notable fact here illustrated is the increase in the frequency of the construction in Terence. He uses it once in every ninety-eight verses, or nearly three times as often as Plautus. This is partly due to the fact (already mentioned) that Plautus often preferred to leave such accusatives (which might easily have been made independent) in dependence upon some neighboring verb rather than to detach them entirely. The next point to notice is that the construction no longer has the plasticity that characterized it in Plautus. All the other interjections have disappeared or shrivelled into insignificance before the on sweep of *o*. Only *heu* maintains its ground, small though that may be, being occasionally used with the personal pronouns. Even the use without an interjection has been restricted to almost a single form, *me miserum*. The personal pronouns alone are invincible and

cases; cf. Phormio 613 f.: facinus indignum, Chremes, sic circumiri, Ad. 669: facinus indignum, pater, etc.

¹ Deleted by Fleckeisen. It might be better to retain the *o* and reverse the word order, *o felicem hominem ambulá*.

² Eun. 987: aliud ex alio malum is probably a nominative; cf. Heaut. 598: aliud ex alio incidit. In Ad. 330 ff.: nostrumne Aeschinum, nostram uitam omnium, in quo nostrae spes opesque omnes sitae erant Ashmore explains Aeschinum as subject of an infinitive to be supplied. In general, I have cited only such examples as could not easily be otherwise explained.

are never found with *o*. In a single particular has the construction become more elastic than in Plautus; viz., in the matter of word order. We have seen that in Plautus, when no interjection is used, the modifiers usually precede their nouns and that they usually follow their nouns, when an interjection (other than *o*) is employed, while with *o* the word order is not fixed. It naturally follows that the triumph of the *o* category brought with it the triumph of a free word order in this construction.

In subsequent papers I hope to show that the development here indicated for this construction in Latin comedy continued along similar lines for later writers and in other fields.

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IV.—CICERO: PRO SULLA 18, 52.

The date of the meeting at Laeca's house is of prime importance for the chronology of a number of events connected with the conspiracy of Catiline—the passing of the *senatus decretum ultimum*, the attempt to murder Cicero at his home, the delivery of in Catilinam I and II, and the departure of Catiline from Rome. It is therefore fortunate that Cicero saw fit in p. Sulla 18, 52 to specify with great exactness the time at which the above mentioned meeting took place; namely, *nocte ea, quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium*. But the very fact that the date is given so explicitly and phrased in a somewhat unusual fashion has tended to shake confidence more or less in the reliability of the one passage on which we must most depend in attempting to fix the dates of the events clustering around the well-known meeting in the scythe-makers' quarter. Yet the reasons for viewing the passage with suspicion are really far less cogent than one might at first sight assume.

Cicero obviously means to say that the meeting at Laeca's house took place on the night of November 6. It is true, as Mommsen early pointed out, that this interpretation of Cicero's words involves a dating forward from the Nones instead of backward from the Ides. But in questioning whether such a proceeding can be safely regarded as Ciceronian,¹ he apparently overlooked ad Att. XIII 13, 4 (14, 1):

si me in Tusculano postridie Nonas mane convenerint.

¹ Hermes I, p. 431 ff. His idea was that *posterum diem* meant "the day after (the consular election)", and that *Nonarum Novembrium* is an appositional genitive. According to this, the election was held on Nov. 4, and the meeting at Laeca's house occurred on the fifth. Without going into a detailed discussion of the whole question involved, it may be noted that this very passage shows conclusively that the election preceded the meeting at Laeca's house by a considerable interval of time. For Cicero admits that Sulla was in Rome on election day (§§ 51–52), but at the time of the meeting at Laeca's house Sulla was settled at Naples (§ 53). Therefore *posterum diem* could not mean "the day after (the consular election)."

Again, the use of the genitive called for by this interpretation finds a close parallel in ad Att. III 7, 1:

post diem tertium eius diei.¹

And finally, the designation of time by means of a somewhat clumsy periphrase is by no means unparalleled in Cicero's writings; e. g.,

ad Quint. Fr. III 2, 1: postridie eius diei, qui erat tum futurus,
cum haec scribebam.

ad Att. XV 26, 1: ea nocte, quae proxima ante Kal. fuit.

p. Flacco 41, 103: nox illa, quam iste est dies consecutus.

So far, therefore, as the phrase itself is concerned, there would seem to be no valid reason for viewing the text with suspicion or for hesitating to accept the interpretation which gives to the words their simple face value.

Taken in connection with its context, however, the phrase in question may seem to be open to more serious objection, and it is to this aspect of the matter particularly that the present note invites attention. At the point in his speech where he gives the date of the meeting at Laeca's house Cicero is dealing with a charge against Sulla brought forward by the informer C. Cornelius—a charge so lacking in definiteness that Cicero professed not to understand what Cornelius really means to say. His method of refutation, therefore, is to suggest several occasions when the conspirators were active, endeavoring to show that, in each case, Sulla could not have been associated with them. Thus, he first asks whether Cornelius has in mind the earlier conspiracy (of 66–65 B. C.),—mentioning no date, however, and referring to the occasion in terms so general that we might be in doubt as to his meaning, had we not access to other parts of this speech.² He then passes to the postponed consular election of his own year (63)—the date of which we should be very glad to know—but says nothing more definite than *consularibus comitiis, quae a me habita sunt*. In the third place he takes up the matter of the meeting at Laeca's house, and in the following terms: quid tandem de illa nocte dicit (Cornelius), cum inter falcarios ad

¹Cf. John, Jahrbücher f. Klass. Philologie, Supplementband VIII, p. 778 footnote; also T. D. i 47, 114: *post eius diei diem tertium*; and ad Att. IX 10, 4: *post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus*.

²His words are: si vetera, mihi ignota, cum Hortensio communicata, respondit Hortensius.

M. Laecam, *nocte ea, quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium me consule*, Catilinae denuntiatione convenit?

It must be admitted that, from the point of view of their context and setting, there is something very peculiar about the words *nocte ea me consule*. For it is not at all evident why, at this point, Cicero should feel it necessary or even desirable to date to a day the meeting at Laeca's house—a date which, from its close proximity to the time of in Catilinam I and the departure of Catiline from Rome, was perhaps even more clearly fixed in the minds of the hearers than was that of the postponed consular election, over which he had just passed so lightly. Still less is it clear why he should employ an unusual periphrastic form of dating—a device to which he has recourse, sometimes at least,¹ in order to make the designation of the time clear beyond the peradventure of a doubt. Add to these considerations the fact that the phrase in question is a parenthesis pure and simple, and it is not strange that some have been found who are ready to bracket the words. It would, however, be more to the point to cast about for a reason that might have led Cicero to word his sentence as it stands in the text.

Repeated readings of the passage and of other parts of this speech suggest the thought that the words *ea nocte Nonarum Novembrium* may not have been original with Cicero, but rather are a quotation from an official document—the somewhat otiose and insipid *me consule* which he appends is just the sort of tag a person is prone to add who has mechanically and in one breath run through some round-about and redundant quoted phrase. If there be any truth in this suggestion, the document from which the quotation was made was without doubt the official record of the evidence presented before the senate on Dec. 3 of the previous year, at the time when the Allobroges gave their damaging evidence against Catiline's accomplices. For, in preparing the present speech in defence of Sulla on the charge of conspiracy, Cicero had found it necessary to look through the official record of the evidence presented on that day (see his quotations from it, §§ 36–38), and I venture to suggest that, as his eye ran along the page, his attention was arrested by the rather uncommon phrase *nocte ea Nonarum Novembrium*, and that he incorporated it in his speech (along with the tag *me consule*) as giving a formal

¹ As in ad Quint. Fr. III 2, 1 above.

and official tone to the passage. In order to show how such a phrase might have found a place in the record of the proceedings before the senate on Dec. 3, 63, it is necessary to look rather carefully into the happenings of that day.

One might gather from the summary account given by Cicero in *Catilinam* III, §§ 8–15, that the session of the senate on Dec. 3 was a somewhat hurried affair. But § 21 of the same speech shows that the senate gathered early in the morning, and § 29 makes it clear that it was far into the afternoon when Cicero at last found himself free to come forth and relieve the curiosity of the assembled citizens. The senate meeting, therefore, was almost an all-day session. Furthermore, no inconsiderable portion of the time was given to the taking of testimony from the Allobroges and others—the witnesses had opportunity to tell all they knew, and by no means restricted their remarks to the cases of the four luckless culprits who had not been shrewd enough to avoid arrest. For their testimony clinched the cases of five others who were not present—persons whom Cicero names in *Catilinam* III 6, 14, adding in every case but one a clause descriptive of the charges brought against the man; and still other individuals, such as Autronius and Sulla, were discussed by the witnesses¹—persons against whom apparently the evidence did not seem strong enough to warrant the inclusion of their names in the decree of the senate passed on that day. Finally, the testimony was taken down in the greatest detail and with the minutest care by specially qualified rapid writers,² whose report was a marvel of accuracy and precision.³

Now if an unimportant conspirator like Sulla came in for his share of attention in the testimony of the Allobroges, it cannot be doubted that they had something to say of Laeca also—especially as he, like Sulla, was subsequently brought to trial⁴ although they both escaped for the time being. I therefore suggest that the phrase *nocte ea Nonarum Novembrium* may have found a place in the official record of the day's proceedings by being taken down verbatim from the testimony of the Allobroges. If they mentioned Laeca at all, it would naturally be in connection

¹ Cf. p. Sulla, §§ 36–38.

² P. Sulla, §§ 41–42.

³ As shown by the surprising detail and precision with which the testimony of the Allobroges concerning Sulla is recorded *ibid.*, §§ 36 ff. For the means used to make the official record absolutely trustworthy see *ibid.*, §§ 41–42.

⁴ *Ibid.* 3, 6.

with the meeting held at his house; and that the date of this meeting figured in their testimony is by no means incredible in view of the minute and careful manner in which they prosecuted their bit of detective work when set on by Cicero to gather incriminating evidence against the conspirators.¹

On this hypothesis the fact that the date takes the form *nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium* should occasion no surprise. For this style of dating forward from the Nones (instead of backward from the Ides) is one that would appeal to barbarians perhaps none too familiar with the intricacies of the usual Roman method. Being told that the commissions of the conspirators were given out at an important night meeting held at the house of M. Laeca *ante diem octavum Idus Novembris*, the ambassadors may well have reduced this formula to another which conveyed a more definite idea to their own minds and which was easier to remember; or, on the other hand, their informant at their request may have specified the time more clearly by the use of the phrase *nocte ea Nonarum Novembrium*; i. e., "on the night of the day following the Nones." At any rate such a phrase is precisely of the kind one would expect a Roman to use in explaining a date to a foreigner not very expert in the regular method of dating. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that through the testimony of the Allobroges taken down verbatim this rather unusually phrased date found a place in the official record of the day's proceedings.

To resume, there is nothing in the wording of the phrase *nocte ea me consule* itself to justify a doubt as to the soundness of the text or the correctness of the interpretation which gives to the words their obvious face value—so far as wording and interpretation are concerned, the phrase might have been original with Cicero. But from the point of view of the context, the presence of the words in the sentence in which they

¹ An example showing the thorough-going and aggressive nature of their method is afforded by their interview with Cassius quoted from the official record of the testimony (p. Sulla, §§ 36–38). Cassius had told them that Autronius was in the conspiracy; and then, when he would have rested there, they took the initiative and asked whether Sulla (who in 66 had been elected consul with Autronius, and with him had been disqualified for bribery) was not also a conspirator. That such sharp and accurate agents as these got hold of the date of the meeting at Laeca's house and that they mentioned it in their testimony is altogether likely.

stand presents a difficulty which, at first sight, appears serious. This difficulty, however, should not lead to the rejection of the phrase; for its presence can be accounted for on a plausible hypothesis; for example, that Cicero catches up a striking clause (*nocte ea Nonarum Novembrium*) from the record of the evidence presented on December 3, 63 (which evidence he had just been examining), and gives a formal and official tone to his sentence by inserting the phrase bodily and adding the tag *me consule*. Such insertion would be all the more effective in view of the fact that many copies of the official record of the evidence had already been made and scattered broadcast during the months that intervened before the speech pro Sulla was delivered;¹ so that in incorporating the phrase he would be quoting something more or less familiar to many of his hearers.

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¹ P. Sulla, §§ 42-43.

V.—ULPIAN Ο ΚΕΙΤΟΥΚΕΙΤΟΣ.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE STOIC THEORY OF STYLE IN ATHENAEUS.

In a previous investigation¹ I have shown that the archaism of Fronto and Gellius was an outgrowth of the striving for *Latinitas* and *ἑλληνισμός* which constituted the Stoic ideal of style. The belief that the diction of the golden age was pure and unperverted had led the Stoics to seek for their models of style among the most ancient writers. Homer was *ἑλληνισμός*, or the *ἀρχαῖοι*, or else the basis of *ἑλληνισμός* was etymology that determined the earliest meaning of words. In this note I wish to present further evidence of the archaizing tendency of *ἑλληνισμός* from the pages of Athenaeus, giving particular attention to the person of one of the interlocutors, Ulpian the lawyer. The Stoics had done much for Roman law, as the names of the Aelii and Scaevolae attest. By their etymological and lexicographical studies they had striven to give the law terminology a precision that should free it from all ambiguity. Quintilian's statement (5, 14, 34): *iurisconsulti, quorum summus circa verborum proprietatem labor est*, can be confirmed by hundreds of citations from the Digest.²

Ulpian, whatever his philosophy may have been, had inherited from his Stoic predecessors in the law their traditions about

¹ *Latinitas and ἑλληνισμός*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series III, pp 205-272.

² Cf. Gellius 7, 12, 5 where Trebatius' etymology of *sacellum* is given; Gellius 16, 5, 3: Aelius Gallus in libro de significatione verborum quae ad ius civile pertinent secundo; Gellius 13, 10, 1: Labeo Antistius iuris quidem civilis disciplinam principali studio exercuit, . . . ceterarum quoque bonarum artium non expers fuit et in grammaticam sese atque dialecticam litterasque antiquiores altioresque penetraverat Latinarumque vocum origines rationesque percalluerat eaque praecipue scientia ad enodandos plerosque iuris laqueos utebatur. Then follows the additional statement that three books of his "Posteriores" were devoted largely to etymological studies. Vid. Emerton's Stoic Terminology in Roman Law, *Law Quarterly Review* III 64.

purity and precision of diction.¹ His painstaking search for the exact word among the ancients, had given him the nick-name of *Κειτούκειτος* among his contemporaries. In introducing the interlocutors of the dialogue, Athenaeus makes the following statement about Ulpian: (1 d e) "And there was present a crowd of rhetoricians in no respect inferior to the cynics. These last, and all the rest who opened their mouths, were run down by Ulpian the Tyrian, who because of the persistent questions which he kept asking at every hour of the day, in the streets, in the walks, in the book-shops, and at the baths, had won for himself the name of *Κειτούκειτος* which was better known than his real name. This man had the habit peculiar to himself of never taking a bite of anything until he had said: "Does it occur? or does it not occur? (*κείται ἢ οὐ κείται*);). For example whether the word *ἄρα* occurs as applying to a part of the day, whether the word *μίθυσος* occurs as applying to a man, whether the word *μήτρα* occurs as applying to any eatable food, whether the compound *σύαγρος* occurs as applying to a boar."

Later on in the dialogue Ulpian shows by citations from the ancient Attic comedy that *μίθυσος* is a term that may apply to a man as well as to a *γραῦς*, that *μήτρα*, while it usually has a different signification, may be applied as a name to an article of diet, that *σύαγρος* may mean boar even though Sophocles has used it with the meaning 'hound.'

That it may be perfectly evident that this nickname *Κειτούκειτος* was simply a brand for this archaizing tendency, I wish to present a few passages in corroboration.

(126 a) "Fill yourself now, O Ulpian, with your native Chthordlapsus, a word which has not, I swear by Ceres, been used by any one of the ancient writers" (*παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν παλαιῶν γέγραπται*).

Ulpian had censured Cynulcus for his use of the word *δηκόκταν*; Cynulcus replied: (122 c, e) "If now I have made a blunder, O

¹ Perhaps the most striking example of Ulpian's indebtedness to the Stoics may be found in his definition of jurisprudence which occurs at the very opening of the Institutes of Justinian. "Jurisprudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia". This is simply a combination of the Stoic definitions of *σοφία* and *φρόνησις*. *οἱ μὲν οὖν Στωικοὶ ἔφασαν τὴν μὲν σοφίαν εἶναι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμην*. (Plutarch, De Plac. Phil. 2.) *φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων*. (Diog. Laert. Life of Zeno 7, 92.)

you hunter of fine nouns and verbs, don't be angry I will prove to you that the ancients (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) were acquainted with this word δηκόταν." Then follows a citation from Alexis.

(362 a) "My fine fellow", said Ulpian laughing, "what Greek in the world ever called dancing βαλλισμός? You should have said κωμάζουσι or χορεύουσι or at all events some word in common use; but you have brought up a word from the Subura". The use of βαλλισμός is justified by citations from ancient authors. Attention perhaps may be given in passing to the expression "you have brought up a word out of the Subura", calling to mind the fact that the Stoics thus defined κατασκευή, their fifth virtue of style: κατασκευὴ δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις ἐκπεφυγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμὸν (Diog. Laert. Life of Zeno VII 59).

(401 d, e) "You always, O Ulpian, have got a habit of never taking anything that is set before you until you know whether the existing name of it was in use among the ancients". (πρὶν μαθεῖν εἰ ἢ χρήσις μὴ εἴη τῶν ὀνομάτων παλαιά.)

(380 d) And Ulpian said, "I swear by those who risked their lives at Artemisium, no one shall taste of anything before we are told where the word παραφέρω occurs". (ποῦ κεῖται τὸ παραφέρω.)

(127 a) "I will stop eating", said Ulpian, "unless some one shall tell me παρὰ τίσιν εἴρηται οὗτοι οἱ χόνδροι". Some one cites from ancient comedy a passage containing the word.

(396 a) When some one said, "Give me a plate of that smothered (πνικτῶν) meat", that Daedalus of names, Ulpian said, "I myself shall be smothered if you do not tell me where you found any mention of meat of that kind". Then follow citations from comedy.

(126 a) "Give me", said Ulpian, "some crust of bread hollowed out like a spoon, for I will not say give me a spoon (μύστρον) since that word is not used by any of the writers previous to our time". Ulpian is proved wrong by a citation from Nicander of Colophon who is characterized as φιλόρχαιος.

- (58 b) κεῖται παρὰ τινι τὸ πρόπομα;
- (100 b) ὁ κοιλιοδαίμων παρὰ τίνι κεῖται;
- (115 b) ὁ δ' ἀπελεύθερος παρὰ τίνι κεῖται;
- (165 d) καὶ τὸ ἀσώτιον ποῦ κεῖται;
- (366 a) παρὰ τίνι κεῖται τὸ τακερόν;
- (385 b) ποῦ κεῖται, ἔφη, ὀξάλμη;
- (445 c) ὁ δὲ πάριος παρὰ τίνι κεῖται;

These questions *ποῦ κεῖται*, and *παρὰ τίνι κεῖται* that recur so often in the pages of Athenaeus, are answered in seven cases out of ten by one or more citations from comedy. To be sure, there are more quotations from Homer than from any other single author, for Homer was regarded as *ἑλληνισμός* itself, because of his antiquity. And yet, as has been said, the great bulk of the citations are from the pages of comedy. This fact becomes significant when we remember that the diction of comedy, as Horace pointed out (*Sat. I 4, 45 ff.*), is nothing more than “sermo” in metrical form. Now the plain style (*τό λυχνόν*) of the Stoics required as its basis the “sermo cotidianus”, for it was the style *διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσφ' κειμένων ὀνομάτων ἐκφέρουσα τὰ νοούμενα* (Dionys. Lysias 3). Quintilian makes it plain that he regarded comedy as the source of the “sermo purus et incorruptus”, when he says (1, 8, 9): *In comoediis elegantia et quidam velut ἄττικισμός inveniri potest*; and again (10, 1, 65) *antiqua comoedia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet. . . . Nam et grandis et elegans et venusta, et nescio an ulla, post Homerum tamen, quem ut Achillem semper excipi par est, aut similior sit oratoribus aut ad oratores faciendos aptior*. That the source of this view of the diction of comedy is Stoic, comes out (10, 1, 99) where Quintilian quotes the opinion of the Stoic Aelius Stilo: “*Musas Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent*.”

Ulpian not only bowed before the authority of ancient writers, but he also regarded as a proper basis for *ἑλληνισμός* those etymological studies which sought out the earliest meanings of words. He prefers *σῦς* to *ῥς* on etymological grounds (401 c); the form *σίνανυ* is justified by tracing out its etymology (367 a). In two cases (659 a and 686 f.) etymologies are cited on the authority of Chrysippus. Many similar instances can be given, where the authority quoted is manifestly a Stoic one.¹

In many of the previous citations there has been apparent that striving after *κυριολογία, ἀκρίβεια* (verbal exactness, precision in diction) which constituted one of the virtues of the plain style of the Stoics. A few more examples, however, more directly to the point, may make the matter clearer.

(97 c) Cynulcus scourges Ulpian because in several instances he has been guilty of inaccurate use of words, in spite of the fact

¹Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* I 23: *audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt unde verba sint ducta.*

that he spends all his time in asking *κείται οὐ κείται; εἴρηται οὐκ εἴρηται.*

(49 a-c) Ulpian becomes indignant at one of the cynics because he has used *τρίπους* in the sense of *τράπεζα*. Ulpian is proved wrong by citations from ancient authors.

(408 f) Ulpian speaking: "Among the ancients the way in which people washed their hands before breakfast and supper was called *κατὰ χειρός*, but what was done after these meals was called *ἀπονίψασθαι*."

In the eleventh book of the dialogue at the suggestion of Ulpian, they discuss drinking cups. More than a hundred different varieties are named, and in nearly every case the name is justified by a citation from an ancient author. In many instances the etymology is traced. A large part of the information for this discussion is drawn from the *περὶ τῆς Νεστορίδος* of Asclepiades of Myrlea, who was a follower of the Stoic philosopher, Crates of Mallos.¹

It is obvious that the portrait of Ulpian which Athenaeus here presents is a caricature. But that it may be apparent that there was some basis of fact for the caricature, I wish to give a considerable number of citations from that part of the Digest which was drawn from Ulpian. These excerpts will show conclusively that he was deeply devoted to the Stoic virtue of *κυριολογία*, that he strove to be precise in his diction and that very often etymology helped to a nice—perhaps in some cases to an overnice differentiation of words.

D. 47, 8, 4, 3: Labeo inter *turbam* et *rixam* multum interesse ait: namque *turbam* multitudinis hominum esse turbationem et coetum, *rixam* etiam duorum.

D. 47, 10, 5, 1: Inter *pulsationem* et *verberationem* hoc interest: verberare est cum dolore caedere, pulsare sine dolore.

D. 50, 16, 67: '*Alienatum*' non proprie dicitur, quod adhuc in dominio venditoris manet: '*venditum*' tamen recte dicitur.

D. 50, 16, 63: *Penes te* amplius quam *apud te*: nam apud te est, quod qualiter qualiter a te teneatur, penes te est, quod quodam modo possidetur.

D. 50, 16, 131: Differentiation of *fraus*, *poena*, *multa*.

D. 50, 16, 197: *Indicasse* est detulisse: *arguisse* accusasse et convicisse.

¹ Vid. Susemihl, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandriner Zeit II 17.

D. 50, 16, 31: *Pratum* est, in quo ad fructum percipiendum falce dumtaxat opus est; ex eo dictum, quod *paratum* sit ad fructum capiendum.

D. 47, 10, 1: *Iniuria* ex eo dicta est, quod *non iure* fiat.

D. 50, 16, 59: Etymology of *portus*.

D. 50, 16, 176: Etymology of *solutio*.

D. 50, 16, 212: Etymology of *praevaricatores*.

Out of one chapter of the Digest (50, 16) can be gathered more than seventy similar examples from Ulpian. It appears that this Stoic virtue of style *κυριολογία*, with its kindred archaizing tendency that often manifested itself in etymological studies, were for Ulpian matters of practical importance, necessary to precision of definition in the law. And so it is not strange that, when he dined with the deipnosophists, this should be his principal topic of conversation, in the discussion of which he could out-rhetorician even the rhetoricians.

It is a rare bit of poetic justice that Ulpian's Latinity was severely criticized by the purists of the Renaissance. Browning's bishop, in giving directions for his epitaph, is but echoing the *Elegantiae* of Laurentius Valla, when he casts slurs upon Ulpian's bad Latin.

"That's if ye carve my epitaph aright,
Choice Latin, picked phrase, Tully's every word,
No gaudy ware like Gandolf's second line—
Tully, my masters? Ulpian serves his need!"

* * * * *

"And marble's language, Latin pure, discreet,
Aha, *Elucescebat* quoth our friend?
No Tully, said I, Ulpian at the best!"

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NOTE.—Christ (*Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, p. 736 f.) and Roby (*Introduction to Justinian's Digest*, p. 198 f.) object to an identification of the two Ulpians on the ground that they agree "neither in profession, nor character, nor death" (Roby). In this note I wish to call attention to three points bearing on the question, the second of which seems to have been overlooked and the third to have been misapprehended by both Christ and Roby.

(1) Ulpian the jurist makes the following statement concerning his place of birth: In Syria Phoenice splendidissima Tyrionum colonia, unde mihi origo est. Ulpian the deipnosophist is repeatedly referred to as a Tyrian and Syrian (669 b, 649 c, 1 d).

(2) As to the profession of Ulpian the *deipnosophist*, Roby infers that he was a rhetorician. But Athenaeus does not include him in his enumeration of the rhetoricians who participated in the feast, and nowhere in the dialogue does he call him a *ῥήτωρ*. In the introduction (1 d, e) he makes it clear that Ulpian could beat the rhetoricians at their own game, but in this very statement, there is the implication that he was not a rhetorician. In another passage (150 a, b) a question arises concerning a certain Alexandrian law—and the reason for the law. The matter is referred for explanation not to Masurius who has been pointed out as a great lawyer (1 c and 623 e) but to Ulpian. This incident, from which it may be reasonably inferred that Ulpian the *deipnosophist* was a lawyer, seems to have been overlooked.

(3) Ulpian the jurist died a violent death at the hands of the pretorian guard (Dio 80, 2). Athenaeus says (686 c) concerning the death of Ulpian the *deipnosophist*: ἀπέθανεν εὐρυχῶς, οὐδένα καὶ πόνον νόσῳ παραδοῖς. On the authority of this statement it has been inferred that he died a peaceful death. Christ says: "unser Tischgenosse aber eines ruhigen Todes starb". This interpretation might be accepted if we had an unqualified *εὐρυχῶς*; but *εὐρυχῶς* is limited in its application by the following clause οὐδένα καὶ πόνον νόσῳ παραδοῖς; i. e. his death was fortunate in that he did not suffer the pains of a lingering illness—he gave no opportunity to the ravages of disease. This statement might apply to one who had died of apoplexy; it would apply equally well to one who had been cut down by the pretorian guard. There is no necessary contradiction between Dio's account of the death of the jurist, and the statement of Athenaeus concerning the death of the *deipnosophist*.

VI.—THE GREEK DICTYS.

The long-standing controversy as to whether or no the *Latinus Ephemeris Belli Trojani*, preserved under the name of *Dictys Cretensis* (ed. F. Meister, Teubner, Leipsic, 1872), rests upon a Greek original¹ has at length been settled in the affirmative by the recent discovery of a fragment of the Greek *Dictys*. The fragment in question was found in the winter of 1899–1900 in the Egyptian town of Umm el Baragât (the ancient Tebtunis) on the back of a series of revenue returns dated 206 A. D. and is published by the discoverers in *Tebtunis Papyri* Vol. II, pp. 9 ff., London, 1907. Comparison of the fragment, which is short and badly mutilated, with the corresponding portions of the extant versions of *Dictys* proves beyond a doubt that it forms part of the long-lost² Greek text.³

The annals of *Dictys Cretensis* survive in four mutually independent versions, the *Latinus Ephemeris Belli Trojani* of the fourth century A. D.,⁴ and three later Greek versions, embodied in Byzan-

¹ The evenly balanced state of critical opinion upon this much-mooted question finds apt illustration in the equivocal attitude of the early *Dictys* controversialist Gerhardus J. Vossius, who in 1624 spoke out in favor of a Greek *Dictys* (*De Historicis Graecis* III 428), but in the year 1627 retracted his former opinion in the oft-quoted words: "Quisquis auctor est ejus operis, Latine, non Graece, scripsit" (*De Historicis Latinis* III 742). From that day to this the history of the *Dictys* controversy presents a succession of alternations between these two extremes. Lehrs (*Wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter* VI 131 ff.) in 1878 and Teuffel in 1890 (*Römische Literatur—Geschichte* II § 423) express themselves as undecided, and in more recent years the elaborate argument brought forward in defense of a Greek *Dictys* in 1892 by F. Noack (*Philologus*, Supplementband VI 402 ff.) failed to convince W. Greif, who in his *Neue Untersuchungen zur Dictys-und-Daresfrage*, Berlin, 1900, attempts to uphold the theory of a Latin *Dictys*. For a more extended review of the history of critical opinion on this subject cf. my *Dares and Dictys*, Baltimore, 1907, p. 18, note 3.

² As early as the fifteenth century, Constantine Lascaris reports that he has searched for the Greek *Dictys* in vain (Gronovius, *Thesaurus* X 1745).

³ Not, however, in all probability, of that text in its original purity (cf. p. 335).

⁴ This date is rendered probable by the style and content of the Latin text; cf. my *Dares and Dictys*, p. 3, note 2.

tine world chronicles, by Joannes Malalas¹ (sixth century), Joannes Antiochenus² (seventh century), and Georgius Cedrenus³ (eleventh century), respectively. It is my present purpose to inquire what light the newly discovered fragment sheds upon the relation of these versions to their original and to one another.

To begin with the Latin Ephemeris. The Greek fragment proves, in the first place, that a certain Lucius Septimius, who, in an epistle prefixed to the Latin text, claims that he has translated the ensuing annals of Dictys from the Greek (Meister, p. 1, l. 16), was not, as the advocates of a Latin Dictys had maintained, the author of these annals,⁴ but, as he himself declares, merely the translator of an earlier work written in Greek.⁵

In the second place, the fragment accurately bears out a further assertion made by Septimius in his epistle with regard to the

¹ Malalas' version of Dictys occupies the greater portion of the fifth book of his *Χρονογραφία*. The *Χρονογραφία* no longer survives in its original form but is represented by two condensed transcripts, one, of practically the entire history, in an Oxford MS, edited by Dindorf in Niebuhr, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., Bonn, 1831, and the other, of the history of Dictys merely, in a Paris MS entitled *Ἐκλογή ἱστοριῶν*, edited by Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca* II 197-227, Oxford, 1839 (cf. my Dares and Dictys, pp. 36, 45 ff.).

² John of Antioch's version of Dictys is preserved in three sets of fragments: (1) the Constantine fragments, ed. Cramer, *Anecd. Paris*, 1839, II 4, 1.3-5, l.13, and C. Mueller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, 1851, IV 550, fr. 23, 551, fr. 25; (2) the Salmasian fragments, ed. Cramer II 390 ff., and Mueller, p. 550, fr. 24; and (3) certain fragments embedded in the chronicle of John of Sicily, ed. H. Heinrich, *Die Chronik des Johannes Sikeliota*, Graz, 1892, pp. 8-10.

³ Cedrenus' version of Dictys is contained in his *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*, ed. Bekker in Niebuhr, op. cit., Bonn, 1838.

⁴ Thus Dunder (Dictys-Septimius, Berlin, 1878, p. 3, note 2) and Greif (op. cit., pp. 5-7) contend that the claim of translation from the Greek was contrived by Septimius merely as a blind in order to disguise his own authorship of annals which he has already ascribed (epis., ed. Meister, p. 1, ll. 1-14) to the eye-witness Dictys.

⁵ The recovery of the fragment thus confirms the validity of the argument that a forged history of the Trojan war is to be looked upon rather as the product of the inventive Greek than of the practical Roman mind (cf. Gudeman, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* XXV 150 ff.), particularly in view of the fact that the names of other authors (real or imaginary) to whom Trojan annals have been attributed—as Dares the Phrygian by Ptolemaeus Chennus (*Καὶνὴ ἱστορία*, ed. from Photius by Roulez, p. 147 a 24), Syagrius by Aelian (*Varia Historia* XIV 21), Siaphus of Cos and Phidalius of Corinth by Malalas (ed. Bekker, op. cit., p. 117, ll. 1 and 14), Palamedes and Corinnus the Ilian by Suidas (*Lexicon s. v.*)—are, in every case, Greek (cf. my Dares and Dictys, pp. 108-109). The fragment moreover

manner in which he performed his task of translation. This he describes as follows: nobis cum in manus forte libelli venissent, avidos verae historiae cupido incessit ea uti erant Latine disserere, non magis confisi ingenio, quam ut otiosi animi desidiâ discuteremus (Meister, p. 1, ll. 14-18). If now, taking the words "uti erant Latine disserere" to mean a loose paraphrase as distinguished from a literal translation,¹ we compare the claim of Septimius with his actual practice, we find that he is, as a matter of fact, at constant pains to expand the wording of his original. Thus he renders the Greek: πένθος δὲ οὐ μικρὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐγένετο Τρωϊλοῦ ἀπολομένου. ἦν γὰρ ἔτι νέος καὶ γενναῖος καὶ [ῥαῖος²] (Tebtunis Papyri II, p. 12, l. 12—p. 13, l. 14) by the Latin Troiani tollunt gemitus et clamore lugubri Troili casum miserandum in modum deflent recordati aetatem eius admodum immaturam, qui in primis pueritiae annis cum verecundia ac probitate, tam praecipue forma corporis amabilis atque acceptus popularibus adolescebat (Meister, p. 76, ll. 9-14). The foregoing passage further reveals the groundlessness of the attempt of the advocates of a Latin Dictys to find in the frequent and indubitable instances in Septimius of phrasal indebtedness to earlier Latin authors³ evidence that the Ephemeris could not have been a translation.⁴ For the expression "qui in primis pueritiae annis cum verecundia ac probitate, tam praecipue forma corporis amabilis atque acceptus popularibus adolescebat", which is cited by Pratje⁵ as an ex-

creates an initial presumption in favor of regarding the Trojan annals of Dares the Phrygian, which, like those of Dictys, claim to come from the Greek, but survive only in Latin form, as, in like manner, derived from an earlier Greek prototype.

¹ Cf. E. Patzig, Dictys Cretensis, Byz. Zs. I 151.

² Apparently to be supplied in the fragment, which is here blank, from Malalas (Mal. 130, 5), as shown by the Latin forma corporis.

³ Chiefly from Sallust, Virgil, and Cicero; cf. Pratje, 1874, Quaestiones Sallustianae, passim; Lehrs, 1878, op. cit., pp. 137 ff.; Brunnert, 1883, Sallust u. Dictys Cretensis, passim; Dunger, 1886, De Dictys-Septimio Virgilii imitatore, passim; Teuffel, 1890, loc. cit.; Noack, 1892, op. cit., pp. 451 ff.; and Griffin, 1907, op. cit., pp. 114 ff.

⁴ Cf. Joly, 1870, Benoit de Ste. More et le Roman de Troie II 185 ff.; Meister, 1872, preface to edition of Dictys, pp. viii-x; Dunger, 1878, op. cit., pp. 7 ff.; Wagner, 1880, Jahns' Jahrbuch. CXXXVI 509 ff.; and Greif, 1885, Die mittelalterl. Bearb. der Trojasage, p. 4 and, 1886, the continuation of the same in Stengel's Ausgabe u. Abhandlungen LXI 245 ff.

⁵ Who compares (Quaest. Sallust., pp. 10 and 22) the Sallustian phrases ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit (Jug. 64, 5) and tam acceptum popularibus (Jug. 7, 1).

ample of the mannered phraseology of Sallust, is, at the same time, as we have seen, nothing more nor less than a free translation of the Greek, *ἦν γὰρ ἔτι νέος καὶ γενναῖος καὶ ὠπαῖος*. It is, accordingly, evident that Septimius uses these borrowed phrases merely as a means of elaborating his original and that it is this method of amplification by imitation to which the words "ut erant Latine disserere" unquestionably refer.

Finally, the vindication afforded by the Greek fragment of Septimius' assertions with regard to the fact and manner of his translation predisposes us to accept as likewise true his final assertion, at the end of the epistle, to the effect that he has, in his translation, retained the first five books of his original intact, but has condensed the last five, which treat of the Return of the Greeks, into one (Meister, p. 1, ll. 18-20). Now, unfortunately, the truth of this last assertion cannot be tested by reference to the Greek fragment, which ends before the opening of the *Νέστορα*. But since the account of the Return of the Greeks is actually found to occupy the sixth book of the Latin text and since the version there given of this event is, as compared with the Byzantine versions, brief and full of evident omissions,¹ we may safely conclude that here again Septimius' assertion is to be taken at its face value and that the sixth and last book of the Latin text represents, as he declares, an epitome of the last five books of the Greek original.

I pass now to the earliest of the Byzantine versions, that by Joannes Malalas. The Greek fragment proves, in the first place, that the sixth century Malalas did not, as the advocates of a Latin Dictys have contended, derive his version of Dictys from the Latin of the fourth century Septimius.² For, to use a passage already familiar, it is manifestly impossible to regard Malalas' description of Troilus, *ἦν γὰρ ἔτι νέος καὶ γενναῖος καὶ ὠπαῖος* (Mal. 130, 5) as a translation of the amplified Latin, *recordati aetatem* *adolescebat* when Malalas' words are precisely identical with those of the Greek fragment (cf. p. 331). On the contrary, it becomes at once clear that Malalas must have derived his version of Dictys either directly or indirectly from the Greek original.

¹ Cf. my *Dares and Dictys*, pp. 111 ff.

² Cf. Joly, 1870, op. cit., I 193 ff.; Dunger, 1878, op. cit., pp. 12 ff.; Haupt, 1881, *Dares, Malalas, u. Sisyphus*, *Philologus* XL 107 ff.; Greif, 1886, op. cit., pp. 173 ff.

The Greek fragment shows, in the second place, that the immediate source of Malalas was not, in all probability, the Greek original, but, as already maintained by Noack and myself,¹ an intermediary redaction, and this for the following reasons. Malalas' version of Dictys possesses two marked features absent in Septimius and in the later Byzantine versions. The two features thus peculiar to Malalas are (1) three distinct references to a certain Sisyphus of Cos as authority for events which in all other versions of Dictys are related as a regular portion of the Dictys recital² and (2) two curiously contrived dialogues wherein Malalas relates in dramatic style (first person) the very same war narrative which in all other versions of Dictys is related in straightforward narrative style (third person).³ Now since these three Sisyphus citations and these two dialogues occur only in Malalas and since, furthermore, the third citation introduces Sisyphus as authority for the contents of the second dialogue,⁴ it is obviously natural to associate this second dialogue⁵ with Sisyphus and to regard the three Sisyphus citations and the second dialogue

¹ Noack, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 ff.; Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.

² The events for which Sisyphus is cited as authority by Malalas are, first (Mal. 117, 1; Ekl. 209, 30), the adventures of Ulysses with the Cyclops (Mal. 114, 18-116, 23; Ekl. 208, 16-209, 31), related, without reference to Sisyphus, by Septimius (Eph. VI 5) and Cedrenus (232, 17-21); secondly (Mal. 119, 22; Ekl. 212, 7), the adventures of Ulysses with Circe (Mal. 117, 17-119, 22; Ekl. 210, 15-212, 16), again related without reference to Sisyphus by Septimius (Eph. VI 6), John of Antioch (Salm. fr. 24, 10) and Cedrenus (232, 21-23); and, thirdly (Mal. 132, 19; Ekl. 221, 16), the contents of the dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhus (Mal. 122, 17-132, 16; Ekl. 216, 19-221, 24), related in narrative form and still without reference to Sisyphus by Septimius (Eph. III 1-IV 13), John of Antioch (Sik. 7, 18-9, 5), and Cedrenus (223, 14-228, 16).

³ The contents of the first of these two dialogues (Mal. 109, 16-114, 1; Ekl. 205, 8-207, 30), which takes place between Ulysses and Ajax Telamon, is related in narrative style by Septimius (Eph. IV 20-21; V 7-13), John of Antioch (Sik. 9, 9-10, 25) and Cedrenus (228, 16-232, 2); of the second (Mal. 122, 17-132, 16; Ekl. 216, 19-221, 24), in which Teucer and Pyrrhus are the participants, by Septimius (Eph. III 1-IV 13), John of Antioch (Sik. 7, 18-9, 5), and Cedrenus (223, 14-228, 16).

⁴ Cf. note 1.

⁵ Presumably not, however, the first dialogue, which not only stands under no Sisyphus citation, but is already present in embryo in the Dictæan debate between Ajax Telamon and Ulysses as to who shall possess the Palladium in Septimius (Eph. V 14), John of Antioch (Sik. 10, 16-17), and Cedrenus (232, 3-8).

as constituting evidence of the remains in Malalas of a second Trojan chronicle, distinct from the Dictys chronicle, which we may term the Sisyphus chronicle. Save for these two Sisyphus elements Malalas derived his Troica solely from Dictys whom he cites repeatedly.¹ The question accordingly arises whence did Malalas obtain this peculiar Sisyphus matter which stands in such striking contrast to the Dictys matter in which it is embedded. Now it is hardly to be supposed that Malalas, who, as the author of a world chronicle, was not, of course, primarily concerned with the story of Troy, would have taken the pains to consult two separate chronicles for materials which constitute so small a portion of his entire work.² It is much more probable, on the contrary, that he found both his Dictys and his Sisyphus materials already combined in one and the same source. But this source could not have been the Greek Dictys. For the newly discovered fragment, which happens, fortunately, to open with those two events which form the conclusion of Malalas' second dialogue: viz., the deaths of Troilus and of Achilles (Tebtunis Papyri, p. 12, l. 1—p. 14, l. 53; Mal. 129,19–132,4; Ekl. 220,3–221,14), relates these events, not in the dramatic form used by Malalas, but, as we should expect, in the same straightforward narrative style used in all other versions of Dictys. Hence it appears in all respects probable that Malalas derived his Troica from a redaction of Dictys in which the narrative form of the original recital had already become in part displaced by the dramatic form of the Sisyphus recital.

But little additional light is shed by the Greek fragment upon the version of Dictys by John of Antioch, and none whatsoever upon that by Cedrenus. In one instance the fragment appears to confirm the view³ that Antioch derived his version of Dictys neither from Septimius,⁴ nor from Malalas,⁵ nor from the two combined,⁶

¹ Eight times (Mal. 107,1; Ekl. 201,28; Mal. 119,23, Ekl. 212,7; Mal. 122,2, Ekl. 213,11; Ekl. 216,5; Mal. 132,22, Ekl. 221,19; Mal. 135,12; Mal. 250,2).

² Malalas' Troica occupy only a portion of one of the seventeen books into which the *Χρονογραφία* is divided (cf. p. 330, note 1).

³ Held by Noack, 1892, op. cit., pp. 482 ff.; Gleye, 1896, Byz. Zs. V 451 ff.; and Griffin, op. cit., pp. 86 ff.

⁴ Because he shares with Malalas certain particulars absent in Septimius (cf. Griffin, pp. 83–4).

⁵ Because he shares with Septimius other particulars not found in Malalas (cf. Griffin, pp. 84–5).

⁶ For he exhibits a third set of particulars found in neither one of his predecessors (Griffin, pp. 86–9).

but from the original Dictys.¹ For the occurrence of the word *νεκρούς* (Tebtunis Papyri 13, 17) in a deleted portion of the fragment renders it altogether probable that Antioch's corresponding statement (Sik. 8, 21), absent alike in Septimius and Malalas, that the Trojans desired to burn their dead (*νεκρούς*) stood in the Greek Dictys.²

As regards, finally, the bearing of the Greek fragment upon the relation between the prologue and the epistle of the Latin Ephemeris, it is probable that the prologue, which relates in detail the story of the discovery and subsequent preservation of the annals of the Cretan soldier Dictys (Meister, pp. 2-3) was invented by the unknown author of the Greek Dictys to serve as preface to that text and that the brief recapitulation of that story in the epistle (Meister, p. 1, ll. 1-14) was afterwards added by Septimius as a translator's preface. As to the date of composition of the Greek text, occasional variations in the fragment from what we must suppose to have been the original form of Dictys' memoirs³ serve to corroborate the generally accepted view that the Dictys fiction was composed soon after the reign of Nero.⁴ For these variations might readily have appeared within the considerable interval which would then have elapsed between the original date of composition and the early third century, to which, on the basis of the papyrus, which is dated 206, the fragment is assigned by the editors (p. 10).

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¹ Cf. Griffin, pp. 86 ff.

² As conjectured by the editors (p. 16), without consulting John of Antioch.

³ That the statement, for example, that Deiphobus, as well as Paris (T. P. 12, 5), led the Trojans to battle must have stood in the original Greek is evident from the concurrence of Malalas (Mal. 129, 21; Ekl. 220, 5), Cedrenus (227, 5), and Septimius ("Alexander cum reliquis fratribus", p. 75, l. 29). The passage is omitted in the Antioch excerpts.

⁴ Cf. Gudeman, op. cit., p. 152; Tebtunis Papyri, p. 10.

VII.—CONTRACTION IN THE CASE FORMS OF *DEUS*
AND *MEUS*, *IS* AND *IDEM*. A STUDY OF
CONTRACTION IN LATIN *IO*- AND
EO-, *IĀ*- AND *EĀ*- STEMS.

The primary object of the present paper is to discuss the well-known contract forms which are found in the nominative-vocative plural and in the dative-ablative plural of *deus*, in the vocative plural masculine and in the dative-ablative plural of *meus*, and in the nominative plural masculine and the dative-ablative plural of the pronouns *is* and *idem*. In order to form a correct judgment, however, upon the special problem proposed, it will be necessary also to consider briefly the general history of the *io*- and *eo*-, the *iā*- and *eā*- stems in the several case-forms just named.

In the time of Plautus and Terence the original diphthongs *oi* and *ai* of the nominative-vocative and dative-ablative plural had developed into a sound intermediate between *i* and *ɜ* which is commonly written *ei*, less frequently *e*, in early Latin inscriptions, and which is usually denoted in modern discussions by the symbol \bar{e} . It was not until later—about 150 B. C.—that this close \bar{e} finally became *i*. With respect to most *io*- and *iā*- stems, it is now generally admitted that the early dramatists have only the full forms of the nominative-vocative and dative-ablative plural; e. g., only *fili* (*filici*), *filiis* (*filicis*), *gaudiis*, *gratiis*, *ingratiis*, and that the contract forms like *gratis*, *ingratis*, *fili*, *filis* belong either to the later republic (after 150 B. C.), or to the imperial period. Also in the case of most *eo*- and *eā*- stems, the early dramatists have only the full forms in use; e. g., *aurei* (*aureei*), *aureis* (*aureeis*), *ferrei*, *ferreis*, *balineis* and the like, and we find in fact no evidence of any contraction occurring in these stems at any period.¹

In a small circle, however, of *eo*- and *eā*- stems; viz., in *eo*-, *eā*-, *meo*-, *meā*-, *deo*-, we find that the contract forms were already fully

¹Of course we find these case-forms treated at times with synizesis in the poets; e. g., Verg., Aen. X 496, *balia*; ib. V 352, VIII 553, *aureis*; Sil. XIV 229, *alvā*.

established in use in the period of the early dramatists. This is very strikingly the case with *di*, *dis*, which are the sole forms known to early Latin and to the early Latin poets, while the reformations *dī*, *dīs* are products of the literary language and are first found in the period of Catullus. It is highly probable also that the genuine monosyllabic forms *i* and *is*, *idem* and *isdem* were freely in use in the time of Plautus and Terence, except in the case of the anapaestic word-groups like *sīd-ī*, *ab-ēs*, *in-eīdem*.¹ From the year 120 B. C. on the existence of these monosyllabic forms is certainly and abundantly attested by inscriptions, but, as has just been stated, there is good reason to believe that they had come into general use at a still earlier date. It is certain also that the vocative plural masculine *mī* occurs already in Plautus as an absolute monosyllable (Ci. 678; Mi. 1330; cf. Classical Philology III 162). With respect, however, to the early forms of the nominative plural masculine and the dative-ablative plural of *meus* we cannot speak with the same certainty. The full dissyllabic forms *mēi*, *mēs* are of course rare in Plautus, but we are unable to state positively whether the usual dimoric forms *mēi*, *mēs* are absolute monosyllables; i. e., *mī*, *mīs*, or whether, like *mēōs*, *dēōs*, they are only synizesis or quasi-monosyllabic forms which owe their dimoric value to the play of the sentence-accent (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. XXXVI 179). The spellings *mis* and *mieis* preserved in the Plautus MSS² and the spelling *mieis* in inscriptions³ forcibly suggest, however, that the dative-ablative plural at least is sometimes an absolute monosyllable in Plautus, and this conclusion is further confirmed by the partly analogical formations *sis* (Enn., Lucr.) and *tis* (Inscr. Or. 4847),⁴ and perhaps also by the occurrence of *mēs* in the dialogue verse of Seneca (Troad. 191).

We have then the task of accounting for the foregoing facts and explaining the early forms *dī*, *dīs*, *mī* (vocative plural), *mīs*, *i*, *is*, *idem*, *isdem* and perhaps *mī* (nominative plural). Several theories upon the origin of these forms have been suggested, but

¹ See Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. XXXVI (1905), p. 206 f. and n. 1; Sturtevant, *Contraction in Case Forms, etc.*, pp. 26, 34.

² *Mieis* (monosyllabic) Men. 203 (BC), *mis* Tri. 822 (BC); cf. *mi is* Ps. 764 and 779 (B); see Neue II³ 366. Sturtevant, l. l., pp. 8, 11, shows clearly that the combination *iei* sometimes represents in Latin inscriptions the sound *i*.

³ E. g., CIL. I 38; cf. Sturtevant, l. l., pp. 35, 8, 11 ff.

⁴ For the relation of *sis* to *dīs*, *is*, *mīs*, cf. Trans., p. 205.

only two seem of sufficient importance to be mentioned here. Thurneysen, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XXX (1890), p. 500, has assumed, upon the basis of certain Old Latin forms,¹ that *ē* became *ī* before *ei* and that contraction then took place. The obvious objection to this view, in the form in which Thurneysen has stated it, is that the sound group *īē*, in ordinary *īo-* and *īā-* stems, does not contract in the time of Plautus, but is fully preserved in *filiei*, *filieis*, *gratieis*, and the like until about the year 150 B. C. It may be added further that the reduction of the earlier *gratiis* to *gratis*, as of the earlier *larua* (trisyllable) to *larva*, shows the operation of a species of post-tonic syncope (Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 46, 184), while the shortening of *eis* to *is*, in a phrase like (*e*)*is dnnis*, is rather to be ascribed to the effects of pretonic syncope.

A second theory has been put forward by Sturtevant, who has discussed the history and use of these contract form with scrupulous care and thoroughness in a valuable monograph entitled, "Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin *īo-* and *īā-* Stems, and of *deus*, *is* and *idem*", Chicago, 1902.² After rejecting the view of Thurneysen mentioned above, Sturtevant himself assumes (p. 33 f.) that the sound group *eē* 'naturally' contracted into *ē*, and the original forms **deē*, **deēs*, *meē* thus gave rise to *dē*, *dēs*, *mē* (later *dī*, *dīs*, *mī*). This last theory unfortunately, in the form in which it is stated by Sturtevant, admits of precisely the same kind of refutation as the explanation of Thurneysen. For the group *eē*, as has already been stated (p. 336), does not ordinarily contract in Old Latin, and, in a well-known group of words in frequent use, Plautus has only the full forms *aureei* (**aureē*), *aureeis* (**aureēs*), *argenteis*, *ferreei*, *ferreeis*, *balineeis*, *araneis*, *con-sanguineeis*, etc. (I mention only forms which actually occur in Plautus.)

¹ Namely, *iei*, *ieis*, *miis* (ascribed to Terence by Velius Longus, p. 77 Keil), *abiugnieis* and *aesculnieis* (CIL. I 577), also the nominative feminine **mia*, a form which is presupposed by several of the Romance languages.

² Cf. also the convenient summary of this study which is published in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXII (1902), cxxxi ff. Sturtevant's dissertation is reviewed briefly by Max Niedermann, Berlin. *Phil. Wochenschr.* XXIII (1903), p. 888, who commends the painstaking method and statistics of the work, but adds significantly: "Dagegen scheint der Verf. bei der wissenschaftlichen Verarbeitung seiner Sammlungen daraus nicht den Gewinn gezogen zu haben, der sich tatsächlich daraus ziehen lässt, so dass in Zukunft vielfach andere da ernten werden, wo er gesät hat". A summary of the study is also given by Stolz, *Zeitschr. f. d. Oesterreich. Gymnas.* LIV (1903), p. 503.

It is evident from the foregoing statement that in ordinary cases both the sound group *iē* (later *iī*) remained uncontracted in the time of Plautus and the closely allied sound group *eē* (later *ēi*) continued unchanged throughout historical Latin. It follows, therefore, that the contraction of these groups in the stems *eo-*, *meo-*, *deo-* is exceptional and is connected with some additional factor as an assisting cause. In other words, the vowels *e* or *i* and *ē*, although near together in quality, are not absolutely similar; consequently they will not readily merge into a single sound, unless an additional momentum be brought into play. What the additional momentum is, must be clear, as I think, to every student of the Old Latin synizesis phenomena. The law of these phenomena, as I have sought to state it elsewhere (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. XXXVI 173 ff.; Classical Philology III 154 ff.) is the following: An *initial* iambic sequence containing the semivowels *i* (*e*) and *u* in hiatus tends within the sentence towards a monosyllabic pronunciation (e. g. *mēōs*, *ēis*, *ēisdem*), but does not actually assume this value. At the close of the sentence, however, the schwa-vowel is still distinctly heard (e. g. *mēōs*, *ēs*).

It is the concurrence then of two causes which produces absolute monosyllabic forms, viz.: (1) the tendency toward a slurred pronunciation of every *initial* iambic sequence which involves hiatus; e. g., *dēōs*, *dēō*, *dēi*, and, in extreme cases, towards the consonantization and ultimate loss of the semivowel; e. g., *d(y)ī*, *d(y)is*, *m(y)ī*, *m(y)is*,¹ (2) the tendency toward the contraction of vowels which are nearly related in quality.² In other words, contraction may take place as a further development of synizesis in those cases where the vowels which

¹ Cf. the vulgar forms *do*, *dae* (Schuchardt Vok. II, 463; III, 298), which show a similar loss of the semivowel, and also the frequent inscriptional forms of late Latin, viz. *des* (for *dies*), *ses*, *de*, *debus*, *dis*, *dibus* (Schuchardt II, 445; III, 295; I, 67 ff.; II, 513 f.; III, 310; Seelmann, Ausspr. d. Lat. 239, 321 ff.); cf. also Oscan *zicolom* for **diculom* (Buck, Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian § 134, a). It should be remembered that synizesis is a broad term and the synizesis process is an elastic one. Old Latin synizesis was undoubtedly in the main 'the running together of two vowels without full contraction' (Trans., p. 170 ff.), but again it was sometimes complete diphthongalization (cf. *ā*, dative singular), and sometimes complete consonantization (e. g. *dvellum*, *jo*).

² In Umbr. the close *ē* resulting from *oi* in final syllables was so near in quality to *i* as to actually contract with it in the Dat. Sg. and the Dat.-Abl. Pl of stems in *īo-*; thus we have Dat.-Abl. Pl. *Atiersir* beside *Atiersir*.

occur in hiatus are closely related in quality, or the shortened form may even in some cases arise as the result of consonantization; e. g., *d[y]i*, *d[y]ō*, *d[y]ēs*. In the time of Plautus, however, these processes were limited to those cases of *eē* or *iē* which occurred in an initial iambic sequence. In addition, since synizesis occurs most freely in well-worn and familiar proclitic word (Trans., pp. 184 ff., 210; Classical Philology III 157, 164), it follows that contraction also is especially natural in the pronominal forms *i*, *is*, *idem*, *isdem*, *mī*, *mīs*.

The contract forms *dī*, *dīs* call for some further notice;¹ for it is evident that the contraction which has taken place in these cases is not only more complete and more thoroughgoing than that which is admissible, for example, in *reis* (from *reus*) and in *vīs* and *pīs* (from *via* and *pīus*),² but even more rigorously carried out than the reduction which appears in the case-forms of the pronouns. As I have briefly suggested elsewhere (Trans., p. 181, n. 1), the tendency towards monosyllabic pronunciation which affects so strongly all the iambic forms of *deus* (e. g. *deos*, *deum*, *deo*), seems largely due to an extremely frequent and trite use of the word in oaths, adjurations and prayers, and hence may be fitly compared with the reduction which is seen in English oaths like *odd's death*, *'s death*, *zounds*, *pardi*, *pardy*, *perdy* (Old Fr. *pardie*, *pardé*; Fr. *pardi*, *pardieu*),³ as well as with the quick exclamatory utterance of such English phrases as '*God forbid*', '*God be praised*', '*I thank God*'.

I am disposed to conjecture further that the exclusive monosyllabic form has arisen first in the exclamatory vocative *dī*, and then been extended by analogy to the nominative and the dative-ablative plural. It is true that the nominative plural is the more frequent form, occurring three times as often in Plautus as the vocative plural, yet the latter is also extremely trite and familiar.⁴

¹ The derivation from *divī*, *divīs* which is sometimes doubtfully proposed (e. g. Lindsay, Capt., p. 27), might perhaps explain the forms *dī*, *dīs*, but scarcely accounts satisfactorily for the absence of the forms *dei*, *deīs*.

² The nominative plural masculine of an adjective like *pīus* or *meus* is also preserved from thoroughgoing contraction by the influence of the dissyllabic feminine and neuter forms; e. g., (*mei*), *meae*, *mea*.

³ Cf. also the proper name *Parsall* (*Par ciel*), and Fr. *morbleu*, *parbleu*, *palsambleu*, and the like.

⁴ According to Lodge, Lex. Plaut., the nominative plural occurs two hundred and thirty-one times in Plautus, the vocative plural seventy-five times.

It is also highly emotional and exclamatory in its use, and may be compared in this respect with such monosyllabic ejaculations as the English 'Fire!', 'Help!', 'Stop!', and similar expressions. Hence the physiological difficulty of uttering two nearly similar vowels in hiatus may well have reached its maximum in this form, as well as in the vocative plural *mi* (p. 337),¹ and the conditions which are most favorable to thoroughgoing contraction were thus presented in both cases. We may note in this connection familiar exclamations like *di, vostram fidem* (Cap. 418, Ci. 259, etc.), and illustrate the general use of the vocative by Mer. 850 date, *di, quaeso*; Ru. 1298 *di, quaeso, subvenite*, etc. Having once arisen in the vocative plural, we may conjecture that the contract form would quickly be extended to the nominative plural and to the dative-ablative plural, especially as the latter forms often receive the same emphatic and emotional utterance in prayers, imprecations and expressions of joy and thanksgiving. These familiar uses may be sufficiently illustrated by the following: As. 46 *di tibi dent quaequomque optes*; St. 469 *di dent quae velis*; Tri. 992 *di te perdant, si te flocci facio*; Poe. 1254 *dis est aequom gratias nos agere*; Ci. 624 *dis hercle habeo gratiam*.

To sum up the conclusions of this discussion: In the case of vowels in hiatus closely related in quantity (*eē* and *iē*), contraction took place as a further development of synizesis in those trite and well-worn pronominal forms like *ē, ēs, ēdem* and *mē*, which originally showed the initial iambic sequence. Under similar conditions a still more complete reduction occurred in the forms *dē, dēs*, which are not only trite and familiar, but inclined by their very meaning to emotional and exclamatory utterance.²

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¹Cf. also the unusual contraction of *ie* which is seen in vocative singular *mi* (from **mie*), and in vocatives like *fili, Corneli*.

²On a possible consonantization *d[y]ē, d[y]ēs* in some cases, see above, p. 339.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

RECENT WORKS IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE.

Evangelium secundum Johannem. The Gospel of Saint John in West-Saxon. Edited from the Manuscripts, with introduction, and Notes. By JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, PH. D., Professor of English Philology in the Johns Hopkins University, with a Glossary by LANCELOT MINOR HARRIS, PH. D., Professor of English in the College of Charleston. Boston, U. S. A., and London, D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers, 1904. Saint Matthew, 1904; Saint Mark, 1905; Saint Luke, 1906; all without Notes and Glossary.

This edition of the West-Saxon Gospels by Professor Bright, in Heath's Belles-Lettres Series, was completed two years ago as regards the text, but so far only the Gospel of St. John has been provided with Notes and Glossary. The plan of the edition is to give the text of the Corpus MS, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, formerly belonging to Archbishop Parker, and to place at the foot of the page the variants from the other MSS, A, in the Cambridge University Library, B, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and C, among the Cottonian MSS, in the British Museum.

The text of the recently discovered fragment of the Gospel of St. John—, called the Lakelands fragment, and containing from ii 6—iii 34, and from vi 19—vii 10—, is given after the Introduction to that Gospel. It was discovered by Professor Napier in a volume purchased by the Curators of the Bodleian Library, March 14, 1891, and first published by him in *Herrig's Archiv*, lxxxvii, 255–261. It is contemporary with the other MSS of this version and is related to MS A. The Introduction to St. John's Gospel contains brief sections on vernacular Scripture in Anglo-Saxon times, Bede's translation of the Gospel of St. John, the Manuscripts of the West-Saxon Gospels, the relation of the Manuscripts to the Original, the authorship of the Version and the Latin Original of the Version. This Version of the West-Saxon Gospels, for all these manuscripts are of the same Version, was made from the Vulgate, not as Bosworth thought (followed by Corson) from the Old Latin previous to Jerome. Bosworth was misled by certain variations in MSS of the Vulgate, due most probably to the Irish type of text, for the Anglo-Saxon

(or British) type is mixed, "being fundamentally Roman, but pervaded by Irish readings". "The original of St. John", thinks Professor Harris, "was least affected by the influence of the Irish type and 'was almost Hieronymian.'"

A useful Bibliography of some half-dozen pages is inserted between the Notes and the Glossary. A note to the title of Thorpe's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels states that "This edition was reprinted in America by Louis F. Klipstein: New York, George P. Putnam, 1848". My copy of Klipstein's reprint of Thorpe is dated, "Wiley and Putnam, 1846", evidently an earlier edition and believed to be the first printed by Putnam. It is a great advantage to have such a handy and inexpensive edition of the separate Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and both editor and publishers are to be congratulated on this, doubtless successful, issue.

The only improvement that we can suggest is the enlargement of the Glossary appended to St. John's Gospel so as to include the words of the other Gospels not found in this Glossary. A supplement might suffice, but it would be better to include the words of all the Gospels under one alphabet. A cursory review of St. Matthew shows the following words not used by St. John: iv 3, *costniend*; v 26, *fiorðling*; v 33, *āgyllst*; vi 21, *goldhord*; ix 25, *geðode*; x 3, *publicanus*; x 10, *wyrhta*; x 15, *ācumenlicre*; xi 22, *forgifenlicor*; xiii 22, *geornfullnes*; xv 13, *āwyrwtwalod*; xx, passage of ten lines between 28 and 29;¹ xxi 28, 29, *wingearde* is printed *wingearde* in 29; xxi 32, *myltystran*; xxi 33, *wingearde* and *elpōdiglysse*; xxii 5, *mangunge*; xxii 12, *gesuwode*; xxii 19, *aetfwað*; xxiii 5, *tobrædap*, *healsbēc*, *maersiað*, *fnadū*; xxiii 13, *hccetteras*; xxiv 27, *eastdæle*, *wesdæl*; 28, *earnas*; 43, *gepafigan*, *underdulse*; xxv 14, *elpōdiglesse*; 18, *bedealf* [*bedealf*]; 39 *untrumne*; 41, *wynstran*; xxvi 30, *gesungene*; 36 *Gezeman*; 69, *þiowyn*; 71, *wȳln*; xxvii 7, 8, *æcyr*; 7, *tigylwyrhtena*, *elpōdisce*; 34, *geallan*.

A few others have been observed in glancing through the volumes, but this list makes no pretensions to completeness: Mark vii 22, [*stala*], *dysignessa*; xiii 17, *cennendum*, 34 *elpōdiglice*; Luke xxiv 11, *wōffung*; this last word is given *woffung* by Clark Hall, Sweet, and Toller; so we must consider *wōffung* as an oversight; it is hard to avoid oversights in a multitude of minutiae. Note also in the Introduction to St. John's Gospel, p. xxiii 4, *hwar* for *hwār*.

Professor Bright has laid great stress upon the insertion of all variants at the foot of the page. As the present reviewer has no access to manuscripts, the only test available is the comparison

¹ Professor Skeat tells us (Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 10) that "This interpolation is found in some of the Vulgate versions, the most remarkable being the celebrated Graeco-Latin Codex D, commonly called the Codex Bezae, in the Cambridge University Library. It also occurs in the Corbey Codex (Codex Corbeiensis), and (with some variations) in the Codex Veronensis."

with Professor Skeat's edition, who also prints from the Corpus MS and inserts the variants from A and B at foot of the first column.

In Matthew, chapter iv, verse 15 is omitted without remark. Professor Skeat states that "Ver. 15 is omitted in all the copies", even in the later MSS Hatton and Royal, so the omission of the translator or scribe was never supplied. The verse, however, occurs in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth MSS, an incidental proof of the independence of these translators.

As Thorpe's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, even in the Klipstein reprint, has been long out of print, and Skeat's edition is too expensive for school and college use, besides not being convenient for that purpose, Professor Bright's edition comes in most suitably, and will, doubtless, be extensively used. A complete Glossary to the four volumes is a desideratum, and will eventually be prepared along with requisite notes to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke.

Beowulf, An Old English Epic (The Earliest Epic of the Germanic Race). Translated into Modern English Prose by WENTWORTH HUYSHE, with Notes and Illustrations. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., liii, 216 [1907].

The interest in the translation of Beowulf still continues. During the past few years there have been other translations into German besides those of Grein and Heyne, well-known to scholars, and since that of Clark Hall (1901), noticed by the writer in his paper on "Recent Translations of Old English Poetry" (Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc., XVIII 3, 1903), we have had those of Tinker (1902),—also noticed in the above-mentioned paper,—of Child (1904), and now a new and elaborate one, without date, but issued in 1907, by Mr. Wentworth Huyshe. I must condemn in passing the practice of some publishers of omitting from the title-page the date of publication, an unfortunate recent practice, which would be "more honoured in the breach than the observance". If there is one thing that a reader wants especially to know, it is *when* a book was published. Mr. Huyshe's translation contains a full Introduction of over fifty pages, giving an account of the manuscript, argument, origin and date of the poem, its literary quality, scenes and surroundings, and social life,—in which both Mr. Clark Hall and Professor Harrison are drawn upon.

The translation is divided into four parts: the fight with the demon Grendel, the fight with Grendel's mother, Beowulf's return to Gothland, and Beowulf and the Dragon, with sub-headings under each, and, as an appendix, the Fight at Finn's Burgh. Each section is followed by notes elucidating the poem;

the episodes are printed in smaller type, as in Mr. Clark Hall's translation, upon which the present translator seems to be somewhat dependent. There are also in many expressions coincidences between this translation and one of twenty-five years ago published by the present writer, showing that it has, at least, been read by the translator, but the result will be to make "Beowulf" better known, which is the main point. One point in which Mr. Huyshe has imitated Mr. Clark Hall, and even surpassed him, is in the numerous illustrations which add value to the translation, as the vessel, the hall, the armor, and the horse-trappings are abundantly illustrated, but it is not always stated from what work the illustrations are taken. A map, similar to the one in Mr. Clark Hall's translation, though not so neatly drawn, is prefixed to p. 11, but we miss the genealogies and the index of proper names, both of which should have been added. Facsimiles of the same pages of the manuscript as in Mr. Clark Hall's translation are given, but in both occur the same misprint, 2177 for 2127. These pages are reduced from Professor Zupitza's edition of the manuscript for the Early English Text Society, published in 1882. A few other misprints in the Introduction may be noted for future correction: p. xxxiii, line 3, 579; line 14 from bottom, Pendas'; p. xxxiv, lines 2 and 24, Scôp; p. xxxviii, line 8 from bottom, Chanci; p. xlv, line 3 from bottom, edintification; p. xlviii, line 19, *Volsunga*. And there are some others in the book, but misprints are hard to avoid. Mr. Huyshe tells us (Notes, p. 43) that "The lines are those according to the text of Mr. A. J. Wyatt", so presumably the translation is made from that text, which seems to be increasing in favor. No one of the younger scholars has yet adopted my suggestion of a few years ago that some one of them should give us a variorum edition of the text, which would supply a more secure basis for translation. A marginal numbering of the lines, as adopted by Mr. Clark Hall, would make the translation much more convenient for reference. While I should not follow Mr. Huyshe in all of his renderings, I may say that I think the translation quite well done, and that it will prove helpful to the student. It is strange, however, that in two passages of the Notes, pp. 188 and 190, he should call Ecgtheow Beowulf's *mother*. This is contrary to the views of all other commentators and translators, as far as I know, and is entirely original. It cannot be charged to a *misprint*, and is evidently a *lapsus memoriae*; however, it can be easily corrected, a good translation thereby bettered, and the knowledge of "Beowulf" thereby extended. The translation of the Fight at Finn's Burgh, also made from Mr. Wyatt's text, has some readings which need correction: p. 203, line 4, *byrnad* should be *byrnad*; line 12 from bottom, for "he" read "they"; p. 204, line 1, the lacuna might have been translated according to Wyatt's text, but Mr. Huyshe says that he has "not attempted a reading or a translation". Hickes's text is corrupt, but Grein has, perhaps, made the best

restorations of this obscure text. In the section on "editions and translations", after the name of Professor J. Leslie Hall, *dele* "late", as he is still with us; add the name of Mr. C. G. Child, (prose), 1904; and p. 216, correct the misprint in Eittmüller's name, and prefix "N." to that of Grundtvig.

Tragedy. By ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE, Professor of English in Columbia University. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1908.

This is the most recent volume in "The Types of English Literature" series, and, in the words of the author, "This book attempts to trace the course of English tragedy from its beginnings to the middle of the nineteenth century, and to indicate the part which it has played in the history both of the theatre and of literature." This is a commendable and a desirable object, but it is a question whether it is possible to accomplish it in less than four hundred 12mo pages. Fortunately the Elizabethan Drama (1558-1642), with an Introduction on the earlier period, has just been treated by Professor Schelling in two 8vo volumes of over 600 pages each, and Professor Thorndike would do well to continue that work on the same scale "to the middle of the nineteenth century". Besides the necessarily scanty treatment that must be given to so comprehensive a subject in such limited space, it is also a question whether the method adopted in "The Types of English Literature" series is the best. The result is apt to be a volume, or volumes, of condensed annals, with brief critical comments, which may suit well enough those who know the subject already, and therefore do not need this kind of information, but such a treatment will scarcely give the requisite information to those who are ignorant of the subject.

A brief summary of the plot of a tragedy will hardly answer as a basis for an appreciation of the critical comments, or enable the student to dispense with the reading of the play itself.

The trouble with all such compendiums is that they assume knowledge which the reader does not possess, and therefore he cannot enter into the spirit of the writer, and judge of the latter's criticism, however just it may be. Barring the objection taken to the method, and the resulting treatment of the subject, both being defects consequent upon the plan of these works, Professor Thorndike has done as well as could be expected under the circumstances.

If he has mastered a tithe of the works enumerated in the bibliographical notes attached to the chapters, he has equipped himself well for the treatment of his subject, and has provided the material from which his readers may select what suits their respective objects.

I should have liked to see some discussion of the vehicle of tragedy, prose, rhymed couplet and blank verse, and an effort to answer the question why blank verse has been settled upon as the only suitable form for tragedy. Writers on the subject have given too little attention to the form of verse that tragedies have assumed, but the English iambic pentameter unrhymed seems the natural successor of the Greek iambic trimeter for the purposes of tragedy.

Another question that suggests itself is, why has the novel usurped the place of the tragic drama? That the stage has degenerated in our day goes without saying. What is the cause of this degeneracy? I do not lay much stress on Professor Thorndike's biological or physical analogies, and I think it useless to try to trace analogies between the moral and the physical sciences. I heartily endorse his remark (p. 377): "Tragedy takes an abiding place among the great courses of continuous human activity dedicated to an inquiry into the meanings of life". Of course this means moral and spiritual, not physical, life; and here the ancient Greeks had the advantage of us. Compare the great Sophoclean dramas with the puny efforts of our modern tragicasters. It can not be that the world is degenerating, but our forms of amusement are. We should try to restore higher ideals of life. Let us bear in mind the apostolic motto: *εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχοῦμεν*.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

1. The Cattle-Raid of Cooley (Tain Bo Cualnge), An Old Irish Prose-Epic, Translated by L. WINIFRED FARADAY. London, David Nutt, 1904, XXI + 141 pp., in 8°.
2. Die Altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge, nach dem Buch von Leinster in Text und Uebersetzung. Herausgegeben von ERNST WINDISCH. Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1905, XCII + 1120 pp., in 8°.
3. Táin Bó Cúalnge, Enlèvement [du Taureau divin et] des vaches de Cooley. Traduction par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE. Première livraison. Paris, H. Champion, 1907, 83 pp., gr. in 8°.

In the above works we have at last complete and accurate translations of the greatest of the Old Irish hero-tales, the Tain Bo Cualnge, or the "Raid for the Kine of Cooley." For more than half a century this famous epic—for it is naught else than an epic in prose—has remained within easy reach in the Book of Leinster, the Yellow Book of Lecan, and numerous other MSS.

The scholarly O'Curry first called attention to it in 1861 in his excellent work entitled *Lectures on the MS Materials*,¹ where he gave a brief outline of the story. He had already published in 1858 in the first volume of the *Atlantis*, the *Seirglige Conculain*, or the Sick-bed of Cuchulainn, one of the numerous stories relating to the great epic. In the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*² for 1879, another Irish scholar, O'Looney, indicated the various divisions and prefaces of the *Tain*, and announced that he had undertaken an edition of the same. Unfortunately the brilliant Irishman did not live to complete his work. In 1881 the distinguished French savant, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, was sent by Jules Ferry, then Minister of Public Instruction, on a mission to the British Isles to investigate and catalogue all the Irish MSS to be found. As a result of this voyage we have the well-known *Catalogue de la litt. épique de l'Irlande*.³ Among the numerous interesting things contained in this volume is a practically complete list of all the MSS of the *Tain*.⁴ The learned Frenchman also called attention to the fact that the *Book of Leinster* mentioned 12 different tales, or *remscéla*, serving as introduction to this epic.⁵ After a long interval during which many of the saga relating to the *Tain* were edited and translated,⁶ there appeared in 1898 a volume entitled the *Cuchulinn Saga*, by Miss Eleanor Hull. Among other things this work contained a summary and part translation⁷ of the great epic, by Standish Hayes O'Grady. It was not, however, until 1904 that any complete translation of the *Tain* was attempted—this time by Winifred Faraday, a pupil of the late Prof. Strachan, whose unexpected demise last year was a great blow to Celtic studies. In 1905 Windisch brought out his monumental edition of the celebrated epic; and at present the translation of d'Arbois is being issued from the press.

The date of the *Tain* remains yet a matter of conjecture. According to Tigernach, who died in 1088, the famous raid took place about eight years before the Christian Era.⁸ The epic, however, is of a much later date. But the time of its composition will ever be difficult to ascertain, inasmuch as the Celts, like most

¹ Pp. 31-40. This work was reprinted in 1878. In his *Manners and Customs*, London, 1873, III, pp. 414-463, O'Curry gave the text and translation from the *Book of Leinster* of the Fight with Ferdia, one of the episodes of the *Tain*.

² II series, Vol. I, pp. 242-8.

³ Paris, 1883, gr. in 8°.

⁴ It is worth noting that of the fifteen MSS mentioned by d'Arbois only two antedate the 15th cent.; three are from the 15th and 16th cents., and ten from the 17th to the 19th cents. The author had omitted by oversight the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, which is from the 14th-15th cents.

⁵ Miss Hull, in her work mentioned below, has increased this number to twenty-four.

⁶ Cf. Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Texte* III, pp. 235, etc., where are published the text and translation of the *Do chuphur in da muccado*, or the "Begetting of the two swineherds", etc.

⁷ Pp. 112-227. ⁸ O'Connor, *Rerum hibernicarum scriptores* II, p. 14.

primitive peoples, did not confide their learning to writing. And especially in Ireland was this true. The corporation of the *fidhi* or *filid* (i. e. seers or prophets) laid particular stress on the memory in their system of education.¹ The literary apprenticeship of the *filid* lasted from twelve to twenty years, during which they were obliged to memorize a long list of stories. Thus, the first year they learned at least twenty stories (in Irish, *drecht* or *scél*), the second year thirty, the third year forty, and so on until in six years they had memorized 270 in all. Then began studies in divination, geography, composition of poems, etc. Thus, doubtless, for centuries the numerous stories contained in the Tain were preserved only in the memories of the *filid*. The first written version supposed to have been made of this great epic was that of Senchan Torpeist, who, according to d'Arbois and Zimmer,² was an *ollam file* of the first half of the 7th century. The story relates that Senchan rediscovered the Tain in a miraculous way.³ It is more probable, however, that this story was created merely to explain that Senchan's version of the epic was of such excellent quality that it completely silenced all competing versions.⁴ For more than three centuries his was accepted as the only complete version of the Tain. In the 11th cent., however, by reason of the new accounts that had come into existence, a new redaction was made, of which the Book of Leinster (ca. 1160) is the oldest representative. This version is much more literary and complete than that of the Leabhar na hUidhri, the "Book of the Dun Cow" (ca. 1100), whose archaic language and simple direct prose are indications of its great antiquity

¹ According to a gloss on the Senchus Mor (Ancient Laws of Ireland I, pp. 44-47) there were ten classes of *filid* ranked with regard to the number of saga they were able to relate. Thus, the highest in rank, the *ollam file*, knew 350 stories; next came the *anruth* who had at his command 175 stories, etc., down to the *oblaire* who could relate but seven stories. With regard to the other classes of society, the *filid* ranked very high. The *ollam file*, or chief of the *filid*, ranked on a level with a noble of the second class; or, in other words, he was placed at the table immediately after the *ollam brithem*, the chief speaker of the law, who ranked on a level with the noble of the first class. Compare in the Icelandic saga the somewhat similar relation between the *logsgomadr*, or the speaker of the law, and the *sagomadr*, or relater of the saga. For further information on the *filid*, cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques*, 1906, pp. 103, etc., as well as his *Cours de Litt. celt.*, 1883, I, pp. 319, etc.; Dottin, *Manuel de l'antiquité celtique*, 1906, pp. 267; and Thurneysen, *Ir. Texte III*, pp. 113, etc.

² Ueber den compilerischen Charakter der irischen Sagentexte, etc., *Zeitsch. für vgl. Sprachforschung* XXVIII, pp. 426 ff., 1887.

³ Cf. Finding of the Tain, translated by O. Connellan, *Ossianic Society*, Vol. V.

⁴ On account of the numerous poems interspersed in the text, Dr. Sullivan was led to suggest that the Tain was originally written in verse, the prose-parts representing what had been entirely lost. This process, however, in the opinion of Dr. Hyde, would seem contrary to the history of the development of epic poetry. Cf. *A Literary History of Ireland*, by Douglas Hyde, New York, 1899, pp. 399, etc.

(being probably the version of Senchan). The Yellow Book of Lecan (14th-15th cents.) gives at times, in its incomplete version, an older and better text than the Book of Dun Cow.

The story of the Tain is so long and complicated that only a brief outline of its salient features can be given here. The epic begins with a dispute between Ailill and Medb, king and queen of Connaught, as to which possesses the greater amount of property. After comparing their jewels and other treasures, they come finally to their herds of cattle, the most precious possession of the ancient Irishman. Medb had possessed a very valuable bull, *Findbennach* (White-horned), which, however, not wishing to belong to a woman, had left her herd for that of Ailill. With this magnificent animal there was none to compare, save the Dun Bull which was in Cooley, a district in Ulster. These two bulls were in reality the seventh forms of two rival swineherds of the *Síd*, a fairy race that inhabited Ireland. They had originally possessed human form, the one being swineherd to Ochall Oichni, king of the *Síd* of Connaught, the other to Bodb, king of the *Síd* of Munster. The result of the intense rivalry existing between them was the neglect of their swine, which were allowed to dwindle away and die. Enraged at this, their kings removed them from their offices and changed them into ravens. Nevertheless, the struggle between the two rivals continued. Every two years they were obliged to change their forms until finally, having become worms, they were drunk up by two bulls, the one belonging to Medb and the other to Fiachna mac Dare of Cooley.¹

Accordingly Medb sends an embassy to Fiachna, requesting the loan of the Dun Bull for one year, promising fifty heifers in return. The embassy fails and returns empty-handed to Connaught. In order to punish the impudent chieftain, Medb resolves to invade Ulster and to take forcible possession of the animal.²

The indignant queen begins her expedition at the opportune moment when Conchobar, King of Ulster, and all his warriors are afflicted by a periodical sickness. The defense of the kingdom of Ulster is left entirely to the boy Cuchulainn, nephew of Conchobar. Under the protection of his divine father Lug,³ this heroic youth withstands singlehanded all the hosts of Medb.

¹ Cf. Windisch, loc. cit., and *The Voyage of Bran* by Alfred Nutt and Kuno Meyer, London, 1897, Vol. II, pp. 58, etc.

² To carry off the bull, as M. d'Arbois observes, meant to drive off the herd of which he was the chief. For that reason the epic is entitled the raid of the cattle instead of the raid of the bull. Cattle-driving was one of the common methods of warfare in Ireland up to very recent times. Walter Scott relates in *Waverley* (Ch. XV) a story of a similar expedition made by twelve Highlanders.

³ Cuchulainn had both divine and human parents. His resemblance to Herakles has been pointed out by d'Arbois. Miss Hull (op. cit.) and Alfred Nutt (*Cuchulainn, the Irish Achilles*, London, 1900, pp. 42, etc.), have further emphasized his traits as the solar hero. That he was known to other Celtic tribes besides the Irish has been shown by d'Arbois (*Rev. celt.* XIX, p. 245).

After a long series of combats with great loss of life, Medb finally secures possession of the Dun Bull which she drives away to Connaught. But hardly do the rival bulls behold one another than they begin to fight. In the end the Dun Bull is victorious, and escapes to Ulster with the remains of his enemy, Findbennach, on his horns. Immediately after his arrival, however, he utters one loud roar of triumph and, as Windisch translates, "*es brach sein Herz in seiner Brust.*"

The translation of Miss Faraday is based principally upon the text of the Leabhar na hUidhri, but where that MS is incomplete she has made use of the book of Lecan. Though intended for the general public, this translation deviates but little from the original text. One of the most valuable qualities of Miss Faraday's work is its honesty. Where she feels any doubt about the meaning of a word, she does not hesitate to make it known by the use of the question-mark. She has attempted, furthermore, to preserve the spirit of the original which, however, renders her translation somewhat incoherent and confusing at times. On account of the corrupt condition of the MS,¹ or for other reasons, she has frequently omitted entire passages, including some of the puzzling poems that are found interspersed in the text. These poems, which, by their complex and somewhat artificial construction, recall the Skaldic verses of the Icelandic Saga, are wisely left by Miss Faraday to the scholarship and ingenuity of Windisch and d'Arbois.

The bulky volume of Windisch is, after the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus of Stokes and Strachan, the most important contribution to Irish literature in the last ten years. The text given in this work is based on the Book of Leinster, though carefully controlled by the Book of the Dun Cow and other MSS. This is accompanied by a very careful literal translation which renders the reading of the volume somewhat tedious. However, as the work is destined primarily for scholars, this objection is of little importance. In addition to the copious notes there is a vocabulary of some 150 pp., containing in the main words not to be found in the dictionary published in the first volume of the *Irische Texte*. The introduction, numbering some ninety pages, contains an interesting discussion of questions, historical or otherwise, raised by the Tain, and a study of the merits of the different MSS.

The translation of d'Arbois de Jubainville is practically indispensable to one possessing either of the other two works in that it combines their important qualities: for it is as scholarly as that of Windisch and more readable than that of Miss Faraday. While carefully following the text, the author has nevertheless

¹ Apparently, for the fact that Miss Faraday was unable to consult other MSS, is her translation unsafe at times. Cf., for example, the description of the troops in the "Call of the men of Connaught to Cruachain Ai", "the prophecy of Fedelm", "the death of Loch mac Mofemis", etc.

succeeded in avoiding the unnecessary repetitions that render the reading of the other translations somewhat wearisome. Among the numerous interesting things brought out in the introduction, which covers thirty of the eighty-three pages contained in the *première livraison*, are the points of resemblance between the Tain and the Iliad. They are not many to be sure, but are nevertheless of importance, for almost all of the work of this scholar in the field of religion is of considerable value. Finally this translation contains several photographic reproductions of Celtic monuments in the Musée de Cluny at Paris and elsewhere. For the above reasons, this work assumes a high rank among the recent additions to Celtic literature; and it is therefore with great pleasure that we look forward to its completion.

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REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, VOL. XI.

Pp. 1-8. E. Wölfflin, Die Latinität der verlorenen Epitoma Livii. A notice of the dissertation of H. A. Sanders; see ALL. X. 563 and Sanders, Die Quellencontamination im 21 und 22 Buche des Livius, Berlin, Mayer und Müller, 1898.

8. E. Wölfflin, Prorsa, prosa. Prosa=prorsa, i. e. provorsa (oratio), in distinction from vorsa, or poetry. Quint. still retained the form prorsa, beside prosa. W. favors omitting the relative clause in *Quint. X. 1. 81, prorsam orationem, quam pedestrem Graeci vocant, since Quint. in four passages of Book I alone uses prosa without explanation. The definition is besides incorrect.

9-26. E. B. Lease, Zur Konstruktion von licet. See review in A. J. P. XIX. 214.

26. E. Wölfflin, Euphemismus als Grund der Ellipse. Such cases as ubi ad Dianae veneris, Ter. Andr. 582, may be assumed to have existed in very early times and are confined to the names of gods until the Ciceronian period. The omission was probably euphemistic in its origin, and no substantive is to be supplied; cf. εὐς Ἀιδου in Greek.

27-35. E. Wölfflin, Zum Asyndeton bei Sallust. The general subject is first considered. Bimembral asyndeton was very common in the Italic languages and is frequent in archaic and archaistic Latin. Cicero uses it but seldom, avoiding it especially in the case of verbs, but his example was not followed. Its use with the active and the passive of the same verb has been regarded as peculiar to Silver Latin, but occurs in Catull. 45. 20. Bimembral asyndeton with adjectives and substantives was avoided by the more careful stylists; cf. Don. on Ter. Ad. 990; but trimembral is common with verbs, adjectives and substantives. Asyndeton of four words is often divided into two parts by the use of words of similar meanings, by alliteration, by rhyme, and by similar devices. Sallust in his earlier work connects the second pair by atque, but later omits the conjunction, though retaining it when a third pair is added. When the pairs are in a disjunctive relation, they are connected by aut, and aut in the first pair should perhaps be deleted in some cases. He also uses praeterea, postremo, denique, etc.; rarely et, -que, and etiam.

Sallust uses bimembral asyndeton more freely than other writers of the same period. On account of his fondness for archaisms, it may be assumed that this was frequent in the lost prose works of the early period. His usage in his different works is not consistent, and it is impossible to reconstruct that of the Histories from his later imitators, on account of the impossibility of determining what is characteristic of S. and what is late Latin usage.

35-36. O. Hey, *Actutum*. For *at-tutum, "at a glance"; cf. *ad nutum* and *contutus*, *obtus*. The change of att- to act- may be due to popular etymology, which connected the word with the stem ag-. *Latrocinor*. *Lancino*. Suggests reading the latter word for the former in *Cels. i. praef.* (p. 7. 35 D), *mortui demum praecordia et viscus in conspectum latrocinantis* (*lancinantis*) *medici dari*, in the sense of "cut in pieces, dissect".

37-59. R. Fuchs, *Zu Serenus Sammonicus*. Agrees with Teuffel-Schwabe that S. follows the best models in his verse technique. This is shown by the variety which he gives to common expressions, by his use of poetical for prosaic terms (for *mare*: *pelagus*, *Doridis humor*, *Nereia lympa*, etc.), in his choice of epithets, of which an alphabetical list is given, and in his use of metaphorical language. An examination of his morphology and syntax follows.

59. R. Fuchs, *Zu Serenus Sammonicus V. 507*. For *scopulosa* would read *scruposa*, which is found in *Plaut. Capt.* 185.

60. E. Wölfflin, *Bracchium*. *Gracchus*. The original spelling was *brachium* and *Gracus*; the later forms were due to the analogy of *Bacchus*. According to the best MSS, *Gracci* is the spelling of *Quint. in I. 5. 20*.

61-70. W. Heraeus, *Zur Appendix Probi*. Some additions to the study of Carl Ullmann in *Vollmöllers Roman. Forschungen*, VII. 145-226, especially in the way of testimony to unusual forms of common words and the explanation of these by analogies found in the glosses.

70. W. Heraeus, *Lectiocisium*. This word, which is found in *Not. Tir. p. 97. 65 f. Schm.*, should be read in the *Servius-scholia* on *Verg. Aen. 8. 666*, instead of *laeta occisia*.

71-79. R. Helm, *Einige sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten des Mythographen Fulgentius*. F. was of African origin, and Latin was not his native language. This led him to use striking and unusual words, to give the impression of a command of the language which in fact he did not possess. His impression of the originality of the language and style of F. has led Helm to trust more to the MSS than previous editors, restoring to the text many words which had been called in question.

79-80. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Epitoma Livii*. Additions to the notes on the language on p. 1 ff. above.

81-85. C. H. Moore, *Dediticius, dediticiorum numero, daticius*. Notes on the signification of the first word. *Dediticiorum numero* occurs first in Gaius. *Daticius* must be recognized as a late Latin form (cf. ALL. V. 429), but *dedicius* (CGL. IV. 226. 9) may be a mere error in spelling, though such shortened forms are not uncommon; cf. ALL. V. 430 and 434.

86. J. Hausleiter, *Quingenta vota*. In the letter of Celerinus to Lucianus (Cypr. Epist. 21 Hartel) for *pro seduta* should be read *pro se D vota*, another example of the use of *quingenti* as a round number; see ALL. IX. 184.

87-97. G. Landgraf, *Ueber den pseudocyprianischen Traktat "adversus Iudaeos"*. This work cannot have been written later than the first half of the fourth century and is probably a century older. The form of the citations from the Bible, and the language and style, show that it was not written by Cyprian. It was written in Rome, evidently by an intimate friend of Novatianus, if not by N. himself.

98. A. Sonny, *Magis und minus ohne komparative Bedeutung*. In Catull. 62. 58, where S. would read *cara viro magis est, minus est invisa parenti*, *magis* and *minus* = *valde* and *non*. In 73. 4 *magis* has the same meaning, while in 66. 87 and 68. 30 it has the force of *Fr. mais*, *It. ma*. *Minus* = *non* is found in *quominus* and *si minus*, as well as in Cic. Div. 1. 24; Ter. Eun. 737; and elsewhere. *Quisquis* = *quisque*. An example from class. Lat. in Catull. 68. 28. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 6. 1. 1 Mendelssohn and CIL. I. 206. 13.

99-103. K. J. Hidén, *Lucretiana*. In 5. 1223 Lach. *membra* is not acc. of specification, but is the object of *corripiunt*. In 1. 317 *manus* is not acc. of specification, but is subject of the infinitive. An abl. *quique* was conjectured by Lachmann in 2. 372 and other instances are found in 5. 343 and 3. 700. It would be interesting to know whether this form is found elsewhere. An abl. *quod* is frequent in Lucr. in *quod si*, *quod nisi* and *quod quoniam*. Parallel to this is the use of *hoc* as an abl. of cause in the combination *hoc ubi*, of which nine examples are given, which are generally emended by the earlier editors.

103-104. G. Landgraf, *Der Accusativ des Zieles nach vocare und hortari*. The oldest instance of a supine in -um, which is an acc. of the goal, is *asom (assum) fero* on the *cista* from Praeneste. The use occurs in early Latin with *vocare* (citation in Cic. Mur. 26 and Plaut.), especially in the juristic language. It is also found with *ciere* and *hortari*, and from its use with the latter developed the rare use of the acc. of a substantive with *hortari*.

(inc. inc. fab. 63). This perhaps originated in military language. It is especially common in Statius.

105-114. H. Städler, Nachtrag zu den lateinischen Pflanzennamen im Dioskorides. A reply to the criticism of Wellmann (Festgabe für Franz Susemihl, 3. n) on the article in ALL. X. 83, (see A. J. P. XXVIII, 474), followed by a list of corrections based on a collation of codd. Constantinopolitanus and Neapolitanus in Vienna.

114. L. de Vasconcellos, Laticulus. This word, which is not found in the lexicons and supplements, is to be read in CIL. II. 2395.

115-118. A. Funck, Accrementum - accumbo. Lexicon articles.

119-134. Miscellen. K. Sittl, Nimbus, Heiligenschein. The definition of nimbus in this sense in Isid. Etym. 19. 31. 2 goes back to a number of passages in the Servius-commentary on Verg., all of which centre around the note on Aen. 2. 616. Der Namen Italiens. The Romans did not take the word *Ἰταλία* from the Oscans or from the colloquial language of Magna Graecia, which had a form with *F* (Osc. Viteliu). The Attic form was introduced by Livius Andr., Naev., Enn., and the annalists who wrote in Greek. *Ἰταλία* was first applied to the most southern part of the peninsula, and its scope was gradually extended between the fourth and the second centuries, B. C. It is first applied to the whole peninsula by Polybius. *Italicus* (*Ἰταλικός*) was not used as a genuine substantive. The Romans applied the term to the Allies during the Social War and called their capital *Italica* (instead of *Italia*). *Italus* was first a personal name; after the analogy of *Thessalus* it came into use through the poets of the Ciceronian and Augustan ages.

A. Döhring, Lat. an = atne. Supports this derivation (proposed by Skutsch, Forsch. zu lat. Gr. und Metr. 60) by an examination of the signification of the word in a number of passages.

W. M. Lindsay, Ueber die Länge des plautinischen "dat". The original inflection of *do* must have given **dös*, **döt*, which gave place to *das*, *dat*. In Plaut. Poen. 868 and less certainly in Most. 601 and Men. 101 we have *däs* and *dät*, while there are no cases in the genuine works of Plaut. of *däs*, *dät*. The vowel was therefore long in his time.

A. Souter, Addenda Lexicis Latinis.

A. Sonny, Totidem = eadem. In Catull. 92. 3 totidem mea is not to be explained, with Ellis, as coming from the game of the duodecim chartae, nor to be emended. There is a parallel in

Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 298, and in the expression *totidem verbis*. Through a similar confusion of the ideas of quality and quantity we have *totidem* for *itidem* in later Latin, while *tantumdem* = *idem* occurs as early as Juvenal (3. 298). The same confusion occurs in the use of Fr. *autant* and It. *altretanto*. *Multus*, einflussreich. In Catull. 112

Multus homo es, Naso, neque tecum multus homo . . .

Descendit: Naso, multus es at pathicus

would give to the first *multus* the meaning, "influential" (cf. Gk. *πολύς*), to *multus homo* that of *multi homines*, and to the last *multus* that of "tiresome", comparing Plaut. Men. 316. In the gap at the end of the first line would read *umquam*.

H. Dessauer, *Lupana*. Two examples of this word in Quint. Decl. 14. 3 and 14. 12 according to both classes of MSS, though not according to the oldest MSS: cf. A. J. P. XXVII. 465 and 470. If these works are earlier than Apul. Met., these are the earliest instances of the word.

L. Havet, *Coemptare?* Suggests *coemptabant* for *coemebant* in Cic. Verr. 4. 133 as better suiting Cicero's prose rhythm. The editor cites *promptare* from *promere*.

W. Heraeus, *Atribux*. There is perhaps a connection between C. Gl. IV. 22. 37, *atribux: senex atris buccis*, and Auson. Ep. 22. 19 (cf. ALL. X. 513). In Arnob. 3. 14 would read *atribuces* for *sacrivoces*. *Atribux* is lacking in the lexicons and supplements.

135-144. Review of the Literature for 1897, 1898.

145-148. Vom Archive und vom Thesaurus. Review of the past and plans for the future.

149-196. Th. Birt, *Das Arvallied*. A new interpretation as a prayer for the continuance of spring. B. reads as follows:

Enós Lasés iuváte. (ter)

• *Nevel vérvé Mármár síns incúrrere ín pleóres. (ter)*

Satúr fú fere Márs. Limén, salí; sta, vérvér. (ter)

Semúnís salí térnei ádvocápit cóncitos. (ter)

Enós Marmór iuvato. (ter)

The second line is rendered: "Do not, Mars, allow spring to perish (go over to the majority)". *Limen, sali; sta, verver* = "Gush forth, water; abide, spring". The fourth line means: "the *Salius* shall call thrice on all the *Semones*".

197-211. Edwards-Wölfflin, *Von dem sogen. Genetivus und Ablativus qualitatis*. Extracts from the dissertation of G. V. Edwards, *The Ablative of Quality and the Genitive of Quality*: New York, Evening Post Printing House, 1900.

212. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Epitoma Livii*. Notes on the deviations of the *Epitoma* from the subject matter of the original.

213-220. W. H. Kirk, *Ueber etiam und etiam nunc*. *Etiam* was first a temporal particle. Its meanings are not to be explained on the basis of varying accent in poetry, but on semasiological grounds. In Latin **eti* gave place to *etiam* as the clearer and fuller expression. The new word had only the meaning of the first member, but gradually assumed other than temporal meanings, such as "also, indeed". For greater precision other temporal particles were added: *etiam dum*, *etiam nunc*, *etiam tunc*. Of these only *etiam nunc* became colloquial usage. It displaced *etiam*, which reappears in the archaistic writers. *Etiam nunc* was also incorrectly used of past time, beside *etiam tunc*. From the time of Cic. *adhuc* is found with the force of *etiam nunc*. In Plaut. the two words are written separate; *etiamnunc* is not found until after the time of Cicero. Examples of *etiam* = *etiam nunc* in Cicero's letters are given.

221-249. Landgraf-Weyman, *Novatians epistula de cibis Iudaicis*. The text of the work on this subject found in cod. auct. Lat. I Q. v. 39, in the Royal Library at St. Petersburg, fol. 70-77, is printed with textual notes and parallels from the acknowledged works of Novatianus. The conclusion is reached that the work must be identical with that of Novatianus bearing the same title.

249. J. van de Vliet, *Olim oliorem*. Would read this, in the sense of *ipsa Antiquitate antiquiorem*, instead of *olim oliorum*, in Petr. 43. *Olim* is regarded as an indeclinable personal name. In the following *non mehercule . . . reliquisse* would insert *virginem* after *canem*.

250. A. Woltjer, A, ab bei Lucretius. Corrections of ALL. IX. 465 ff.

251-260. W. Bannier, *Zur Chronologie der Dichtungen Ovids*. Notes on Ovid's use of personal names, with conclusions drawn from this as to the dates of the *Metam.* and other works written before the poet's banishment.

261-264. E. Wölfflin, *Accumulate—accuro*. Lexicon articles.

265-276. Miscellen. M. Flemisch, *Zu Granius Licinianus*. If this writer's work is based on Livy, he must have used the *Epitoma*, which was made before 30 A. D. Instances of poetic diction and of archaistic Latin are pointed out in his work, some of the latter the result of emendation. A list of other emendations follows.

A. Zimmermann, *Römische Eigennamen*. Suggests that Titus means son, beside Tata, father. Then Titus Tatius would

mean "papa's son". The suffix -ar, frequent in personal names in Illyria, Messapia and Etruria, occurs also in Oscan and in Latin (gens Afraria, Caesar, etc.). Beside these there are forms without -ar (Kaeso beside Caesar). Hence -ar may be a dimin. suffix, derived from the stem *ap-* in *ἄριστος*.

O. Hey, *Zu den Tierlaut-Zeitwörtern*. Since the freq. and the simplex often appear side by side in these verbs (bombire-bombitare), in Tert. De Anima, 17, tonitru meditante, the correct reading may be mugitante, freq. of mugire. Ob civis servatos. This phrase on coins furnishes evidence for the persistence of the acc. in -is in the Augustan age. From the time of Tiberius cives prevails until after the fall of Nero, when the republican formula is revived, doubtless with premeditation.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, XXX (1906).

Pp. 5-30: Jean Lesquier, *Greco-Egyptian Deeds of Divorce*. A detailed study of the formulae employed in deeds of divorce found among the Greek papyri from Egypt.

Pp. 31-51: Georges Romain, *The Law of the Antepenultimate Foot in the text of Terence*. The law of the antepenultimate that was established for Plautus in a previous article (see A. J. P. XXVII 225), is shown to hold good for Terence also. According to this law, the arsis (unaccented part) of the fourth foot of the iambic senarius, of the fifth foot of the trochaic septenarius, and of the sixth foot of the iambic octonarius may not consist of an iambic word with shortened ultima (e. g. mihi), nor of a word that may become iambic by position (e. g. bonus), nor of two shorts that do not belong to the same word, nor of a short followed by a shortened long in a polysyllabic word (e. g. volup- in voluptatem), nor of the contracted forms mi, nil, dis, mis, ej, etc., for mihi, nihil, deis, meis, ei, etc. Of the 74 violations of the law in Terence, 50 readily yield to treatment, whilst the remainder are explained or corrected only with the exercise of considerable ingenuity on the part of the author.

Pp. 51-3: Pierre Boudreaux, *The Lexicon of Lucian*. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, pp. 317-48, published a *συναγωγή λίξεων χρησίμων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ* from the Coislinianus 345. Boudreaux recently made a new collation of this MS, and in the present article points out omissions and false readings in Bachmann's text, and furnishes many instances of failure on Bachmann's part to record in the critical apparatus emendations that he has incorporated in his text. Especially worthy of note are three hitherto unpublished scholia supplied by Boudreaux, and the full text of two other scholia, omitted by Bachmann and but

Pp. 54-7: Max Bonnet, On the Letters of Cicero to Atticus (books IX and XII). Critical notes and an expression of the desirability of establishing a uniform practice of relegating all conjectures, no matter how convincing, to the bottom of the page.

Pp. 61-70: J. Vessereau and P. Dimoff, Rutiliana. I. The Birthplace of Rutilius Namatianus. From the fact that the name of Rutilius is not found in the inscriptions from Poitiers and Toulouse, it is argued that R. was born in neither of these places. On the other hand, the mention, in the inscriptions, of five Rutilii, one Rutilianus, and one Exsuperantius at Narbonne, viewed in the light of the personal and historical allusions of the "de reditu suo", makes it probable that Narbonne was the birthplace of the author of that poem. II. The Date of Rutilius's Homeward Journey. The date given by the poet himself is 1169 A. U. C. This, according to the era of Varro, corresponds to 416 A. D., but, according to the era of Cato, to 417 A. D. In spite of the fact that the Varronian era was in general use among the Romans and is the era followed by modern historians, 417 A. D. was the date most generally accepted by scholars before Zumpt's investigations; but as a result of these investigations, 416 has come into general favor. Since the adoption of 416 A. D. leads to other difficulties, the authors of the present article have gone over the entire question anew, and they feel that, when viewed in the light of chronological and astronomical data obtained from other sources, the various allusions in Rutilius point to October 13 as the day of departure from Rome; that the fifteen days' stay at Porto extended from the 14th to the 28th; and that the day of embarkation was the 29th. Only the year 417 A. D. will fit these dates, so that it is likely that Rutilius, contrary to general usage, was following the Catonian era when he designated 1169 as the date of his departure from Rome.

Pp. 85-9. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die griechische Literatur und Sprache. Translation by M^{me} J. Weil of the Introduction of this work.

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—υ —υ—υ, —υ υυ—υ. Pichon gives a list of the instances of non-metrical close in the order of their occurrence, explaining or removing as many examples as possible. As stylistically important for Quintus Curtius is noted the fact that many of the exceptions occur in short sentences, the tone of which is more distinctly narrative than that of the longer sentences. From the point of view of literary history, Curtius's fidelity in the observance of the laws of rhythmical prose leads the author to assign the historian to a comparatively late date, to a period in which rhetoric dominated everything without regard to department.

Pp. 101-4: R. Dareste, *The δίκη ἐξούλης in Athenian Law*. Our knowledge of the *δίκη ἐξούλης* is derived almost solely from the ancient lexicographers; but the action taken by Plesidippus in the *Rudens* of Plautus (a translation of a play of Diphilus) against Labrax, who had sought to carry off Palaestra, the Athenian girl, after having sold her to Plesidippus and having accepted earnest-money from him, is of the nature of an *ἐξούλης δίκη*, and is made the subject of a careful analysis by Dareste.

P. 104: L. Havet, *Hirtius*, *bell. Gall.* 8, 4, 1. *Read tota instead of tot.*

Pp. 105-7: Georges Romain, *Aetna*. Verse 69 read *utrimque truces*; 119, *aut uno rursus* for *ac torrēs uno*; 395, *experiuntur* for *eripiantur*.

P. 108: B. Haussoullier, *Inscription from the Piræus*. H. republishes an inscription already edited with commentary by E. Nachmanson in *Athen. Mitth.* XXX, 391-8, and states that the stone on which the original inscription is found, is preserved in the Museum of Brussels.

Pp. 109-10: Aug. Audollent, *Tertullian de idololatr.* 8. *Read donum for domum* in the phrase *aut etiam domum fabricaueris*.

Pp. 111-22: A. Dieudonné, *Delian Account of Melichides*. The original of this inscription is preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles. A copy of it was published by Le Bas (*Voy. archéolog.*, No. 2092) in 1848, but Dieudonné presents a more exact and more complete copy together with a transliteration, in which many of the lacunae have been supplied. The text is followed by explanatory notes, chiefly of a prosopographic nature.

Pp. 122-3: M. Roger, *The Commentariolum in artem Eutycii of Sedulius Scottus*. The supposed *Codex Bobiensis* of Hagen is shown to be Par. 7830 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and hence *Sedulius' commentariolum* is known to us by only two MSS, the Zurich and the Paris.

Pp. 124-38: E. Rey, *On the Authenticity of Fortunatus' two poems De excidio Thuringiae* (App. 1) and *Epist. ad Artachin*

(App. 3), wrongly attributed to Saint Radegunda. In 1888, Ch. Nisard tried to show that the above-mentioned poems were written by Saint Radegunda and not by Fortunatus, as had been generally supposed up to that time. In 1891, after a partial but careful examination of the composition, style, and language of the poems, Lippert decided in favor of Fortunatus' authorship. Apparently unconvinced by Lippert, Em. Briand, whose biography of Radegunda appeared in 1898, adopted Nisard's view. Rey, to put an end to this superstition as he views it, undertook to complete the investigation begun by Lippert, and has shown that the style, composition, vocabulary, syntax, and versification of the *De excidio* and the *Ep. ad Artachin* possess exactly the same qualities, good or bad, that characterize the authentic works of Fortunatus, and he insists that the inflated pathos and the highly declamatory tone of the two poems do not at all harmonize with the genuine outpourings of a grief-stricken heart like that of Radegunda, but are just what would be looked for in a work of the Italian poet.

P. 139: C. E. Ruelle, *Orphica*, *περὶ λίθων*, 221 Abel. Read τὸν (= αὐτὸν) for the vulgate σὺν or for Schneider's σήν.

Pp. 139-40: R. de Labriolle, *On Tertullian, ad Uxorem I*, 4 (Oehler I, p. 674, l. 14). Tertullian is here not referring to widows but to virgins. Hence the text must be changed either by following the *Vindobonensis* and substituting *permissis* for *praemissis*, or else by returning to the reading of the earliest editions, *quae nulla formae vel aetatis occasione pressae maritis sanctitatem anteponunt*.

P. 140: Louis Havet, *Pomponius Mela* 3, 52. For *utuntur* read *uehuntur* and place *armati* after *uehuntur*.

Pp. 141-2: B. Haussoullier, *Archaic Inscription from Cumae*. In the inscription οὐ θέμεις ἐντοῦθα κείσθαι IME τὸν βεβαχχενόμενον published by Sogliano, *Atti della R. Acc. dei Lincei* 1905, *Notizie* II, p. 377 ff., H. thinks that IME stands for (ε)λ μή, and not for με as S. supposes. Haussoullier's idea is that those who had been initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus formed an association and erected the stone bearing this inscription to mark their portion of the burying-ground.

Pp. 143-60: *Reviews and Book Notices*.

Pp. 161-72: J. Bidez, *Fragments of an Unknown Greek Philosopher or Rhetorician*. Publication, with critical notes, of British Museum papyrus CCLXXV. B. used a photograph of the papyrus, and his text was carefully collated with the original by Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum, to whom, as well as to Mr. F. G. Kenyon, B. acknowledges the greatest obligations. The papyrus consists of two fragments, each of which is so badly

mutilated that not a single line has been preserved intact. The MS was written for the book-market in the third cent. A. D. It is a copy of a philosophical treatise on the duties and virtues of kings. There is no certain trace of a proper name. In a letter to Bidez, part of which is published here, Gomperz points out that there are no traces of post-Platonic philosophy in these fragments, but that there are unmistakable evidences of Socratic doctrine, and as he detects also numerous references to a king that exercised a world-wide dominion, he concludes that we may have before us the remains of a Socratic dialogue, the remains, perhaps, of the Cyrus of Antisthenes.

Pp. 172: Louis Havet, Phaedrus 3, 4, 6-7. For et . . . et read ut . . . ita.

Pp. 173-206: Louis Havet, Studies in the Eunuchus of Terence. Verse 1: Read si quisquam est *hic*, placere *qui* studeat bonis. 3: Omit hic. 4: Read dictum *prius* for *est qui* dictum. 7: Eadem for eadem. 8: Latina . . . bona for Latinas . . . bonas. 9: This verse should precede 7, and for nunc read nouam. 11: Comma should follow, not precede, aurum. 16: Comma after erret, and ut for et. 37 and 38 are intrusions. 41: Second dictum should precede quod. 44: Semicolon after silentio. 50-7: With Donatus and the ancient MSS place the sigla PA before 57, not before 50. 62: Read rationem for ratione. 67: Istaec for haec. 99: Tu for huc. 107: Samia is probably a corruption for some courtesan's name. 132: Heres for hanc. 152: The reading nil respondes mi? Tibin? is suggested. 158: Haec nunc uerba is a Hellenism and equals ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ῥήματα. 168: Place a period after repperi. 169: Semicolon after dedi. uiginti need not be changed to remove the apparent inconsistency between 169 and 984. 185: For "non fiet; hoc" read "non fiet aut;". 187: Period after ibo; ego for hoc. 190: Insert tu before Thais. 196: animus in this verse means feeling. 197: Read forsit for forsitan (so also in Andr. 957); also paruom for paruam. 202: Insert a second huius before causa. 207: Perhaps facito is to be read for fac ita. 211-2: Istuc and hoc refer to the same thing. 224: Uide quid agas is not intended for the master's ear. stat sententia forms the close of the master's soliloquy. 230: Insert haec after honesta. 231: Strike out hoc. 232: Put mark of exclamation after intellegens. 234: H. thinks that the key to the word hodie is contained in Menander's Colax. 238: me noti is the preferable order. 240: At the close read in te *esset* tibi. 245: For his read is. 250: At the beginning read s<et> et is. 251: For the first id read idem. 257: For "lanii, coqui" read "lanii, aucupes". The false reading is due to Cicero, who de officiis i, 150, under the influence of Trinum. 407, misquotes this verse of Terence. 260-1: A verse has dropped out between these two lines. 266: Read has for hanc. 267: Read St! for Sed. 273: An attempt to explain ne sis as a continuation of the reply Quia

tristi's. 289: Insert *hac* after *filium*. 291-2: Make one line of the two by striking out *nescio*. 299: *amare* is a corruption of *amo* <rem, e>re, which words originally stood before *dices* in 300.

Pp. 207-9: Louis Méridier, *A Commonplace of the Second Sophistic*. Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* § 18, gives the following advice to the prospective rhetorician: *ὁ Ἄθως πλείσθω καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος περυσίσθω καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν βελῶν σκεπείσθω*. Méridier thinks that the allusion to these incidents of the Persian war was a matter of tradition with the Sophists and that Lucian was indulging in a fling at the Sophists in general and at Aristides in particular; for in the *Panathenaicus* of Aristides there are references to the navigation of Mt. Athos and to the obscuration of the sun by the Persian arrows, and in both the *Polemarchicus* and the fifth eclogue of Himerius Lucian's advice seems to have been followed almost to the letter.

Pp. 210-7: A. Cartault, Horace and Tibullus. Cartault thinks that the Albius to whom Horace addressed *C. I.*, 33 and *Epist.* I, 4, is the poet Tibullus, but he is not satisfied with the superficial explanation given of these poems. So he presents what he considers to be a correct interpretation of them. He accepts the hypothesis that the anonymous mistress of Tibullus IV, 13, is the Glycera of *Hor. C. I.*, 33. Tibullus was particularly loud in his expressions of grief over the unfortunate termination of this love-affair with Glycera, and Horace bids him not to give vent to his feelings in miserable elegi. As a result of this advice, these elegi, though contemplated, were never written. These occurrences took place about 24 or 25 B. C. Tibullus now retired to the country to lead a life of seclusion. Horace, not having heard from him for some time, became uneasy about him, and addressed *Epist.* I, 4 to him, admonishing him to return to the gay life of the capital and to the pursuit of lyric poetry. In view of the fact that the greater part of the second book of Tibullus is devoted to Nemesis, it is not unlikely that Tibullus yielded to the advice of Horace, returned to Rome, and thereupon fell a victim to the charms of Nemesis, his last mistress.

Pp. 218-43: Paul Monceaux, *The Works of Petilianus*, Donatist Bishop of Constantine. Only a very small portion of the Donatist literature has thus far been published. In collecting the materials for a volume on Donatism, Monceaux has been able to recover a great deal of this literature, and in some cases, entire works. In the present article, he limits himself to the description and publication of one entire work of Petilianus, to wit, *Petiliani Epistula ad presbyteros et diaconos Donatistas adversus Catholicam*, the text of which, comprising twenty pages, has been extracted from Augustine's *Contra litteras Petiliani*. Petilianus was born of Catholic parents and confirmed in the Catholic church, but he was later won over by the Donatists, and,

though a lawyer by profession, was by them elected to the bishopric of Constantine. He soon became one of the leaders of the sect. At the celebrated Conference of Carthage, in 411, he played a leading rôle. Though the decision was adverse to the Donatists, Petilianus was unyielding. A few years later, he was present at a Donatist council. Of the remainder of his life, there is no record. His works comprise 1, The letter mentioned above, written about 400 or 399 A. D. 2, A long letter that constitutes a reply to Augustine's Bk. I, *Contra litteras Petiliani*. This second letter was written about 401, and the general contents together with some important fragments have been brought to light by M. 3, Other letters and a work on the Maximianist schism. About these we have but meagre information. 4, A treatise *De unico baptismo*, of which there remain considerable fragments. 5, A rich collection of minor speeches, which have survived intact.

Pp. 244-8: Reviews and Book Notices.

Pp. 249-70: Louis Havet, *Studies in the Eunuchus of Terence*. (Continuation from pp. 173-206.) Verse 306: Retain the order *prorsus sum oblitus*. 312: Omit sigla for Parmeno and read *siue adeo* in the sense of "or rather". 316-7: Exegetical notes. 319-20: For *precario* read "*pretio uel, Parmeno, | precario*", and for *nihil* read *nil*. *Flos ipsum* of the Bembinus may be correct, *flos* being neuter. 322: For *amisti* read *amisti isti*. 328: For *hanc* read *illam* (or *eam*) *hac*. 351: Retain *noui* of the MSS and for *ubi siet* read *ubist*. 353: Read *Quis iste tam potens cum tanto muneres?* 355: Read *quod dono huic contra donum*. 356: Not *tum* but *-ne* is to be omitted, and perhaps also *nam*. PA. should be placed before, instead of after, *hercle*. 370 (and 741): Read *illi* (archaic gen.) for *illius*. 371: Keep the order *illum esse*. 372: Read *illi* (adv.) for *illis* (illius). 375: Read "*facile ut pro eunucho . . . CH. Probe;*" instead of "*facile ut pro eunucho probes. CH.*" 377: Read *pote* for *potes*. 381: *fabā* means *planchet* here, not *bean*; *cuđetur*, will be stamped. 384: Read *despicatu, quae nos*. 385: *ab is*. 386: For *patri* read *pati* and for *fieri* read *pater*. 387: Perhaps *factum merito* (DG) is preferable to *merito factum*. 404: It is best to suppress *aut*. 409: Read *homo hominum* for *hominum*. 412: *inritare* for *inuidere*. 418-9: Instead of starting at *Di uestram*, Parmeno utters only *et illum sacrilegum!* 425: Read *quid <tu> ais, homo inquam inpuđens*. 447: For *tu* read *diu* and place it before *quod*. 451: at (DGF) is better than *ac*. 463: Read *Itur* for *itura* and put a period after *hodie*. *Bene pol fecisti hodie* is addressed to the soldier. 591: For *ita* read *iam*. 701: Retain *uestem* but place it before *is*, and read *mi* (D) for *mihi*. 772: Retain *satius est*. 781: Read *Tu hos statue hic*. 853: For *admisero* read *admisso*. 1037: Transpose the words *Audin tu hic quid ait?* to the end of the verse and assign them to the soldier.

Pp. 271-4: C. E. Ruelle, *Locus desperatus* in Aristoxenus, *Harmonics*, p. 40 Meib. Read τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβολαίας καὶ μέσης <καὶ τὸ παραμέσης> καὶ ὑπάτης τῷ αὐτῷ γράφεται σημεῖον. The νήτη ὑπερβολαίων of the Hypodorian (lowest) τόνος and the μέση of the Hyperphrygian (highest) τόνος are both designated by the same letter, and the same thing is true of the παραμέση of the Hypodorian τόνος and the ὑπάτη of the Hyperphrygian.

Pp. 275-85: Salomon Reinach, *The Tomb of Ovid*. The famous Italian humanist and poet Pontano relates that he had more than once heard George of Trebizond say that he had read in some good author that the citizens of Tomi had at public expense erected a funeral monument to the poet Ovid before the gate of their town. Rhodiginus (Lodovico Ricchieri), in his *Commentarii*, quotes the fragments of one Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius as his authority for the statement that the inhabitants of Tomi had erected a tomb to Ovid before the door of his house. Against Merkel and Crusius, who consider these fragments a fabrication of Rhodiginus, Reinach champions the cause of the Rovigo scholar. He claims that the information of both Pontano and Rhodiginus is traceable ultimately to Planudes as its source. The mutilated MS that Rhodiginus possessed and believed to be the work of Apuleius, was the work of a humanist of the 14th century. Its sources are two little treatises of the grammarian Apuleius (10th or 11th cent.); some charlatanic scholia on the *Ibis* of Ovid; and a Greek account of Ovid. The Pseudo-Apuleius of Achilles Statius is probably an incomplete and hastily prepared copy of the Rhodiginus Apuleius with fraudulent additions. In conclusion, Reinach expresses the opinion that two verses cited by Rhodiginus as Plautine verses, should be included by the editors among the fragments of Plautus.

Pp. 286-304: Paul Monceaux, *The Works of Petilianus*. (Continuation from pp. 218-43.) Summary of the contents and publication of the fragments of the *Epistula ad Augustinum*. The source of these fragments is Augustine's Book III *Contra litteras Petiliani*.

P. 305: Georges Romain, *Plautus, Captivi* 928. For *ex animo et cura* read *ex animo et corde*.

Pp. 306-7: Félix Gaffiot, *The first six verses of the Eunuchus*. Defence of the traditional reading against Havet, who treated these verses pp. 173 ff. (see above).

P. 308: Louis Havet, *Georgics* 3, 257. Read *fricat arbore costas | aequae hinc atque illinc, umerosque ad uulnera durat*.

Pp. 309-10: J. Marouzeau, *Emphasis by Separation*. Havet (*Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 225-32) established the fact that the effect of the separation of two words that compose a group, by one or

more unrelated words, is to emphasize one of the elements of the group. Marouzeau adduces examples to show that in the particular case of a group consisting of a qualifier and the word qualified, it is always the qualifier that is emphasized by the separation, no matter what its relative position to the intervening word or words.

Pp. 311-2: J. Marouzeau, On a certain Latin Construction. Marouzeau points out that in Terence, Ad. 590-1, with the current punctuation, there would be a violation of the rule uniformly observed by Plautus and Terence that in a relative clause, consisting of subject, copula, and predicate, the order of the copula and predicate is determined by the relative importance of the two. He therefore proposes to punctuate *unum quicquid, quod quidem erit, bellissimum | carpam* instead of "*erit bellissimum, | carpam*" and shows that his text is in every respect more satisfactory than the current one.

Pp. 313-24: Reviews and Book Notices.

Revue des Revues for the year 1905.

C. W. E. MILLER

BRIEF MENTION.

To be hopelessly behind the times means nothing more to me than the hopelessness of living until the pendulum swings back, until the whirligig comes round. The Fool's Paradise out of which you have been thrust is sure to become once more the Land of Beulah, if you wait long enough. The only question is whether it is worth while to wait. Some years ago a young scholar wrote contemptuously of the old theory of the subjunctive as the mood of the will and the optative as the mood of the wish, and hailed the new light of the stronger and weaker future. The old theory! How well I remember when the old theory was born and what a comfort it was to its godfathers, for the father did not seem so very proud of his offspring after all. And now the old theory returns again to reign in the pages of Stahl. I was one of the first on this side of the water to hail Westphal and Rossbach as the Great Twin Brethren who should deliver our souls from the troubled waters of the *μέτρα κατ' ἀντιπάθειαν μικρά*, and I was the first to seize the clue offered in Heinrich Schmidt's *Leitfaden*; and the system of metres incorporated in my Latin Grammar of 1872 was influenced by Schmidt. Others followed. Shortly afterwards, Professor John Williams White translated Schmidt and the great Hellenist Jebb adopted the new schemes in his monumental *Sophokles*. In 1885, the date of my *Pindar*, I still followed Schmidt without wavering—for the schemes of my *Pindar* are his—despite the jeers of the professionals at the standard raised by an amateur, a manner of metrical Schliemann. One professional, however, rejoiced to see Schmidt's day and that was Lehrs. The Dindorfian schemes had never given me much comfort and I had read my choruses by ear until the new lights came and then I found a certain charm in *συγκοπή* and *τομή* and fancied that I felt a certain *ῥθμος* in the logaoedics and the dactyloepitrites, very much, doubtless, as Hamerton's Frenchman enjoyed his own recitation of Tennyson's *Claribel*, 'vare Claribel lov lee-ess'. Even after the trumpet of doom had given forth some ominous notes, I was old-fashioned enough to ask what had become of the *ῥθμος* of the Horatian metres, and to feel a little shock at the irreverent way in which Wilamowitz treated the Glyconic (A. J. P. XVI 393).

Since then Professor White himself has become an enopliac. Since then like Horace's *adulta virgo*, this adulterous generation 'motus doceri gaudet Ionicos'. The *ἰακεῖρος* Ionian reigns in the

stead of the high-girt Dorian, and it is, as we shall see, only God's mercy that keeps the soaring heroic hexameter from flapping its wings to the tune of ἔμε δειλὰν ἔμε πασῶν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισαν. No wonder that a timorous soul who has no vocation for the part of a Pentheus mumbles the words of Teiresias in the Bacchae: οὐδὲν σοφίζομεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσι, and does homage to the antispast of which he once spoke disrespectfully (A. J. P. XIV 259), lest he like Pentheus be rent asunder. No Pentheus he, no Teiresias either, but a miserable Strepsiades, ἀπολλυμαι δειλαιοι κτέ.

It was in this humble frame of mind that I opened a recent number of the *Neue Jahrbücher* (April, 1908), and found the text of a lecture delivered by Professor FRIEDRICH MARX of Bonn, the successor of Buecheler, *Ueber die neueren Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der griechischen und lateinischen Metrik*. It is not exactly a case of the backward swing of the pendulum, it is not a case of the turn about of the whirlygig, it is not a case of *redeunt Saturnia regna*, but it is a vindication of the right of the modern scholar over against the abject submission now in fashion to the dictates of the ancient metricians. MARX is not one of those who yield to the πάτριος παραδοχαί with that same Teiresias, not one of those who say with him :

οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος
οὐδ' εἰ δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν ἡῦρηται φρενῶν.

As I owe to the retrogressive movement of the last few years my exile from the field of Pindaric study (A. J. P. XXVI 359), I may perhaps be pardoned for the interest I have taken in MARX's discourse, which is quite too popular for such a Journal as this, and for the following summary of the same.

After an introduction in which he tells of the fascination that metrical problems have exercised on the Greek mind from the beginning and in which he enumerates the recent additions to our large stock of metrical documents, additions which he does not esteem so highly as some others do, MARX proceeds to ask what is the value of all this tradition and gives a sketch of the modern history of metric. We must not underrate the moderns. There were, to begin with, the three great Britons, the three great fuglemen, Bentley in his editions of Horace and Terence, Porson in the Preface to his *Hecuba*, and Elmsley in his various commentaries. Of the discoveries of these great explorers, of the treatment of the close of the Latin senarius and septenarius, of the close of the Greek trimeter, the Porson

Law of the final cretic, the behaviour of the anapaest, of all this there is no trace in the old metricians and grammarians, any more, I would add, than there is any trace in the old grammarians of Scaliger's Law of the composition of Greek words, a discovery not to be overestimated in its reach. On the lines of Bentley and Porson, Gottfried Hermann, 'the greatest metrician and, as may well be maintained, the greatest philologist of the nineteenth century', built up his system, which culminated in the '*Elementa doctrinae metricae*', and built it up regardless of what the old metricians had to say. It was Hermann against Hephaestion and Hermann triumphant. It was not until the close of the last century that the reaction set in, that reaction which MARX considers a retrogression, and now it is practically Masqueray (1899) against Hermann, as it was Hermann against Hephaestion (cf. C. W. E. Miller, A. J. P. XX 331-3). There had been mutterings of the storm before. The eminent dean of French Hellenists, Weil, had given the signal of revolt and, in a dedication to Weil two years before the appearance of Masqueray's book, Wilamowitz, the archagitator, had praised the '*lux veteris doctrinae*' as opposed to the '*fatuus ignis et fallax novorum placitorum*'. The catchy measure of the Phalaecian which captivated Tennyson, 'O you chorus of indolent reviewers', the familiar hendecasyllabic, yields to Wilamowitz, as it yielded to Varro, an Ionic trimeter, and the Oxyrhynchos man read the verse the same way. <Death to the logaedic! '*Passer mortuus est meae puellae*'>. But what are we to do with Hephaestion who is followed by Masqueray, and who reads the Phalaecian as an iambic trimeter with initial antispast, — ◡ — ◡ | ◡ — ◡ — | ◡ — ? '*Lugete o veneres cupidinesque*'. Leo follows Wilamowitz, and Blass in his *Bakchylides* preaches a return to Hephaestion and Aristeides.

'Now what are we to hold', asks MARX, 'of the uninterrupted transmission <the apostolic, or better tactual succession> of metrical tradition'? As for the poets themselves, it is impossible to tell whether they had a clear and certain consciousness of the metrical laws they developed with such admirable feeling for the beautiful or whether it was all unconscious, all instinctive. We cannot tell whether the Attic poets of the fifth century had the same rhythmical and metrical conception as the poets of Sappho's time. As for Horace, MARX considers it an established fact that he owed his metrical knowledge to what we should call scientific study. 'Nor is there the least doubt', continues MARX, 'that with the annihilation of Athens at the end of the fifth century, the old tradition went to pot'. The second verse of the elegiac distich we call a pentameter; and so did Hermesianax, who flourished in the fourth century (see K. F. Smith, A. J. P. XXII 165). But this so-called pentameter is a measure based on the mechanical

division of the verse into two dactyls, a spondee and two anapaests, and this measurement <of which unsparing fun used to be made> has actually found an advocate in recent times, Herr Schultz in the *Hermes* of 1900. To be sure, Augustin read the verse with a pause of two morae at the middle and of two morae at the end, but this <which we used to regard as a glimmer of the truth> Schultz looks upon as a proof of the decline of a sound tradition. 'He who accepts Hermesianax's reading of the pentameter', says Marx, 'ought to welcome the gentleman in Marius Victorinus VI 73, 25, who reads, *Zeὺς δὲ θεῶν ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο τερ-πικέραυνος*—trochee, iambus, pyrrhic, spondee. — — — — — — — — — — . This is no more absurd than the addition of an anapaestic marching rhythm, a dipodic structure, to a dactylic singing rhythm, a monopodic structure, as is postulated in the Hermesianactic pentameter.'

Much stress is laid by MARX, as by everybody else, though not in the same way, on the testimony of Aristotle, *Rh.* III c. 8 in which he rejects for prose rhythm the dactylic movement because it is *σεμνός* (*A. J. P.* VII 407; cf. Verrall on *Choëph.* 973), 1 : 1, the iambic because it is *λέγεις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν*, 2 : 1, and the trochee likewise, 2 : 1, because it is *κορδακικώτερος*, whereas he recommends the paeon which belongs to the third rhythmical *γένος*, the *ἡμιόλιον*, 1½ : 1, the paeon primus (— — — —) being suitable for the beginning, the paeon quartus (— — — —) for the close of a sentence, inasmuch as the rhythm does not strike the ear so plainly as the others. This Aristotle speaks of as a new discovery of his own, which shows that as far back as Aristotle metre was based on scientific investigation, not on living tradition. Is the Macedonian right? He asserts not only that no verses are made of paeons, and hence the value of the rhythm for prose, but he does not recognize the equivalence of the cretic and the paeon <though Cicero does so distinctly> and has committed thereby a grave blunder according to MARX and one that has propagated itself down to our day. It appears from the Hymn on the Pythian Apollo 517 that the *ληπαιῶν* and the *Κρητικὸν μέλος* are identical and the name *Κρητικόν* is vouched for by Kratinos 222 K. There is no distinction between the paeon and the creticus as we see from the inscriptional Delphic hymn, which is accompanied by the notes and so forms the best commentary on the Homeric hymn. Now this cretic cannot be separated from the last metron of the iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter catalectic — — — . Verses are made of paeons after all, but the hemiolion proportion 2 : 3 is available only for prose, not for poetry. We are, therefore, not bound by the authority of Aristotle or by the authority of any ancient metrician. The cretic is equal to the paeon and represents not $\frac{2}{3}$ but $\frac{3}{2}$ time. The inscriptional Del-

phic hymn has unfortunately no notes designating the quantity, which would settle the matter finally so that the editors who have transcribed the hymn into modern musical notation have done so now in $\frac{1}{2}$ now in $\frac{3}{4}$ time.

These errors of the ancient metricians furnish, according to MARX, ample justification of Gottfried Hermann's rejection of their authority. The poets themselves supply the material. The ancient metricians are not guides. They are only fellow-workers. The knowledge of the old metric and the old music perished with the poets themselves and the later imitators made something new out of the traditional metrical schemes <The *Pegaseium nectar* of Sappho becomes the cut-loaf sugar of Horace, as I have somewhere described the process>. Metrical science began to be fruitful only when the searcher freed himself from the doctrine of the old metricians, and what is true of Greek poetry is true of Latin also. Of the subtle laws of Latin scenic poetry, no Latin grammarian knows anything. Phaedrus <perhaps, however, because he was a Greek (A. J. P. XV 520)> was not acquainted with the fine points of the earlier craftsmen. By the close of his verse Apuleius shows that he is a 'Numida' and 'semi-Gaetulus' and Avienus in the fourth century is guilty of populus and agére, the most un-Latin of all accentuations. On the other hand, Aristotle is triumphantly right as to the law of prose; and the paeon measured as he measured it, in $\frac{1}{2}$ time, does not suggest poetic rhythm, for this time was entirely alien to poetry or at all events was as rare as it is in modern music <where it actually occurs. See Pindar I. E. lxvi, though the occurrence has been otherwise interpreted>. On this whole matter of the clausula much time and labor has been spent of late <and one cannot well see how an editor of an ancient orator could afford to neglect it (A. J. P. XXV 227). See Kroll's new ed. of Cicero's Brutus and compare K. F. Smith's summary of Zielinski, A. J. P. XXV 453 foll.>, but MARX thinks that we have not learned much more than the ancient rhetoricians have taught us. Still something is to be gained from the study of the prose usage for the appreciation of the metre of the poets. The ditrochaeus, a favorite clausula of the orators, must have had quite a different character from the verse closes that are apparently fashioned in the same way. The ithyphallicus is to be read — ∪ — ∪ — —, the ionicus — ∪ — ∪ — — and the acatalectic trochaic verses that ought to end in a ditrochaeus are not at all in use as one can see from the metres of Terence <LG⁸ 769, 774 Note>.

And here I should like to discontinue my summary of MARX, satisfied as I am with his vindication of the rights of modern

analysis. So far I am in sympathy with him. As well reject Penrose's measurements of Greek architecture, because his mathematical formulae cannot be found in any ancient author. But the next step is somewhat disillusioning to one who has dealt with all the schemes that are set forth in my Pindar. 'Are we justified', asks MARX, 'in taking our modern rhythmical sense and our modern musical notions as a standard for the analysis of Greek and Roman metres'? 'This is', as MARX says, 'a question of great, in fact, of fundamental importance'. The Ayes and Noes are both equally confident. Lehrs f. i. flew in the face of tradition when he measured the iambus and trochee not as $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ but as $\frac{3}{4}$ and the cretic likewise. To Gottfried Hermann *χρυσία φόρμιγξ* 'Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἰσπλοκάμων <my beloved dactylo-epitrite> was a mixture of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ times — — — — —. The opposition to Hermann came from Apel, a literary fellow, not a philologist at all, who made an energetic demand for unity of time, for the reduction of the dactyl to $\frac{1}{2}$ time; and in substantiation of his claim, he appealed to the notorious passage of Dionysios de Comp. c. 17, where the cyclic anapaest is mentioned. According to MARX the passage of Dionysios has nothing to do with the question in hand. Meanwhile, a real philologist had taken hold of the doctrine of the equality of the bars and Boeckh's famous de metris Pindari (1811) <which was a terrible shock to the Graeca Maiora people> demanded 'unitatem variorum temporis articulorum', for 'sine temporis aequalitate, quem nostri tactum vocant, rhythmica compositio ulla nec recitari queat nec cantari nedum saltari. <Ernst von Leutsch, who manducted me into the study of metres, was a passionate dancer before gout laid him by the heels, and 'nedum saltari' meant a good deal to him.> 'The various ways in which, since the days of Boeckh, the uniformity of time has been restored', says MARX coldly, 'have only a mathematical interest'. Especially noteworthy, however, is Boeckh's reference to the remains of Aristoxenos, the most renowned musical theorist of antiquity, and to his doctrine of *ἀλογία* and *ἀλογος*, which Boeckh applied to the ancipites at the end of the trochaico-iambic μέτρα. This theory was taken up by Westphal and Rossbach, who sought to bring about a mediation between the Hermannian view and the Boeckhian. Hermann thrust the ancient metricians aside. Westphal hoped everything from Aristoxenos, a hope which MARX thinks has been frustrated <a sad verdict to one who recalls the interest the book inspired and the indignation with which the slighting expression 'one Aristoxenos' was once resented, A. J. P. XI 126>. 'The scant remains of Aristoxenos', says MARX, 'throw no light on the most important questions and problems nor the new fragments either'. We are in a region of possibilities, not probabilities. Aristoxenos, like Aristotle, is only a fellow theorist. His reputation as an historian has suffered scath and so he may be quite as untrustworthy when he writes on music.

After Westphal new paths were sought. The new paths turn out to be the old paths. In his memorable study of the inscription of Isyllos of Epidauros, Wilamowitz, treating of the ionic in the lyric poets, returns to the old metricians. He disdains to prove that the choriambus has the same value as the ionicus ('not to be proved', says MARX). He simply declares the choriambus a legitimate anaklasis of the ionicus and assumes ionic verses in which the pure ionicus is everywhere forbidden and the second foot is always choriambic. This doctrine MARX declines to accept as he declines to follow Otto Schroeder, who resolves the dactylo-epitrites into ionic as did the ancient metricians. Here, for once, MARX is in sympathy with Boeckh, who demands as a basis the proof of pure ionic in Pindar: *Apage cum ionico cuius nullum extat in Pindaricis certum exemplum.* The ionicus has so many forms that with Schroeder's Ionicum maius — — ∪ ∪, minus ∪ ∪ — —, and medium — ∪ ∪ —, syllaba anceps, and anaklasis, you can make anything out of anything. Why not work upon the dactylic hexameter as an ionic verse? *Μῆριν αἶδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος* = Ionicum medium + minus + medium + minus: — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ ∪ — — | — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ ∪ — —? But Schroeder looms so large on the metrical field that MARX wisely declines to go into further detail, and simply remarks that no certain ionicus has been established and that the longs are never resolved, so that in the epitrites we have to do with dactyls and not ionic. That these dactyls occur now with anakrusis, now without, is too familiar a fact to excite astonishment. The same *κῶλα* appear with and without anakrusis. The anakrusis is a mere accident.

One of these anakrusic series, however, has proved fateful, the Enoplios, which has started an enopliac mania. This Enoplios Herkenrath has followed through all Greek literature, 'thorough bush, thorough brier'. Said Enoplios is found in Archilochos, *Ἑρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε* preceding an ithyphallicus of ominous content *χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον*. This is imitated by Kratinos in his Archilochoi, *Ἑρασμονίδη Βάθιππε τῶν ἀπορλείων*, and Herkenrath makes two forms of *ἐνόπλιοι*; a *Χαρίλαε* Enoplios and a *Βάθιππε* Enoplios. 'All this is very uncertain', says MARX. Proper names play the dickens with metres <as well as with etymology.>

But let us go back to the question: Have we a right to assume that the different *γένη* were reduced to a uniformity of time? Have we a right to assume an equality of bars? MARX answers that question with an emphatic No. There is no woe upon us to prolong the first syllable of the epitrite ∪ ∪ — —, as is done in my Pindar. Why not regard the final long as a sign of the close,

as a pause. In *πυρφόρος* δε τότε *μαυρομένη* ξὺν ὀρμῇ — — — — — *πυρφόρος* is a good honest dactyl, not a so-called cyclical dactyl. True, we have shortened dactyls in the iambic-trochaic verses of tragedy, but there we find an external sign. The two shorts must be connected with the following long <for MARX makes no allowance for the difference between song and recitation>. Indeed, he scouts Boeckh's argument for the unity of the bar, based on the impossibility of singing or dancing such choral verses with two kinds of measure. We know nothing about the way in which the choruses were delivered and MARX thinks that there is no evidence that dactyls were ever danced and expresses his conviction that the iambico-trochaic measures, the tripudiant measures, so to speak, were the only jiggling ones.

The rest of the paper is taken up with the subject of Latin metres, which lies beyond my competence even more hopelessly than that of Greek metres.

The high hopes, with which I began the reading of MARX's lecture, were dashed by the close. It is a pity for me that the two parts hang together. In 1850 Theodor Kock published a programme on the Parodos in Tragedy. The paper attracted some attention, and when I was a student in Bonn, 1852-3, I heard Kock's Parodos discussed by two authorities on the same day, in the morning by Leopold Schmidt, in the afternoon by Friedrich Ritschl. Each of the critics rejected one half, but it was not the same half. If I could only have 'dimidiatus Marcius.' As it is, I can only renew the plaint of eight years syne, when I found the 'choriambus cantering over my head once more, and heard the triple watch-dog growl of the molossus and saw the banished antispast come back, the two long arms waving triumphant flippers at either end'.

The demonstrative pronouns need all the attention they have recently received (A. J. P. XXVII 327), and it is to be hoped that impressionistic formulae will be corrected or confirmed by exhaustive statistical research, for which indexes will not always avail. Indexes are so apt to leave out the very thing one wants to know (A. J. P. XXVI 237). Accepted doctrines are not always worthy of all acceptation. So the accepted doctrine of the increasing use of prepositions is subject to serious modifications (A. J. P. XXV 106). Syntax seems to be a constant interchange of growth and blight. The impressionist puts forth rules,

which the statistician withers with his North wind's breath. When I said in my *Problems in Greek Syntax* (A. J. P. XXIII 124), 'It is only in dramatic style that $\delta\delta\epsilon$ can make head against $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and it is the large use of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ that gives so much of the conversational tone to the discourse of Herodotos', I was not dealing wholly in impressionistic syntax, for I had run trial trenches here and there, but I have long desiderated exact figures. True, the predominance of $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in prose is so patent from indexes that it is not worth discussing except for those who must have exact proportions; and on the other hand in tragedy $\delta\delta\epsilon$ clearly turns the tables on $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, as any rough count will show. For instance, $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in the *Antigone* yields only 42 per cent. as against 58 for $\delta\delta\epsilon$; in the *Prometheus* $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is to $\delta\delta\epsilon$ as 29 : 71. In the *Orestes* $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$: $\delta\delta\epsilon$:: 23 : 77, and in the *I. T.* there are four times as many $\delta\delta\epsilon$'s as $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$'s (A. J. P. XXVII 327), so that a mechanical soul might be tempted to suspect the iambic metre, in which $\delta\delta\epsilon$ has manifestly a great advantage over $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$. $\delta\delta\epsilon$ yields a great array of trochaic forms and convenient monosyllables against the beggarly account of $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau(a)$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau(a)$. Add the gesture of the stage, the shift of $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta\delta\epsilon$, say, from the right hand to the left, and the thing becomes perfectly simple, if it were not for Aristophanes. But a glance at the old Caravella index of Aristophanes will effectually dispel any illusion as to the predominance of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ in iambic metre because of the iambic metre. Iambic metre may delight in words with a short penult, but there are other considerations besides *metri causa*; and crimes are committed in the name of metrical slavery as well as in the name of civil liberty. Why, I read but the other day that $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ is excluded from Homer simply because of the pyrrhic form which does not lend itself to the verse as does $\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$. What metrical disability clings to $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ 'they say'? $\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ do not cover each other any more than $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, and the trochaic $\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ could no more have expelled the pyrrhic $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ than the trochaic $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ has expelled the pyrrhic $\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$. But not to dwell on such *φλυνάραι*, to use a mild expression, the contrast in numbers between $\delta\delta\epsilon$ and $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in tragedy and comedy is sensible enough, but it would be dangerous to generalize as to the contrast in usage. True, we should expect greater exactness in comedy, as comedy comes nearer to real life, but even in conventional ranges of prose the shifts between $\delta\delta\epsilon$ and $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ give trouble. They have f. i. given trouble to the latest commentator on Isaios. See Wyse on Isai. 4, 3, 3. $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is prevalently 'the party of the other part', but $\delta\delta\epsilon$ may be 'our friend, the enemy', 'our dearest foe', and so = $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$. At all events I must say to myself *μεταποίησον*, and for 'dramatic' read 'tragic'. As for $\delta\delta\epsilon$ in Herodotos, I have not been at the pains to count; but one of my former students, Dr. LEUTNER, a trained observer, has taken the trouble to tabulate the occurrences of the three demonstrative pronouns in Herodotos and Thukydides, and from his figures (reproduced in

Section VIII below) it appears that there is a vast excess of $\delta\delta\epsilon$'s in Herodotos as compared with Thukydides. And this excess becomes more striking if we consider the necessary limitations of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ in historical composition. In historical composition the range of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ is restricted to the speeches and to the personal statements of the author, such as the introductions of the different speakers, such as the Thukydidean $\delta\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\delta\epsilon$, $\delta\delta\epsilon\ \delta\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ of which so much has been made (A. J. P. I 241). According to a strict account, we should have to consider the frequency of the speeches, which is much greater in Herodotos, and the bulk of the speeches, which is much greater in Thukydides, and it might be well to ask how far one advantage offsets the other. But the main point that comes out from Dr. LEUTNER's statistics is after all not merely the large percentage of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ in Herodotos, but the overwhelming excess of the demonstrative element as a class. This is clearly due to the $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ in which Herodotos indulges so freely. In the $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ the demonstrative pronouns lend verbal gesture to the story-telling of the prose rhapsodist and heighten the dramatic effect. But here I give way to Professor MILLER, who suggested the research of Dr. LEUTNER, and who has himself worked out a series of tables that cannot fail to interest the student of statistical syntax.

I

II

III

IV

All demonstrative expressions of the types $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\delta\epsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$

Pp.					Speeches				Eliminating Speeches				Elim. also demons. introducing and resum. speeches			
	Th. 1		Hdt. 1		Th. 1		Hdt. 1		Th. 1		Hdt. 1		Th. 1		Hdt. 1	
	87	112.5			23.5	19			58.5	98.5			58.5	98.5		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$	285	60	884	77	67	49	127	65	168	67	707	80	155	69	658	84
Per p.	2.70	7.41		2.74	2.35	6.68		2.80	2.87	7.56		2.63	2.65	7.04		2.66
$\delta\delta\epsilon$	86	22	190	18	43	31	46	23	43	17	144	16	29	13	90	12
Per p.	.99	1.68		1.71	1.51	2.42		1.60	.74	1.54		2.08	.50	.96		1.92
$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$	68	18	55	05	23	20	23	12	40	16	32	04	40	18	32	04
Per p.	.78	.49		.63	.98	1.21		1.23	.68	.94		.50	.68	.94		.50
Total	389	100	1079	100	133	100	196	100	251	100	883	100	224	100	780	100
Per p.	4.47	9.59		2.16	4.84	10.32		2.18	4.29	9.44		2.20	3.88	8.84		2.18

V

VI

VII

VIII

Only the Declensional Forms of οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος

Pp.	Th. i Hdt. i				Th. viii	Th. i-vii Hdt. i-ix				Th. i-viii	Hdt. i-ix				Ratio of Hdt. to Thuc.
	87		112.5			598		728			601		728		
	Number	%	Number	%		Number	%	Number	%		Number	%	Number	%	
οὗτος	178	58	607	78	182	81	1086	66	4577	82	1218	63	4577	82	
Per p.	1.99		5.98		2.98	2.48	1.97		6.30		2.08		6.30		8.10
ὅδε	82	21	134	16	10	04	282	17	708	18	272	15	708	18	
Per p.	.71		1.19		1.68	.18	.50		.98		1.94		.98		2.18
ἐκεῖνος	61	21	50	06	33	15	287	17	285	06	300	17	285	06	
Per p.	.70		.44		.63	.44	.51		.89		.76		.89		.78
Total	296	100	861	100	225	100	1565	100	5870	100	1790	100	5570	100	
Per p.	3.40		7.54		2.22	3.00	2.98		7.67		3.57		2.98		3.67

C. W. E. M.: As Dr. LEUTNER had counted only the declensional forms of οὗτος, ὅδε and ἐκεῖνος and for Thukydides had depended on von Essen's Index, it seemed worth while to make an independent investigation of at least one book each of Thukydides and Herodotos. The books chosen—the first book of each author—are both long books and both contain speeches. In introducing speeches Thukydides usually employs ταύδε, Herodotos almost invariably τὰδε, and this fact led to the inclusion of all the coördinate demonstrative pronouns. Dr. LEUTNER counts adverbial ταύτη. Why not οὗτος? Why not ὅδε? Why not ἐκεῖνος? But these carry with them all the other cognate expressions, including ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθάδε, ἐκεῖ, ἐννεύθεν, ἐνθίνδε, ἐκείθεν. The task might have been lightened by depending upon von Essen, but indexes are full of pitfalls, and von Essen's, though an excellent index, exhibits some droll peculiarities. Twenty-eight instances of κακείνος, etc., and τὰκεῖ, etc., are recorded under κ and τ respectively, and similar curious arrangements are noted elsewhere. To satisfy in part the conditions of the research as stated by Professor GILDERSLEEVE, a separate investigation of the speeches was made and the results recorded in Section II. The speeches and letters of Herodotos being of varying length, some of them consisting of only a few lines, it was necessary to count the lines and reduce them to the old Teubner page of 32 lines and to count solid pages instead of making use of the printed number.

It will be observed that Section II shows a very decided shift in the relations of the demonstrative expressions in the speeches, and this disturbing factor is eliminated in Section III. But the number of speeches must also be considered. As the speeches are much more numerous in Herodotos than in Thukydides, 96 : 16 for the first book, and as they are frequently introduced by a demonstrative of the *ὅδε* order followed by a resumptive *ταῦτα* or the like, Herodotos has a decided advantage over Thukydides ; so that it becomes necessary to eliminate these introductory and resumptive demonstratives. Of the 16 speeches of Thukydides 14 are introduced by the *ὅδε* class, 13 followed by the *οὗτος* class, whilst of the 96 speeches of Herodotos 51 are introduced by the *ὅδε* class, 52 are followed by either *οὗτος* (49) or *ὅδε* (3), 45 having no introductory and 44 no resumptive demonstrative. These results are presented in Section IV. A separate count of the declensional forms of *οὗτος*, *ὅδε* and *ἐκεῖνος* without their cognates and cōordinates only emphasizes the fact that, in comparison with Thukydides, *οὗτος* runs far ahead of *ὅδε* in Herodotos, as may be seen by comparing Section I with Section V.

H. L. W.: Every student of the dawn which immediately precedes the full daylight of history has been perplexed now by the real or apparent lack of harmony in his sources, now by the difficulty of distinguishing legend from fact, and again by the entire absence of testimony of any kind on a given point. In no field is this more truly the case than in Italy, where tradition and archaeological remains bear witness to a variety of ethnic divisions, whose origin, character, influence, and domain are known to us, with few exceptions, only in the most shadowy outline. On this period of pre-Roman Italy new light has been shed by Professor ETTORE PAIS in a series of geographical, topographical, and historical studies, which have been published before either as monographs or as contributions to various Italian journals, but are now brought together for the first time, furnished with illustrations, and translated into English by C. DENSMORE CURTIS (*Ancient Italy*, by ETTORE PAIS: University of Chicago Press, 1908. 441 pp., \$5.24 postpaid). The limits of space forbid me to enter into the details of the twenty-six chapters which compose the book: perhaps the most interesting are the first on Ausonia and the Ausonians, and the twenty-first and twenty-second, which occupy more than one quarter of the volume and deal with the Siceliot, Italiot, Samnite, and Campanian elements in the earliest history of Rome. The author subjects the ancient authorities to careful and minute criticism, supplements literary testimony with topographical and archaeological evidence, and makes an especially effective use of the study of local names.

The work of the translator is in the main satisfactory, but his principle of adhering as closely as possible to the Italian form of presentation has occasionally resulted in the production of English which is neither idiomatic nor easy to read. A good map, too, and some indication of the original place of publication of each chapter would have enhanced the usefulness of the book. To criticize these faults, however, is "velut si egregio inpersos reprehendas corpore naevos"; for the book, which is admirably printed and well bound in cloth, is worthy of a place in the library of every classical scholar.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—An edition of the *Historia Trojana* by Guido delle Colonne is in course of preparation by Dr. NATHANIEL E. GRIFFIN, of Princeton University, whose dissertation on *Dares and Dictys* was noticed in this Journal (XXVIII 437).

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—STAHL'S SYNTAX OF THE GREEK VERB.

SECOND ARTICLE.

Tenses.

Stahl's treatment of the tenses begins with a definition of 'Zeitart' and 'Zeitstufe', variously rendered into English. 'Kind time' answers fairly well for the one, 'sphere of time' for the other (S. C. G. 184). 'Aktionsart', as might be expected, does not suit Stahl's definition of the verb. 'Every verb', he says, 'does not involve action'. But it may be said that every verb involves manifestation, and there is no manifestation without some kind of motion, emanation, if you choose to call it so. Stahl's 'Erscheinung' does not escape the eternal flux. 'Dauernde Erscheinung'—the flux keeps up. 'Vollendete Erscheinung'—the flux is frozen. 'Erscheinung an u. für sich'—that is the flux wherever you strike it. These are the 'Erscheinungen' known as present stem, perfect stem, aorist stem. Under the head of reduplication Stahl calls attention to a fact which he considers of significance; to wit, that certain compound verbs use only the simple perfect. So, for instance, *τίθηκα* serves as perfect to *ἀποθήσκει*. There is nothing new in the theory that in a number of compound verbs the prepositions have lost their local sense wholly and serve merely to intensify. But that is largely a matter of personal sensitiveness and much yet remains to be done in this whole domain. The main thing here is that in the perfect Stahl sees nothing more than a certain strengthening of the meaning, a certain intensity which he recognizes as the original force of reduplication. The suffixes that go to form the present stem

may have had to do with the kind of time originally, but the primal force does not work uniformly and what we attribute to the suffix may belong to the root and, of course, under this head he pays his respects to the *-σκω* verbs, those inchoatives that Latin taught us to regard as inchoatives (Curtius G. V.¹ 284; A. J. P. XIV 258). The important thing, it seems, is to consider whether the verbal notion has to do with a 'condition' or an 'event' (A. J. P. XXIX 270). The present stem turns an 'event' into a 'condition', the aorist a 'condition' into an 'event'. As for the aorist, Stahl objects as others have done to 'punktuell' (A. J. P. XXIX 238) as characteristic of the aorist, inasmuch as the use of the aorist in *μάλα πολλά πλάγχθη* and *μυρτ' ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν*, the use of the aorist with high numbers, excludes the conception of concentration in a point. The only possibility is the 'an und für sich' formula, which, be it said, has the great advantage of being as empty as the traditional aorist. 'Momentary' fails to satisfy him as it has failed to satisfy others (S. C. G. 243). Nor are we to consider 'perfective' as the original signification. The imperfect is quite as 'perfective' as the aorist. 'The kind of time of the aorist is a negative one', says Stahl. That being so, he might have added, the much maligned aorist is really more to the purpose, not to say to the point, than 'an und für sich'. 'The aorist', he continues, 'though an original tense, shows some historical development especially in the passive forms which, as we have seen, were originally intransitive (S. C. G. 137) and the perfect grows under our eyes'. The *-κα* form originally confined to the vowel stems as in Homer, Hesiod and Pindar spreads visibly to dentals, liquids and nasals; and the use of the perfect extends more and more until the height is reached in Isokrates and Demosthenes (no figures). Isokrates and Demosthenes, it might have been remarked, are orators, of whom perfects are to be expected (A. J. P. XXIII 248), for oratory stands nearer to practical life. The drama, it is true, is handicapped by the verse but, for all that, Aristophanes does not shun the perfect, and the resurrected Menander has it. Many verbs, indeed, form no active perfect. Stahl gives a list. He ought to have added, 'none that can be proved' (A. J. P. XXIII 249). Literary evidence must be supplemented by linguistic imagination.

Under the sphere of time—the 'Zeitstufe'—with its past, present and future, Stahl distinguishes between relative sphere of time and absolute sphere of time—the absolute sphere of time

being that of the speaker. This is not pernicious nonsense like the Hoffmann distinction (A. J. P. XXVII 109), but one does not admire everything that is harmless. How can that be absolute which is relative to the speaker? The augment being the sign of the past sphere of time, the unaugmented forms were left in charge of the other spheres of time, and among these forms the future. If the Greeks had not been such adventurous spirits they might, like so many others, have been content with the present indicative, but a seafaring people, who were always yearning to pass the pillars of Herakles, they were not satisfied with the conative present and pressed forward to an indicative future form—a form that is not indicative, beyond dispute (A. J. P. XXIX 267). Why an indicative future form at all? That the future was originally a mood, a fellow of the other future moods, subjunctive and optative, that it retains its modality in the participle throughout (A. J. P. XXVIII 352), that it has not ousted the other infinitives from futural expressions (S. C. G. 326), that it has not ousted the other moods from temporal sentences (A. J. P. XXIII 246)—all this seems to be self-evident, and I do not think it necessary to argue against the way in which Stahl has adjusted the facts to his range of vision, especially as he admits grudgingly that the origin of the future form in Greek is too obscure to allow any certainty about it, so that he may be wrong—and he is wrong, as it seems to me, hopelessly so.

'The future, both active and middle', continues Stahl, 'is a manner of present future and has nothing to do with the kind of time.' The future perfect, it is true, brought with it the kind of time but it has a small range, though one does not see what the smallness of the range has to do with it, if the phenomenon itself is distinctive; but the latest development, by far the latest, the future passive, as distinguished from the form common to middle and passive, develops on the basis of the aorist and Stahl maintains that as there is no contrasting durative form, it is indifferent as to the kind of time. From this it appears that Stahl recalcitrates against the theory urged by Voemel long ago and maintained by Blass that when two passive futures are formed, the older form is durative, the younger aoristic (S. C. G. 168)—a theory which B. maintained so doggedly that he would not accept the slightest suspension of the rule. See his review of my S. C. G. in L. C. B. 1901, p. 897. Compare also A. J. P. XXIII 237, where I have suggested the aoristic ply of the fut. ind. as

a whole and the remarkable steadiness of the aor. part. with *φθίσομαι*. But Stahl maintains stoutly that no such distinction can be proved and such is his attitude towards *ἔξειν* and *σχήσειν* also, which I did not think fit to put in the same line with the passive future because of the oratorical usage. See A. J. P. XXII 228; XXVI 239. It is interesting to note that Wackernagel has also declared against the acceptance of the distinction. See IGF. XXII (1908), Anzeiger, S. 66. According to Stahl, the present sense of the present indicative is developed from the inherent durative sense; and the specialization of that sense is due to the absence of the augment and the presence of the futural form. But the present sense is just as conspicuous in languages that have no augment and the 'durative' sense comes from the prevalence of the long forms. A typical difference having set itself up between imperfect and aorist in certain forms, the present associates itself with the imperfect and becomes by preference durative, by preference progressive. Such, at least, seems to me a more reasonable explanation, for the present is both durative and aoristic. The universal present is aoristic, true at any point, and the aorist despite its augment is used for 'punctuate' action in the present (S. C. G. 260; cf. A. J. P. XXIII 245). It is unnecessary to go through the familiar categories of the specific present, the universal present, the present of unity of time, the *πδαι*-group, the *praesens de conatu*, corresponding to *-turus sum*. See Ar., Th. 918: *καλύεις*, where Cobet writes *καλύσεις* unnecessarily. For Pindaric examples see I. E. cii. Then comes the present for perfect (perfektivisches Praesens), familiar enough in verbs that involve unity of character (S. C. G. 204), a category, which, as it seems to me, Stahl extends unduly. So I cannot feel with Stahl and others, Pind., O. 5, 23: *νιῶν παρισταμένων* as *νιῶν παριστάτων*. Motion is not excluded. *ἵστασθαι* has not the stock-stillness of *ἰσθάναι*. One can press forward, one can shift one's feet. Compare Plat., Euthyd. 274 B: *οἱ δὲ ἐτίγχανον ἡμᾶς ἤδη περυστάμενοι*, 'clustering round us', with C: *οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκείνον ἰδόντες περιέστησαν ἡμᾶς*. In verbs of privation, which Stahl masses with the others, *στίρομαι* is not quite the same as *ἰστίρημαι*. Verbs of privation connote feeling (Pindar, P. 6, 22).

The historical present Stahl calls preterital, psychological, rhetorical; and he finds no difficulty where Brugmann has found increasing difficulty. 'Anybody can see that the rhetorical emphasis of it unfits it for the equable flow of the epic narrative', and

if Stahl had known of my treatment of the subject, he would doubtless have seconded my statement that it was tabooed as vulgar by the epos and the higher lyric (A. J. P. XXIII 245). It is said that the historical present does not occur in the Nibelungenlied and a frivolous novelist of our day asks the question which Punch also asks, 'Why do women always write in the present tense? Is it because they have no past?' I have had to fight for the exclusion of the historical present from Pindar, so that I am not impressed by one of Stahl's rare references, 'Vgl. Christ.' As for Bakchylides compare A. J. P. XXVII 482. That the historical present is used by preference for the turning points of a narrative is another old story. Of the annalistic present he takes no notice (S. C. G. 200). In poetry he makes allowance for the pressure of the metre and the love of variety, and under the head of the present for the future he examines a number of passages in which in his judgment the present has been wrongly taken by the commentators as a future. <With the elaborate apparatus at the command of the Greek for the designation of future time, it is not strange that the folkspeech present for the future should have gone out of use, just as in English the present for the future has been crowded out of the principal sentence by *will* and *shall*, whereas it has all its rights in the subordinate sentence, so much so that Dr. Abbott declines to recognize 'if I shall—' as genuine English (A. J. P. XXVII 332)>.

Next comes the prophetic present and the *γίγνεσθαι* verbs, *γίγνομαι* being = *ἔσομαι*, better I should say = *μελλω ἔσεσθαι*. *ἔσομαι*, he might have added but could not be expected to add, leans to the durative as *γενήσομαι* to the aoristic. In the critical discussion of various passages, the notorious *ἐρημοῦντε* of Th. III 58, 5 comes up, where Stahl reads *ἐρημοῦντες*. Stahl's emendations often remind me of Albert Wolff's famous criticism of a performance of Victor Hugo's *Le roi s'amuse*. *Il était tout seul*.

The imperfect—*ὁ παρατατικός*—is divided by Stahl into two classes—the absolute and the relative—a futile division, as I have intimated before; and absolute duration, into uninterrupted and interrupted, or, as it is called by others, intermittent action. But as every phenomenon has some duration, 'it is perfectly possible', he says, 'to represent a momentary action as a durative action'—a liberty, to which, it seems, Homer is much given,—and a durative action as a momentary one—a deplorable way of putting it from my point of view (S. C. G. 205). Duration is purely subjective.

'Longum' means 'tedious'. 'Il a des longueurs' as the French critic said of his friend's distich. The descriptive imperfect is divided by Stahl into 'das Imperfektum der Beschreibungen u. das Imperfektum der Schilderungen'. We too can distinguish between 'describing' and 'picturing', but I question the value of all this synonym-mongering. The multiplication of categories, which I have elsewhere compared to the manufacture of spectrum gratings may be a highly scientific process, must be a highly scientific process or else so many reputations would not have been made by it, but a joy it is not except to the multiplier, who 'counts the heads of his beloved ones' and proceeds to widen the circle of his family: and this brings us to Stahl's Imperfect of Propagation (des Fortwirkens), which is found in verbs that involve a reagent. In the first class the action is continued until the reaction sets in—a large class which is composed of verbs that fall into the category of Will and Endeavor, verbs of Entreaty and Command, Persuasion and Advice, Compelling and Confiding, Sending and Calling. Under this head we find registered the notorious *ἔπεμπον*, 'escorted' rather than 'sent' (S. C. G. 212) and the notorious *ἠείκων*, which I have called the Imperfect of Reluctance (A. J. P. XXIII 250). 'This class of imperfects', says Stahl, 'is especially common when there is no response, when the endeavor is vain, when we have successful resistance to pressure.' The second class has reference to a subsequent citation or a subsequent exertion. The former provides for verbs of saying, the latter provides for preliminary action, to be followed by aoristic action. But no sooner have we settled down to this distinction than we are informed that after all the author is free to look at things as he chooses, and this vindication of the rights of the 'Anschauungsweise' recurs with wearisome iteration. At the same time it cannot be denied that this elaborate treatment may be of service to those who believe in aoristic imperfects, made up chiefly of verbs of saying (A. J. P. XXIV 180), which have a natural leaning to the imperfect (Kühner-Gerth II 1, 144). 'As I was saying' 'cum diceret', 'il disait'. 'So sagte sie, ich hör sie ewig sprechen' is the clue. The familiar category of the *imperfectum de conatu* is unfolded at great length, and paralleled with the Latin periphrastic future—*ιστάλλετο* = *profecturus erat*. Why the Latin only and not the Greek *ἔμελλον* also? (S. C. G. 272). The negative of the imperfect *de conatu*, is what I have called 'resistance to pressure'. Earle's 'frustrated effort' (A. J. P. XXII

227) is in my judgment no improvement on the phrase. 'Frustrated' connotes finality. Other categories recognized by Stahl are the imperfect of incomplete action, the 'perfective imperfect'—a most unhappy bit of nomenclature—of completed phenomena that hold their own in the past, both sparingly represented by examples, and the imperfect as the preterite of perfective and praeterital presents, as in *ἔτεκε*, *ἐνίκα*, *ἠδίκουν*. That he does not put *ἔποιε* and *ἔγραφε* in the same class shows the arbitrariness of the whole thing.

Under relative duration Stahl takes up contemporaneous and overlapping 'phenomena'. These are, of course, especially important in connexion with compound sentences; and the overlapping category has been too much neglected both in Greek and Latin, as I pointed out forty years ago. Among the imperfects of relative duration Stahl puts the so-called Philosophic Imperfect (S. C. G. 210) and what I have called in jest the Expergefacient Imperfect (S. C. G. 219)—the waking up to a state of things—a phenomenon common to a large range of languages, Spanish, as I have noticed, being conspicuous among them. Whatever may be thought of this perpetual categorizing, the large collection of examples is to be welcomed. Nothing, it is true, will serve as a substitute for the study of the tenses *in situ*, but there is a kind of parallel bars gymnastic that may help the beginner to a proper conception of the imperfect—no easy thing after all (A. J. P. XXIII 292). Finally, Stahl has something to say about the overlapping imperfect and the imperfect of a previous past (Vorvergangenheit) and then we are allowed to take up the perfect.

The perfect is a present perfect. The phenomenon is completed in the present. The present sense, it seems, comes from the absence of the augment and from the fact that a completed phenomenon cannot complete itself in the future, <and yet some augmentless languages have highly effective present perfects and imagination can transport the perfect into the future (S. C. G. 234), as Stahl does not fail to tell us>. There is an intensive perfect (S. C. G. 229) and what Stahl chooses to call an extensive perfect, a perfect extending between two points (S. C. G. 227). The intensive perfect is confined to a few words and the assignment to the category is not always certain (S. C. G. 231). The bulk of the uses falls under the extensive perfect which, as I have said, looks at both ends of an action or as Stahl expresses it, 'a con-

dition that has been evolved from a past phenomenon'. The German translation is not 'ist geworden' but 'ist'. γέγραπται = 'es ist geschrieben', 'es steht geschrieben' as in English 'stands written', τάβανται 'lies buried'. Everybody knows the trouble in English and the late evolution of a passive tense of continuance in order to prevent ambiguity and how 'is being' holds its own despite the conservatives (A. J. P. XXIII 125). 'The post-Homeric use of the perfect', says Stahl, 'agrees essentially with the Homeric use', and he takes no notice of Wackernagel's studies. Only, as a matter of course, the employment of the perfect active spread with the spread of the formation and besides that, we notice a gradual increase especially in the range of prose (cf. S. C. G. 248). Here again it becomes necessary to insist on the sphere. The nearness of any department of literature to practical life may readily be measured by the perfect. The perfect belongs to the drama, to the orators, to the dialogues of Plato. In history the perfect has no place outside of the speeches and the reflective passages in which the author has his say; and when we read in Stahl that the perfect is much more common in Xenophon than in Herodotos and Thukydides, we remember that the authorship of Xenophon is not wholly historical and that he affects *naïveté* (A. J. P. XXIX 244). Plato, we are told, holds the mean. Of the orators, Isokrates and Demosthenes are in the van, quite comprehensible, if true. Isokrates measures everything by the present, which is honoured by his existence, and Demosthenes is a practical soul. But I find that I am repeating myself. See above, p. 390. Well, if I were not repeating myself, I should fail to reproduce the repetitious character of my author.

This perfect or rather present perfect is divided and subdivided by Stahl in a wearisome way that reminds one of those who make a category of every possible translation of the moods and tenses (A. J. P. XIX 351), and there are unlimited possibilities of dispute. Take, f. i., μέμνην. Stahl considers it an instance of the past in its present effect. ὁ δ' ἔχων μέμνην. 'He is beside himself', the result of ἐμάνη. Why not 'he is stark mad', as an emotional perfect like δέδια? And then after all we come back to the 'Anschauungsweise', and 'the open sense of the student is the only open sesame' (A. J. P. XXIII 252). But for one I should never go so far as to say that P. 1, 13 πεφίληκε = φιλήω. If νερόμικε Plat., Soph. 217 B, which Stahl cites, corresponds to ἡγείται, it is because the settled acceptance of the perfect of νομίζω brings it

nearer to the deliberate judgment of ἡγεῖται. *πεφόβηται* is not *φοβούμαι* nor *ἀπειστυγήκασι ἀποστυγούσι*. They are verbs of emotion and the difference from the present is actually translatable, though that is a test on which we must never insist. The perfect for the future perfect Stahl calls the perfect of anticipation and distinguishes between present and future occurrence, both being immediate and certain, a sense that is imported into the form (S. C. G. 281). The perfect of anticipation is not Homeric, though Od. 20, 351-357 we have a perfect of vision, parallel with the prophetic present. With this perfect of anticipation, Stahl parallels the present of anticipation in order to prove that the present is not of itself a future. The empiric perfect he excludes from Homer. There is no conceivable theoretical reason for this and the Homeric examples I have given (S. C. G. 257) of the gnomic use of the perfect based on experience (= empiric perfect) still seem to be perfectly cogent.

Like the perfect the pluperfect is divided by Stahl into intensive and extensive. The extensive pluperfect is a blend of past and praeterpast (*Vorvergangenheit*), this '*Vorvergangenheit*' being the point most stoutly denied by Delbrück, Brugmann and others and set down as differentiating Latin and Greek pluperfect. '*Herodotos*', says Stahl, 'has a certain preference for the tense' (compare A. J. P. XXIII 250; S. C. G. 264) and the increase of its use coincides with the increase in the use of the perfect (no figures). Next we have the pluperfect of the past state, of preceding result, 'which differs from the aorist only in the way one looks at it', the pluperfect of that which is 'over and gone', the pluperfect of 'rapid relative completion', and yet other subdivisions which are all illustrated with irritating departures from chronological sequence; e. g., Od., Xen., Il., Plato, Xen., Plato.

Everybody tries his hand on a new way of defining the aorist. I have tried several myself. 'Apobatic' seems to me better than 'aoristic'. The tense of culmination is not altogether bad. 'Consummation' which has been suggested associates itself too readily with the perfect—'*consummatum est*', *τετέλεσται*. Stahl, as we have seen, says that the aorist designates past time 'an und für sich'. But the English language rebels against 'an u. für sich', that famous German improvement on the old *αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό*, the old *per se*. After all, the traditional designation 'aorist' answers as well as anything else. It has become a technical term and Stahl has to admit that Apollonios understood the aorist indica-

tive perfectly, though his mind was not clarified as to the 'kind of time'. Fifty years ago whose was? And yet Apollonios was capable of making a sharp distinction between present and aorist imperative (compare A. J. P. XXIII 241). Now, according to Stahl, the notion of duration having long been connected with the imperfect and pluperfect, the only thing left to denote the 'momentary phenomenon' was the aorist and so the aorist became the tense of momentary action, as a manner of residuary legatee. But this notion of momentary action has done no end of harm, to which Stahl himself has furnished the antidote by adding that the momentary tense may be used when the notion of duration is of no moment.

In Stahl's representation the aorist is the narrative tense by eminence, a statement that seems to require some modifications in the light of statistics (A. J. P. XXIX 243). "Of course", says Stahl, as he had said before, "an imperfect can be used of a rapid action because all 'phenomena' occupy some time". Still that does not exclude the expression of a greater or less stretch of time by the contrasted use of imperfect and aorist; as, Il. 23, 228: *πυρκαϊὴ ἔμαρπνετο, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ*; and yet there are passages in which we find a shift from one tense to the other without any observable difference in actual duration. But for all that Stahl is as unwilling as I am (S. C. G. 212; A. J. P. XXIII 243) to concede an actual interchange of tenses. The artist's *ἐποίησε* he explains by the creative act, *ἔποίησε* by the duration of the artist's labour—an explanation which does not explain (compare S. C. G. 212 note; A. J. P. XXIII 251). Then comes the perfective aorist of which he makes two classes; one that sums up a previous statement, one that gives the historical result. This perfective aorist is the 'upshot aorist' of S. C. G. 238. Stahl objects to 'complexive' in which others have found comfort and will have naught to do with 'punktuell', which he dismisses curtly by reference to Stesich. 11; Eur., Hec. 683; Hdt. I, 35. I do not feel the cogency. Much space is naturally given to the empirical aorist, for which gnomic aorist is to Stahl only another name. A detailed criticism of Stahl's presentation of this much discussed section of the aorist would require a special treatise. The essential points are anticipated in my syntax. This empiric aorist occurs frequently in Homer but chiefly in comparisons, and it is relatively more common in poetry than in prose. Gorgias abuses it in his Helena and I may add that Isokrates is not averse to it. The rare aorist

of an action that failed of accomplishment, in which the will appears as a deed, has a special chapter. It is necessarily short. The examples so far as they are cogent are all from the Ion of Euripides. No one will question the closeness of the meshes of Stahl's dragnet. I pass over the anticipatory aorist, the aoristic question in *τί οὐ*; the dramatic aorist.

Against the term 'ingressive' aorist Stahl protests as he generally protests against everything that he does not originate. 'Zwischen *ἡβάσκειν* und *ἡβῆσαι* ist in Bezug auf das Stadium der bezeichneten Erscheinungen gar kein Unterschied, wenn man nicht einen solchen hineintüfteln will. Warum soll man nun das eine inchoativ und das andere ingressiv nennen?' The protest is rather amusing in view of the author's own 'Hineintüfteleien'. But the distinction between 'inchoative' and 'ingressive' is no 'Hineintüftelei'. Our English 'begin' is ambiguous. Sometimes it is antithetic to the end of an action. 'It began to rain' ('It ceased to rain'). Sometimes it refers to the entrance upon a state. 'He began to reign'. One is imperfect, inchoative, one is aoristic, ingressive. Under this head I would add that in view of S. C. G. 239, it is interesting to observe that all the typical examples cited by Stahl except *ἔσχεον* (S. C. G. 241) are first aorists, a point to which Stahl does not call attention any more than he calls attention to the affinity of the aorist for the negative (S. C. G. 245) or to the use of the aorist with definite numbers (S. C. G. 243), both of which categories would have saved special attitudinizing in the matter of 'Anschauung'.

The future is indifferent as to the kind of time (S. C. G. 265), indifferent also as to the sphere inasmuch as it can be employed as a *futurum exactum* which the Greek lacks (cf. A. J. P. XXIII 147). The future of the future ascertainment of a present action is not specifically Greek and the category is of more importance when we have to do with the temporal relations of the optative + *ἄν*. Still it was well worth registering as was also the future of verbs of will. Compare Jebb on Soph., O. T. 1077. My note on Pindar, O. 7, 20 is *ἰθαλῆσω διορθῶσαι* = *ἰθαλὼν διορθώσω*. Stahl says that the will does not exert itself until the occasion arises or rather: wenn der Wille sich an ein vorhergehendes in der Zukunft Liegendes anschliesst, also mit diesem erst in Wirksamkeit tritt. With all my admiration for the German language, the study of Stahl's syntax has heightened my thankfulness that I was born to an idiom that does not lend itself readily to such roundaboutness, that my native tongue is one that has been styled 'the

pemmican of language'. The treatment of the future perfect follows the usual lines.

The periphrastic tenses, to which I have paid especial attention in my Syntax, Stahl divides into (1) the *in eo esse ut* class into which he puts the notorious Thukydidean μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν (3, 2, 2) 'which they were on the point of importing', whereas my translation would be 'of which they were (had been) regular importers'; (2) the class in which the notion of reality lying in the so-called copula is emphasized (cf. S. C. G. 247); (3) in which the participle assumes an adjective sense (S. C. G. 291; cf. 191); (4) as a mere periphrasis, σχῆμα Χαλκιδικόν. I do not care to discuss the coincidences and differences of treatment. I will only say that Pind., N. 10, 18: παρὰ ματίρι βαίνοισ' ἔστι is not the same as π. μ. βαίνει. It is = μητρί παραβάτις ἐστί. It is parallel with O. 2, 84: ὃν πατήρ ἔχει πάρεδρον. In one court we have an assessor, in the other an attendant (lady in waiting). The elevation of the periphrasis with γίγνομαι is recognized but not the source of it (S. C. G. 141). Under ἔχω with the participle Stahl does not commit himself to the doctrine which some consider the only sound one, ἔχω = εἰμί (A. J. P. XVIII 356). 'μέλλω', he notes, 'is sometimes a mere periphrasis and so is ἰθέλω'. This ought to have made him more tolerant of the original modal character of the future, which was afterwards more or less effaced.

The subject of the tenses of the moods is treated with characteristic prolixity. We are told over and over again that we have to deal with the kind of time and not the sphere of time, over and over again that, after all, the difference is the difference of the point of view, so that we become positively ungrateful to the tireless scholar who has heaped up example after example of constructions that no one will dispute. There is just enough historical sequence in some sections to fret the orderly soul at the confusion in others. Here a wall, there loose blocks of quarried stone. In the section where he shows that the *de conatu* use of the participle is especially common, there is a fair approach to something that might be called arrangement, Od., Pind., Aeschyl., Soph., Eur., Herod., Th., Plato, Isae., Dem. It is a rich section and I should have been glad to draw on it, when I was giving one of my critics an elementary lesson in Greek syntax (A. J. P. XXVIII 111, 352). To be sure, Stahl does not exercise his critical faculty on P. 4, 106, where some would read unnecessarily κομίξων (Pindar, I. E. cii) nor on Eur., Phoen. 81 where Valckenaer

read *λύσουσ'* against which my syntax entered a silent protest (S. C. G. 193; A. J. P. XXVIII 352), for I deliberately preferred to make a selection among my examples and sacrificed opulence to order. Not that my original collections could compare with the sweepings that Stahl has stowed away in his vast granary, but a universal usage loses its interest for one who is on the search for stylistic differences. See S. C. G., p. 138, footnote. And so Stahl goes on to show that all his categories of the kind of time reappear in the 'side moods'. The present imperative inf. is used in Attic decrees for durative or repeated action, the aorist for a special case. See Meisterhans, one of Stahl's few references. But Meisterhans will bear watching. If the mechanical regularity of Attic inscriptions is as great as M. makes it out to be, it presents an interesting point of contrast to the Attic orators, who are much freer in their ways and this is a subject which may possibly reward exploration. 'The Gortyn IS. is reckless in the matter of the kind of time', says Stahl. 'But the Gortyn IS. has troubled the syntactical Israel before (A. J. P. XVI 388). The perfect of the side moods is true to the kind of time, completion, intensity, overwhelming finality. The aorist of the side moods indicates a momentary 'phenomenon', but it can also be used of the durative, as we have seen, when momentariness is not momentous. For the frequent use of the aorist opt. in universal sentences (good at any point), S. cites Soph., Antig. 652 a negative sentence (S. C. G. 246) and Eur., Ion 380 where a definite number is given (S. C. G. 243). In the list of 'inchoative' aorists of the moods the only second aorist examples are *κάμῃ* (Hdt. 3, 99, where *ὅς δὲ ἀν κάμῃ* = *ροσίσῃ*), *σχέις*, *σχέιν* (*κατασχέιν*), *φανῆναι*, *στῆναι*, but neither here nor in the corresponding section has Stahl called attention to this not unimportant predominance of the first aorist. As the empiric aor. and perfect get their meaning from the sphere of time, the side moods share in the signification only so far as they represent the indicative—not so self-evident after all. And then we have the inevitable chapter on the 'Freiheit der Anschauung', which reminds one of the recurrent Euripidean tag, *πολλὰ μορφὰ τῶν δαιμονίων*. *γνώθι σαυτὸν* is every whit as good as *γίγνωσκε σαυτὸν*. You may translate the difference, as I have done (S. C. G. 302), but the difference does not amount to anything, and Stahl is quite right, as no one follows the advice, least of all, syntacticians. Of course, with this freedom of choice the poets are tempted to shift from aorist to present and present to aorist at the piping of the metre,

but Stahl forbears to dwell on that perilous point (A. J. P. XXIX 376), as well he may. Under this head of the shift from one tense to another Stahl gives an interesting series of examples, some of which he explains, while others are consigned to the 'Anschauung' washpot. Isocr. 3, 35 we have the negatived aor. followed by the positive perfect, an example cited together with others, S. C. G. 250.

Next we are assured with unnecessary prolixity that in simple sentences tenses of the subj. and imper. have only to do with the kind of time, *μαχώμεθα, ἐξέλθωμεν, πείθεσθε, μὴ δέισσητε*, the sphere of time being necessarily future. The subj. after verbs of fear is only a seeming exception. <In both the classic languages, be it remarked, the failure to recognize the difference between the action itself and the ascertainment of the action has given grammarians much trouble. See LG³ 257, 2, S. C. G. 435 and compare Gellius XVIII 2, 14.> So Od. 15, 13: *μή τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγῃσιν . . . σὺ δὲ τηῦσίην ὁδὸν ἔλθης, φάγῃσιν* refers to the future of the action, *ἔλθης* to the future of the ascertainment = *ἔλθων φανῆς* (S. C. G. 294).

Whilst the will has to do with the future, the opt. according to Stahl as the mood of the wish is not bound by the sphere of time. It may deal with the past, present or future, but the Greek does not live up to its privileges; and whereas the Latin aor. opt. is freely used of the past, there are only a few Greek aor. optatives that can be so construed and Stahl declares that he has corralled them all. They are a sorry lot. Od. 13, 229: *ἀντιβολήσαις* is an imperative opt. Od. 18, 79: *μήν' εἴης μήτε γίνοιο* in the mouth of high-tempered Antinoos reminds one of Sir Anthony Absolute's threat, 'I'll disown you, I'll disinherit you, I'll *unget* you'. Antinoos simply wishes Iros ungot. *εἶναι* and *γενέσθαι* are combined to make up a totality, 'cease to be, be utterly extinct'. Aesch., Ag. 670: *γένοιτο δ' ὥς ἄριστα* is a wish for ascertainment. Four of the passages are from Euripides, who often forces the note. Andr. 766: *ἢ μὴ γενοίμαν* might be called a general wish. The personal *ἐγώ* is really an impersonal *τις* and the sentiment is *τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι—κρείσσον*. The three other passages, Hel. 215, Hipp. 406, Rh. 720, have all *ἔλοιτο*, a sweeping imprecation, which it is not necessary to analyze in Greek any more than one analyzes 'damn' in English. We are perfectly free in damning a man after he is damned already. Here is where the literary sense comes in. We are not to confound poetic freedom with linguistic survival. When Job cursed his day, he might have cursed it in the optative and in 'Woe worth the day that cost thy

life, my gallant gray', 'Woe worth' might be rendered by *δαίτο*. As for Plat., Phaedr. 227 C: *εἴθε γράψαιεν*, there is no earthly need of making *γράφαιεν* refer to the past. That the optative may have had this use in prehistoric times is possible but the survival is unlikely. The case is parallel with that of the Lat. present subj., where we expect the imperfect. Why may not overwrought feeling project the past into the future? The potential opt. with *ἄν* (*κεν*), on the other hand, is not to be explained away. Homer and the Ionians use it of the past. The solitary passage in Attic Ar., R. 413-14 Stahl does not explain as I do, S. C. G. 439, in point of fact does not explain it at all. He is quite right about Th. I, 9, 4: *οὐκ ἂν πολλὰ εἴεν* and so are others. S. C. G., p. 174 footnote.

In synthetic subordinate clauses and dependent principal clauses the time of the moods is relative and we have to do with contemporaneity, priority, superiority. In most of them the action is necessarily posterior as in final sentences and sentences with *ἵως* and *πρίν*, which Stahl calls, as I do, 'temporal sentences of limit'. In others the choice of the kind of time is influenced by relative past and relative present; so that we may say, though Stahl does not say so, that the moods simulate the indicative. All this, apart from the intolerable verbiage, is common property. There are a few final sentences in which the aor. subj. seems to refer to the present and Stahl cites Eur., Hipp. 1299: *ὡς ἴπ' εὐκλείας θάνη* and explains by 'Verschiebung der Modalität'. The real object lies in the modifier, and Stahl interprets *ἵνα θανὼν εὐκλείαν ἔχῃ*. The aorist as the shorthand of the periphrastic perfect gives a simpler statement and a readier classification. Then follows a list of examples of necessarily posterior 'phenomena', the pres. subj. being used when the 'phenomenon' is contemporaneous and when the 'phenomenon' is prior but durative—no provision being made for overlapping—the aorist subj. being used when the 'phenomenon' is prior *an sich*; and attention is directed again to what I should call the mechanical exactness of Attic ISS.—according to Meisterhans, a point which deserves reëxamination. Coincidence of aor. with future—a conspicuous feature—is passed over lightly. The same rules apply to generic sentences. In posterior temporal sentences (temporal sentences of limit) the present subj. denotes that the 'phenomenon' is coming to pass, the aorist that it has come to pass. For all this, I would refer the curious reader, if such an one there be, to A. J. P. XXIV 388 foll. on the Temporal

Sentences of Limit. Again, but not for the last time, Stahl insists on the wide reach of 'freie Anschauung' and yet seems to be gravelled by the narrowing of the scope in the case of $\pi\rho\iota\nu$, which has a marked repugnance to the pres. subj. 'Wenn nicht ausdrücklich etwas Zuständliches bezeichnet wird ist die nachfolgende Erscheinung als eingetreten denkbar. Daher überwiegt hier bei weitem der Aorist'. Why this dreadful roundabout? The action in $\phi\upsilon\text{---}\pi\rho\iota\nu$ is prior to the action of the leading clause, and unless there is overlapping the aorist is to be expected (A. J. P. II 481). The one exception in Stahl's beloved Thukydides 6, 38, 2 is solved by the principle of overlapping. 'We are slow to put ourselves on our guard = we do not put ourselves on our guard until we find ourselves, etc'. $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota$ is clearly equivalent to a negative.

There is a *salto mortale* from the other uses of the optative to that of the optative for the indicative in *oratio obliqua*. The Germanic use has given no end of trouble. Even renunciation of responsibility does not meet all the conditions and to call the mood a sign of obliquity is a mere evasion. The only example that Stahl can cite from Homer is in an interrogative sentence (cf. S. C. G. 307), and he gives no explanation of the exclusion of the optative from other classes of sentences in Homer. Now this Homeric limitation of the optative may be explained either as suppression or as checked extension. I have had something to say in favor of checked extension (A. J. P. XXVII 205). Stahl is utterly non-committal. The familiar use of the infinitive in *oratio obliqua*, natural as it seems to us, is an extension. In fact, the use of *oratio obliqua*, at all, has been set down as more or less artificial; as, f. i., by Wilamowitz on the recently discovered fragments of Korinna (p. 54), though in English, if we consult our consciousness, there seems to be little difficulty about the shift. In Greek the 'Modusverschiebung' of the opt. for the subj. is an explicable thing, but optative for indic. came or seems to have come only through the interrogative sentence, in which the shift of subj. to opt. spreads to the indicative, by progressive analogy, as no one dares to say false analogy.

Under the infinitive we have the inevitable wearisome iteration of 'Zeitart' and 'Zeitstufe'. Of course he recognizes the fact that after $\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ the fut. inf. must represent the fut. indic. in *oratio obliqua*, on which see A. J. P. VII 174. Consequently he reads Pindar, N. 5, 36: $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ for $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\upsilon$. To be sure, $\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ is not

fully developed in Pindar (I. E. cviii), and an *oratio obliqua* twist is suggested by the passage, but it must be confessed that *δοτ' ἐν τάχει πράσσειν* is seductive. Compare S. C. G. 206 and 405 on the use of durative tenses with adverbs and adverbial phrases denoting rapidity. Of the practical limitation of *πρὶν* to the aor. inf. in the early times Stahl gives the following so-called explanation :

Da es in denjenigen Fällen, wo das relativ Zukünftige nicht an sich von längerer Dauer ist, der freien Auffassung anheimfällt, ob man es als eintretend oder eingetreten vorstellen will, so erklärt es sich, dass in Sätzen dieser Art der Inf. Aor. bei weitem überwiegt und bei Homer und Hesiod der Inf. Praes. nur an der einen oben angeführten Stelle (Il. XVIII 245)¹ vorkommt.

The formula I have used for forty years and published more than thirty years ago puts the thing in a nutshell. *πρὶν* is a negative. It is = *οὐπω* or *μήπω*. Its natural affinities are with the aorist, *πρὶν εἰλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν* = *οὐπω εἰλθόντων Ἀχαιῶν* (A. J. P. II 467). The *πρὶν* of the grammars was once a hopeless mess and I venture to say that the first orderly exhibit of its use is to be found in the seventh edition of Liddell and Scott, whence it was promptly conveyed by Mr. Thompson without acknowledgment in his *Syntax of Attic Greek* published soon afterwards. *τὰμὰ δ' ἐμά.*

The articular infinitive is treated with Stahl's wonted tortuousness and prolixity—the tortuousness inexcusable, the prolixity perhaps justifiable in view of the confusion regnant in Madvig and Goodwin. I will simply state the matter in my own words and pass on. The articular infinitive as an abstract noun has only the kind of time, as an incorporation of the indicative it has all the tenses, future inclusive.

The infinitive after *verba volendi, valendi* and *faciendi*, which I call verbs of creation, is necessarily posterior to the leading verb and we have only the kind of time. But Stahl makes an exceptional class in which the notion of wish intrudes and he maintains that in these cases the aor. inf. can stand as the aor. opt. stands instead of the unreal. Every teacher knows that the translation of 'I wish I had seen' is a regular pitfall for the schoolboy, who tumbles into it with his *βούλομαι ἰδεῖν*. It is a pity that Stahl should have lent the sanction of his name to such a statement. In all the cogent passages that he cites, the unreality is transferred to the leading verb as in *ἐβουλόμην ἄν*.

¹ See A. J. P. II 467.

The infinitive representing the indicative and the indicative with *ἀν* calls for no comment. Interesting is the observation that impersonal expressions which convey the sense of a verb of saying or thinking, such as, ἀληθείς, πιθανόν, ἀπιστον, occur very rarely, if at all. Either a personal turn is given or the articular infinitive is used. The transition of verbs of thinking into verbs of willing with the retention of the future construction is fully illustrated and with these verbs he classes μέλλω, in spite of its uncertain etymology. Of course, the Homeric 'likelihood' sense of μέλλω is noticed, but he does not go so far as those English scholars who acknowledge no other Homeric sense than that of 'likelihood' (Platt, E. J., Phil. XXI 40, Leaf on K 454) except with the future infinitive. This rule, accepted by so cautious a scholar as the late Mr. Monro (Od. 14, 133), requires, as so many rules require, changes in our traditional text. Stahl takes no notice of it whatever, but does not fail to call attention to the fact that the postponement μέλλω is not to be found in Homer nor in Hesiod either. The native hue of resolution has not been sicklied o'er by this pale cast of thought until it becomes 'delay'. The tendency is to use the future inf. of a more remote, the present of an immediate future (*in eo esse ut*), but there is the warning of the 'freie Auffassung'. Compare S. C. G. 272, and my review of Abbott's Johannine Grammar (A. J. P. XXVII 334). εἰκός, 'it is meet', passes over into εἰκός, 'it is probable', but its original force holds it to the construction of verbs of will. Herodotos uses the fut. inf. once (8, 68) and Xenophon sins, of course, and Isaios keeps him company once. But this conservatism of εἰκός is not a little remarkable, and may have a certain significance in connexion with the swing of τὰ εἰκότα in forensic oratory. Verbs of saying and thinking shift. ἐλπίζω as in English 'hope', προσδοκᾶν as in English 'expect', may be used of future ascertainment and the pres. inf. is in place. ὑπισχεῖσθαι is not only 'promise' of the future but 'maintain' of the present and as a verb of will, it does not require the future infinitive. δμνύναι is another such verb. εἵχεσθαι is both 'praedicare' and 'precari'. Compare English 'vow'. All this is or ought to be familiar to the student of Greek, but it is true that ordinarily too little attention is paid to these shifts and Stahl embraces the opportunity to get in some critical remarks. When φάναι involves the will, it does not demand the future tense and the same thing is true of δοκεῖν, about which there has been a great deal of un-

necessary pother and so other verbs of believing and thinking, better believing than thinking, as believing is clearly voluntative. It is through this door, as I have maintained (A. J. P. XXVII 203) that *oratio obliqua* came in and the future infinitive is merely an accommodation, a view with which, I fancy, Stahl would have little sympathy. ἀναβάλλεσθαι, 'to postpone', with the fut. inf. Stahl questions and would substitute present or aorist where the future is found. But analogy is a subtle thing and the wholesale changing of -σαι into -σειν and *vice versa* at the bidding of grammatical 'rule' can hardly be deemed satisfactory. Verbal nouns like ἀνίς may take the fut. inf. *qua* verb, the other infinitives *qua* noun; the latter with a preponderance of examples, matching preponderance of occurrences, by no means the same thing, for like the rest of us Stahl has his prejudices. Next Stahl makes war on the few passages in which verbs of will are combined with the future, for some of which Goodwin stands up stoutly. διανοεῖσθαι Stahl had already accepted as a verb of thinking—the only example of the shift I have given (S. C. G. 326). The others are remorselessly rooted up by a process in which he had been preceded by the uniformitarians. Much more common are the instances in which the present and aorist infinitive are used as future after verbs of saying. Many of these passages have been emended in our texts. -σαι has been replaced by -σειν, -σασθαι by -σεσθαι, -εσθαι by -σεσθαι, and ἄν has served as a ready handmaid to put the sentence into grammatical order. With most of these changes I am in sympathy and MS variants bear them out, but much depends on the period, the sphere and the author and wherever will intrudes we desiderate the ingressive aorist. But Stahl, who is nearly as old as I am, does not care for the ingressive aorist, and alters P. 4, 222: μείζας into μείζειν against his own principles. See my note on the passage, 'A promise as a vow takes the aorist of the future', and compare P. 1, 44.

The present of the 'independent participle'¹ denotes contemporaneity or prior duration—'overlapping' is not distinctly mentioned, the perfect denotes completed condition whether contemporaneous or prior, the aorist denotes *per se* priority, the future posteriority as also the part. + ἄν = opt. with ἄν. Outside the

¹ 'Independent participle' is a contradiction in terms. One might as well speak of an independent skin. Stahl uses 'independent' in contrast to the participle that represents a finite verb (S. C. G. 354).

combination with verbs of motion and with the post-Homeric *ω* the future participle is very sparingly represented, as Od. 11, 608: αἰεὶ βαλέοντι ἰοικώς where, it might be remarked, the future participle is used in the full and original μέλλω sense and 17, 387: τρύχοντα ἔ αὐτόν where one is sorely tempted to read τρύχοντα. Thuk. 6, 78, 4: ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κινδυνεύουσας = μέλλοντας κινδυνεύουσιν, the present participle carries with it the future, as elsewhere in Thukydides. The same temporal uses are found in the absolute participle and in the articular participle, are found and exemplified.

Then follows a chapter on the coincident aor. participle with aor. See S. C. G. 345. A few examples of the aor. partic. after verbs of hearing are given. It is a rare construction. Hearing and speaking do not coincide, in spite of Stahl. A causal nexus is possible. Coincident action with the future is represented by a few examples. Under this general head Stahl puts the participle with φθάνω, λαθάνω, τυγχάνω, but does not notice the steadiness of φθάνω, and the fickleness of τυγχάνω, as he might have done, if he had thought it worth while to read my article in A. J. P. XII 76. Yet another class is made up of aorist participles which follow the leading verb and being logically coördinate are absolutely and not relatively past; e. g., Od. 4, 56: σίτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμίῃ παρίσθηκε φέρουσα | εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα. Stahl does not say so in so many words but he implies that the action of the aor. part. is subsequent to the action of the leading verb. The translation by καί = καὶ εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπέθηκε is not satisfactory. Coincidence or adverbiality will explain the tense. Pindar, O. 7. 5: εἴ τις δωρήσεται = δωρήσεται . . . τιμάσῃς, the participle is not = καὶ τιμάσῃ. The δῶρον is the τιμή. See my note on the passage and also on P. 4, 130, where the aorist is due to the definite number. The example from the Gortyn IS. III 17: αἰ ἀνὴρ ἀποθάνοι τέκνα καταλιπών like the English 'died leaving' is a clear case of coincidence. Actual posteriority Stahl recognizes in participles that follow verbs of waiting; as, Il. 13, 37: ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶ πῆδας βάλε . . . ὅφρ' ἐμπεδον αὖθις μένοιεν νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα = εἰς δ' κ' ἄναξ νοστήσει (cf. II, 666). And this is his explanation of the very common construction of περιορῶν with the aor. part. περιδεῖν he considers = 'abwarten'. But περιδεῖν cannot be divorced from ἐπιδεῖν and the notion of will intrudes (A. J. P. XIV 103). The 'dependent' participle—the participle that represents the indicative—yields nothing novel and I am glad, and, doubtless, the reader, if I should

chance to capture one, will be glad, to have reached the end of a summary, which presents so little that is, at once, new and acceptable. The value of the material abides, and Stahl has earned the praise of primacy as a *condus, promus, procurator peni* of the Syntax of the Greek Verb. The troublesome problems of the Moods must be reserved for another number, if I find it in my heart to continue the analysis and the commentary.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

II.—THE PLOT OF MENANDER'S EPITREPONTES.

Although we now possess, in the Cairo papyrus alone, about 550 verses of the *Epitrepontes*, including one continuous stretch of 360 verses, a number of questions relating to the scenery, plot, and characters still remain uncertain. To our understanding of these matters Leo, *Rh. Mus.* 1908, pp. 120 ff., has contributed probably more than anyone else, but the evidence which was available for his use early in the year has proved insufficient to set at rest all divergent opinions—witness the latest edition, that of Robert, with its highly original ideas on all such matters. The position of Von Arnim's fragment R and that of the important Jernstedt fragment whose identification we owe to Van Leeuwen are uncertain, the interpretation of Q and consequently its position in the plot are still matters of dispute. In the following discussion I hope to show that the 22 lines of the Tischendorf fragment are to be assigned to this play; that it and the Jernstedt fragment belong near the end of the third Act, and that these, with R and NT, which Wilamowitz happily pieced together, constitute a series of *Smicrines*-scenes in the heart of the play; further, that Q¹ is continued by H² and follows Q²; and finally that M, whose relation to the *Epitrepontes* has been shrewdly suspected but not proved, contained the interesting piece of dialogue *Men. frag.* 600 K., which Croiset assigned to the *Epitrepontes*, and comes from the first Act, perhaps from the very first scene, of the play. The results which flow from these conclusions, if they are found to be correct, affect materially our conception of the plot, the scenic arrangements, and the characters, and give us, it is to be hoped, a truer conception of the genius of Menander.¹

Let us begin with the Jernstedt fragment. The doubts which Van Leeuwen expressed in his first edition regarding the pertinence of this fragment to the *Epitrepontes* he has happily with-

¹ The restorations of the text of the fragments which I propose to assign to this play or to definite positions in it have appeared in the *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1908, Nos. 38, 39. A fuller discussion of these, together with such modifications as are required by Körte's recent report on the papyrus or by other considerations, will appear in the next number of this Journal.

drawn in his second edition. He now prints it as the end of Act I. At first glance, and so long as only the part of Smicrines is recognized in this dialogue of three speakers, this assignment seems not unreasonable, for the words by which the Chorus is introduced give one the impression that this is its first appearance.¹ But, in the first place, the unknown speaker who introduces the Chorus here may not have seen these youth before, and, in the second place, he tells us that they are tipsy. We reflect that Charisius is giving a great banquet on this day, that the youth of the Chorus are his guests, that, as we are told in v. 165,² the guests are arriving, and finally that in the Jernstedt fragment they are already drunk. When they first appeared they were probably sober. A good deal of drinking is supposed to be going on behind the scenes as the action progresses; cf. vv. 305, 213. On this ground, therefore, we might reasonably assume that a group of young men, the invited guests, appear at the end of Act I and fill the intermission with singing and dancing, that they are somewhat more boisterous when they reappear, this time and later from the house where the banquet takes place, at the end of Act II, and that they are merrily tipsy when seen again at the end of, say, Act III. Still other reasons for a later position of the Jernstedt fragment will appear when we have identified the speakers.

Von Arnim places R¹ after NT¹ and R² after NT². In the absence of further light on the management of the plot this arrangement seemed fairly acceptable, though Leo, *Hermes*, p. 132, rather preferred to place this page in the first Act and Robert actually prints it there. NT¹ brings Smicrines on the scene from the city. He has acquired certain knowledge about the affairs of his daughter's household that puts him in a bad state of mind. Onesimus in fear retires from sight; it is clear that he knows Smicrines and probable that he has already had an interview with him in Act I. In R¹ we recognize Smicrines, who denounces the conduct of Charisius. So far there is no

¹ The identification of the Chorus is due to A. Körte *Hermes*, 1908, pp. 299 ff., and at length settles the problem of the Chorus in the New Comedy. The observation that -P- in the Jernstedt fragment represented $\chi\sigma\rho[\acute{o}\nu$ is due to Blass, who called my attention to it in 1893; hence my statement in *Am. Jour. Arch.* 10, 1895, p. 320, n. 46. But my reference was to the wrong Tischendorf fragment.

² The play is generally cited here by the lines of Van Leeuwen's second edition

apparent objection to the sequence NT¹ and R¹. But in NT², which comes at the top of the next page after NT¹, somebody is talking about the Cook, perhaps to the Cook, and either he or the Cook is in distress about something. At the end of NT² Smicrines speaks; his name is in the margin though his words are lost. And finally R² seems to contain remarks of Smicrines on his favorite topic. Now the fact that Smicrines is present in all four of these fragments makes the view seem reasonable that they all belong to the same series of scenes. However, this is not certain so long as more substantial evidence that they do belong together is not at hand, for Smicrines was certainly present in Act I also. But assuming for the moment that R belongs to Act III, there are difficulties in placing R¹ after NT¹ and R² after NT². We naturally expect a tirade of considerable length from Smicrines immediately after his appearance ca. v. 367. But in the first seven verses of R¹ there is another speaker; for not only is a change of speakers indicated in the papyrus by the paragraphus under v. 7, but the use of the first person in vv. 6 and 7 (*μή* and *ἡμῖν*) points to the presence of a second speaker. Between NT¹ and R¹ the interval could not be greater than 16 verses, and between R¹ and NT² the same maximum, greater or less according to the length of the preceding interval. In the former interval we should have to assume the entrance of the other person. He cannot be Onesimus (who has taken flight), nor Charisius (Smicrines uses the third person in referring to him). The only other male characters who can be considered are the Cook and Chaerestratus, the father of Charisius. Now the Cook would be a peculiarly inappropriate person to bring into conversation with Smicrines at this juncture. They can have no business together. And yet it seems to be he who appears a few lines later in NT². Chaerestratus, on the other hand, would very appropriately be brought into contact with Smicrines at this stage in the plot. But it would be very strange if the Cook, or talk about the Cook, interrupted the conversation of the two fathers within less than 26 lines of their appearance. And the chances are that Smicrines is given an opportunity of airing his feelings before Chaerestratus came in, so that the Cook would have to interrupt the fathers almost immediately after their meeting. Therefore, scanty as is the definite information which we derive from NT and R, we must acknowledge that serious objections are apparent to the arrangement NT¹-R¹-NT²-R².

To return for a moment to the Jernstedt fragment. Van Leeuwen is undoubtedly right in recognizing Smicrines¹ as the speaker in vv. 1-5. The other two he was unable to recognize, partly because he placed the fragment in Act I. As soon as it is removed from this position and placed, hypothetically, in the third Act, we see at once that the other two speakers are Chaerestratus and Onesimus respectively. Chaerestratus does not appear in the early part of the play, for Syrus is still waiting for his arrival in v. 161. Between v. 161 and v. 367 he does not appear. If he plays any part in the play at all, which has been doubted, it must have been in the second half of the play. As a matter of fact, it will be found that he is an important character in the plot and essential to its happy termination. If he is correctly recognized in the Jernstedt fragment, we have there the last words of his conversation with Smicrines. There is a manifest similarity between the tone of this conversation, so far as we can catch it, and that of R¹. The person who in R¹ is engaged in angry altercation with Smicrines is probably again Chaerestratus; cf. *ἡμῖν κεκήθ[ευκας]* in v. 7. In trying to determine the position of the latter we shall accordingly have to take the former into consideration also.

Now the Jernstedt fragment, of originally 20 verses, is written on one side of a strip of parchment which was once used in the binding of a book. A Russian palaeographer, the Bishop Porphyrius Uspenski, found it in 1850, we do not know where, and later gave it to the Public Library at St. Petersburg. It was first published in 1891 by Jernstedt.² Kock gives a copy in majuscules in *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893), p. 234, and Kretschmar a transcript in his timely dissertation *De Menandri reliquiis nuper repertis* (Leipzig, 1906).³ Now Kock and Nauck state explicitly, on the

¹ Menander is fond of putting the same expressions repeatedly in the mouth of the same character. As *δενή γ' ἡ κρις* is three times used by Davus (vv. 141, 144, 155; cf. *δενή δίκη* in M²), so Smicrines uses *οἰμῶζει* and *οἰμῶξεται* again and again (R², 4?, R¹, 8, Tisch. 7, Jern. 1, v. 470). See Legrand's remarks *Rev. ét. anc.* 10, 1908, p. 31.

² The Porphyrius Fragments of Attic Comedy, St. Petersburg, 1891. Van Leeuwen refers to it as *Observationes palaeographicae et philologicae ad fragmenta comicorum Atticorum*.

³ One who has not access to Jernstedt's book must refer to Kock's copy or to Nauck, *Bemerkungen zu Kock's CAF.*, *Mélanges gréco-romains* VI, p. 155, as I have had to do, for Kretschmar does not indicate the extent of the lacunae. Some of Van Leeuwen's restorations are distinctly too long or too short for the available spaces.

authority of Jernstedt (see also Kretschmar, p. 119), that on the other side of this strip of parchment is written the interesting fragment which Tischendorf saw, in Uspenski's possession, in 1862, copied and sent to Cobet, who published it in *Mnemos.* 4 (1876), p. 286, after Tischendorf's death. It has been regarded as Menandrean by almost everybody but Kock, who put it among the *adespota*, No. 105, p. 421. Now if the recto (Jernstedt's 2a) belongs to the *Epitrepontes*, the chances are that the verso (Jernstedt's 2b) does also, unless Kock's discredited theory of a *florilegium* is to be revived. Both sides of another parchment strip from the same collection have been shown to contain verses from the *Phasma* (1a, 1b).¹ We shall see that the Tischendorf fragment is closely followed by R1 and that it brings the solution of many of the outstanding problems of the *Epitrepontes*.

The fragment consists of 14 almost complete verses and 8 badly broken ones. The main portion is by a single speaker. It is a tirade upon the faults of a person referred to as *oðros*. It is the senseless extravagance of the conduct of this person, rather than the moral reprehensibility of it, that outrages the speaker. The topics are logically arranged and lead up to a climax, in which the speaker puts himself in a most ridiculous light. The fellow 1) uses costly wines²—reason for consternation; 2) drunkenness was to be expected—but that is only bestiality; 3) he is wasting his patrimony—but he will have to pay the price; 4) he received a large dowry, but fails to recognize his obligation to his wife; 5) he pays a *leno* twelve drachmas a day—proof of utter incapacity for affairs, for a little reckoning shows that, at the rate of two obols a day for the keep of a man, this sum would support 36 men!

¹ One side, Kock *Men.* 520 and *adesp.* 114, published by Cobet, the other in Nauck, p. 157, and in Kretschmar, p. 111, who, however, does not speak of the Tischendorf fragment. The third strip contains on one side a few words of *Men. Canephorus*, on the other some Syrian script.

For Van Leeuwen's opinion of *adesp.* 105 see his note on *Ep.* 220 and Appendix, p. 165. He is convinced that the fragment is not to be assigned to the *Epitrepontes*.

² We must restore in the preceding verse *πίvei δὲ τιμύρατον* or something similar. In v. 4 *τοῦ ὀβο[λοῦ]*, which is confirmed by Jernstedt, indicates a rather high price for a cotyla of wine—three times the price of that furnished at Eleusis at the Choes, IG. II 834, b ii, 68. See Böckh-Fränkl *Staatshaushaltung* I, p. 123. I should not have questioned this restoration. *τὰ πατρῷα* seems required in v. 7; if the reading *τὸν ἐπῶτα* is correct the phrase is quite unusual but as appropriate for Charisius as for anyone.

We recognize in the speaker the traits of Smicrines, the λογιστικός (v. 483), and in the culprit, Charisius. The text is bad in places. The parchment was very difficult to read—Jernstedt testifies to this—and there were probably corruptions in the text. For example, both Tischendorf and Jernstedt give ἀπιστία in v. 3, where the true reading is unquestionably ἀπληστία, as Wilamowitz saw; cf. v. 2, possibly v. 7. But in general, now that the general situation is furnished by the relation of these verses to the Epitrepontes, the lines convey a consistent meaning from the beginning to the end. Toward the end we detect the approach of another person, in whom we recognize Chaerestratus, who is accompanied by Onesimus.

The connection between the end of R² and the beginning of the Tischendorf fragment is very close. In v. 7 of the latter Smicrines says πάλιν οὐμύξεται! Now it is difficult to explain πάλιν except on the assumption that Smicrines has a few lines before used the same phrase, hence [οὐκ οὐμύξ]εται in R², 4. πάλιν is therefore equivalent to "Again, I say". In R² Smicrines alone is speaking; he is also alone in the first sixteen verses of the Tischendorf fragment. The catalogue of Charisius' excesses with which the Tischendorf fragment begins follows up very satisfactorily the threat with which R² ends. The two fragments would join one another with a very slight interval.

The Jernstedt fragment, in which we see Smicrines, Chaerestratus, and Onesimus, brings the Act to a close; the Tischendorf fragment, in which Smicrines is joined by Chaerestratus and Onesimus, must have belonged to the same Act as the first part of the Jernstedt fragment. The last scene of the Act begins with v. 16 of the Tischendorf fragment, and approximately 14 verses intervened between the two. The twelve verses of R¹, in which Chaerestratus and Smicrines are conversing, would appropriately be placed, as we have seen, just before the Jernstedt fragment, that is, in the interval between it and the Tischendorf fragment. It follows that R², in which Smicrines alone speaks, would precede the Tischendorf fragment by an interval of about four verses, and, as we have seen, the subject-matter of both fragments is also favorable to this combination. Now R² is the verso of the papyrus, and since Körte has found that the leaves of the codex were arranged in the fashion of a parchment codex, verso facing verso and recto recto, it follows that R² was on either p. 11

or p. 15 of the quaternion, R¹ on the following page. Now NT¹ was at the top of the thirteenth page and NT² at the top of the fourteenth page. R², therefore, cannot be placed on the same page with NT¹, because the Tischendorf fragment, according to our supposition, follows it after a very short interval and the position of NT² would make this impossible. Besides, there must be room between NT¹ and NT² for the initial speech of Smicrines and for the development of the Cook-Onesimus scene (above, p. 412). If the Smicrines-scenes contained in the fragments R²-Tisch.-R¹-Jern. belong to Act III (and this is highly probable), they must be placed after NT², beginning on the fifteenth page of the quaternion. It is likely that Act III ended very near the end of the quaternion.

In the foregoing discussion no attempt has been made to justify Van Leeuwen's assignment of the Jernstedt fragment to the Epitrepontes, but only to show that, assuming that he is right in this, the recto of the same leaf must also be from this play and that in this case the two passages must be assigned to a definite position in the play. Restored in accordance with this hypothesis—and the general tenor of the context leaves little doubt as to the purport of the lost words—the two passages fit admirably into the remains of the papyrus text. It may be well, however, to summarize briefly the positive indications which support the proposed identification. We must of course bear in mind that absolute certainty in the assignment of any fragment to a particular play is unattainable so long as the actual physical connection is lacking. A number of isolated quotations have been attributed to one or another of the new plays by various scholars because of the coincidence of a single proper name in a context that is conceivably appropriate; and no one is disposed to question this procedure. But we must not forget that Menander uses the same names repeatedly (Körte, *Arch. f. Pap.* IV 523, note) for characters of the same type and that similar elements enter into the plots of different plays. In the case of so important an identification as that with which we are here concerned, it is right to demand something more in the way of proof than the mere coincidence of one or two proper names and of a general situation.

In these two passages (which we must treat as one continuous passage with a break of some fourteen verses) we have the two

proper names Chaerestratus, due to a probable restoration,¹ and Charisius. Of the former we learn that the father of a certain woman is awaiting him, and it is probably he who engages in the altercation which is in progress at the beginning of the verso. Of the second person, Charisius, we learn at first only that two persons, evidently Chaerestratus and companion, repair to his house to inform him of the arrival of a third person. Five other characters are indicated but not mentioned by name: 1) The father of the woman, the one who waits for Chaerestratus and at once enters into a hot quarrel with him about a third person (τοῦτον), has been inveighing against an extravagant and dissolute person who neglects his wife and patronizes a leno. Since he goes in to consult his daughter before determining upon the measures to be taken against him, it is clear that the daughter is the neglected wife and that the person whom he has been denouncing, first to the audience and then to Chaerestratus, is his son-in-law. 2) The person denounced, whom we have identified as the son-in-law, is clearly the Charisius whom Chaerestratus and the other propose to inform of the arrival of his angry father-in-law. 3) The person who introduces the father of the neglected wife (if the restoration $\delta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ [\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\eta\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho]$ is correct) seems to be the slave of Charisius. He also stands in a close relationship of some sort to Chaerestratus ($\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$). He dislikes the father-in-law and is eager to aid Charisius. After the choral performance he avows his loyalty to his master ($\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\rho\ \eta\sigma\theta\alpha,\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in Q¹) and expresses his dislike of the "old man" in lines that are quoted as Menander's; viz., 581 and 836 K. 4) We have an allusion to the $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\rho\iota\alpha$, whom the father-in-law seems to refer to as in some way associated with his daughter's unhappiness. Doubtless she is the person for whose possession Charisius is paying large sums to the leno. 5) Lastly there is the neglected wife, whose dowry is endangered by the excesses of her husband. Now these six characters recur in the Epitrepontes in precisely the same relations to each other, involved in precisely the same situation, and characterized by the same

¹ V. 16 is unmetrical if Kock reports the initial lacuna exactly, but the difficulty is removed if we assume a space of some 6 letters instead of 4; e. g., [$\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\ \tau\iota\nu'$] $\delta\varsigma\ [\sigma\epsilon]\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota,\ \chi\alpha\iota\rho[\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon]$. Nauck's report of Jernstedt suggests the following restoration of the words of the father-in-law, who has not yet seen Chaerestratus and the slave: [$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\ \tau\iota\nu'\ \delta\acute{\iota}\ \tau\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\delta[\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu\ \psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\rho\iota\alpha\nu,\ [\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau'\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon']\sigma\alpha\nu\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\ [\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota],$ etc.

traits, so far as these are defined in the forty lines of the Jernstedt fragment: Chaerestratus the father, Charisius his son, Onesimus the slave of Charisius, Pamphila the neglected wife, Habrotonon the music-girl and mistress of Charisius, Smicrines the stingy and blustering father-in-law—while the names of two of them coincide. The chorus also, as we have seen, is the same in the play as in the fragment. These points of agreement are too numerous to be set aside as mere coincidences, and we shall see that in matters of plot and scenic arrangement also there is the closest harmony. It is important to observe further that the parchment fragments do not furnish a single new fact that is inconsistent with those derived from the papyrus remains of the Epitrepontes. We shall accordingly treat the parchment passage as belonging to this play beyond all reasonable doubt.

The Jernstedt and Tischendorf fragments bring some welcome information as to the scenic arrangements of the play. Since a correct understanding of these is essential to an appreciation of the legal aspects of the Charisius-Pamphila divorce case, and since the Attic law regarding the breaking of the marriage tie furnishes the clue to the interpretation of the course pursued by Charisius and Smicrines, we turn first to the disposition and identity of the houses represented in the scene.

There is first of all the house in which Charisius and Pamphila lived together before Onesimus discovered and divulged to his master the birth of a nothos by Pamphila. We must find out whether either Charisius or Pamphila has left this house, or whether they both are still living there, estranged. Chaerestratus is the proprietor of a house represented in the scenery. Here Syrisus and his wife stay (vv. 160, 188, 194) until the monthly *ἀποφορά* shall have been paid over to Chaerestratus. In v. 194 Syrisus casually remarks that Onesimus is staying at the same house; this brings Charisius too into the house of Chaerestratus. Now Chaerestratus has been rightly identified as the father of Charisius by Van Leeuwen and Robert. Are we to assume, with Robert, that Charisius and his wife make their home in the house of the father of Charisius? In that case we should have to assume that Smicrines also has a house in this deme and that Pamphila has left her husband and is staying there. But the new fragments make this supposition impossible. The situation is made still more difficult by the fact that Habrotonon also seems to be living in the house of Chaerestratus, for in v. 246 she speaks

as if she had seen Syrisus' wife nursing the child within and comments on the baby (*ὡς κομψόν, τάλαν*); cf. also v. 315. But would Charisius, the impeccable (*H*¹, v. 429), bring a mistress into his home, even if his wife were not living with him, and receive his father there? We mistake his character wholly if we regard him as another Alcibiades. It must be acknowledged, however, that the house of Chaerestratus, with its motley array of residents and guests, seems more of a hostelry or public house than the residence of a country gentleman.

Now when Smicrines leaves the scene at the end of Act III (*Jernstedt frag.*) he goes in to see his daughter. Chaerestratus and Onesimus depart a moment later *πρὸς Χαρίσιον*, to tell him of Smicrines' arrival. These three clearly go into two different houses. When Smicrines is out of hearing Chaerestratus, still ruffled by the conversation which he has just had with him, says: "The skunk! He is breaking up the home!" Onesimus replies: "I wish he were breaking up a number of them while he is at it". "What do you mean"? asks Chaerestratus, to which Onesimus answers: "I mean yours, for one—the one next door". Now the home which Smicrines is disturbing is that of Charisius and Pamphila, while "the one next door" belongs to Chaerestratus, though he does not live there. The latter is easily identified with the house of Chaerestratus which Syrisus with wife and baby, Onesimus, Habrotonon, Charisius and his troupe of guests (the chorus), and Chaerestratus himself make their headquarters. So when Smicrines goes into a different house to see his daughter, it must be either 1) a house of his own which for some reason he maintains in this deme, where Pamphila is living at present, or 2) the house of Charisius, where Pamphila continues to live after Charisius has moved to the other house. In either case Charisius and Pamphila are not now living together.

The question which we must now consider is therefore simply this: Is it Pamphila or Charisius who has left the home? If it is Pamphila, then their home has been the property of Chaerestratus and the second house is that of Smicrines. If, on the other hand, it is Charisius, the two houses are those of Charisius and his father Chaerestratus—and against this latter, be it remembered, Onesimus has some grudge. He heartily wishes that it could be cleaned out (*ἀνάστας*). And yet he is living there with his master.

Two passages which undoubtedly gave clear testimony in this question happen to be corrupt. In one (v. 354) Onesimus seems

to say that, in a certain contingency, Pamphila will be forced by Charisius to leave him. In another (M²) Onesimus seems to tell Davus that Charisius has not sent Pamphila away. But in view of the uncertainty of the context in these passages they would best be left out of consideration at present; their restoration will be in harmony with the facts as they may be deduced from textually certain passages. Fortunately we have one bit of direct testimony. In the Tischendorf fragment we are expressly told that Charisius neglects his wife and *οικίας ἀπόκοιτός ἐστι*.¹ Where he spends his nights, there we may assume that Habrotonon lives, and there too the revelling youth who form the chorus resort for their carousals. We shall understand its peculiar character if we assign it to the leno, rented by him from Chaerestratus. It is for the freedom of this house and for Habrotonon that Charisius is paying the leno twelve drachmas a day.

That the leno's house is represented in the scenery is made certain by vv. 213 ff. As Habrotonon comes out of the door at her first appearance a number of young men torment her and try to detain her. "Let me go, I beg of you, and stop annoying me!" she exclaims. Such a scene would be impossible in a respectable house. We now understand why Onesimus curses this house; his master lives there without the slightest attempt at concealment, rendering the domestic situation worse than ever. Onesimus knows, I think, what his master's reasons for this conduct are. As we shall see, Charisius is carrying out a deliberate and well-considered plan.

There is no reason to assume the presence of a third house. Smicrines visits his daughter at her home, which she has not left in spite of her grievous fault and her husband's manifest determination to have nothing to do with her. During the action of the play her house is little frequented. Sophrona her nurse² comes and goes and Smicrines visits her in the first Act and again in the third, perhaps also in the fourth. But when he returns in the fifth Act determined to take her away once for all,³ he is met at

¹ The argument is not affected if *οικέτην* proves to be the correct reading here.

² ἡμμία in M² settles her relationship. Wilamowitz saw it from the first, N. Jahr., 1908, p. 52.

³ Smicrines has so loudly proclaimed to all concerned that he proposes to take Pamphila away that all know, when he returns in Act V, that he is planning an *ἄρπασμα*. This is the meaning of Onesimus in v. 484 (H²), *τόθ' ἄρπασμ', Ἡράκλεις, θανμαστὸν οἶον*!

the door by Onesimus. Charisius has returned to his home καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς (H⁴, vv. 523, 531).

It cannot be denied that the situation in the family of Charisius which the preceding discussion has disclosed is just the contrary of what we should naturally have expected. The guilty wife remains in her husband's house, the husband goes away. And yet only such a situation will explain the state of mind in which we see Smicrines. If Charisius had already sent Pamphila away from his home, repudiating her as his wife, the divorce would have been legally accomplished by his act, and Smicrines would have been entitled to the dowry without making a disturbance—unless, indeed, Charisius might have resisted the claim for repayment by proving that Pamphila was not a virgin when he married her. And we know of no such provision in Attic law. But in the situation which the play discloses Smicrines is eager to take Pamphila away (H³, vv. 466, 481; H⁴, v. 504, and probably R¹) and to get back the dowry. From the attitude of Smicrines alone, therefore, we might know that it is Charisius, and not Pamphila, who has left the home.

It has been consistently assumed by us in the foregoing discussion that Charisius has deliberately chosen a plan of conduct that will force his wife to leave him, and that in forming this plan he has counted upon the avarice of Smicrines to bring Pamphila to such a decision. This view is so opposed to the prevailing interpretation of the character of Charisius that further reasons must be given for holding it. It is generally supposed that Charisius is trying to drown his grief by dissipation or that he has taken up with the music-girl to spite his wife. The latter idea is hardly tenable unless we assume also that he is looking forward to a reconciliation after Pamphila has been sufficiently punished. But there is no indication whatever of any such design. He recognizes later (H³, vv. 443 ff.) that he had been harsh and unfeeling in dealing with her; he had had no thought of forgiving her; his decision was irrevocable (v. 418, οὐδ' ἴδμεν συγγνώμης μέρος οὐθέν). There is something to be said for the other interpretation—that he is deeply grieved and seeks comfort in wine and women—in that this would be a natural thing to do. But there is also much to be said against it. His relations with Habrotonon have been chaste;¹ in her view, he is wasting his

¹ Unless we assume that the situation is of more than three days' duration. But this is probably the third day after Charisius' discovery.

money (vv. 220 ff.). Again, when we see him after his discovery that he too is responsible for an illegitimate child, he is overwhelmed with the realization of the false position into which he has put himself, for one who has been a very model of propriety and of honor (v. 430). We can hardly avoid the impression that his present conduct is based upon a definite calculation of a certain result that seems to him worth the temporary sacrifice of his reputation—a separation that will not require the disclosure of the true reason. That means the return of the dowry, of course. So chivalrous a motive is not, I think, to be regarded as alien to the poet who conceived the character of Habrotonon.

Let us glance for a moment at the legal situation. In Attic law the technical term for the repudiation of the wife by the husband is ἀποπέμπειν, for a separation by the act of the wife ἀπολείπειν. Menander is cited by the grammarians as observing the correct distinction between these terms, Bekk. Anec., p. 431, 6: 'ἀπέλιπε' μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τὸν ἄνδρα λέγεται, 'ἀπέπεμψε' δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα. οὕτω Μένανδρος.¹ It is possible that the quotation was taken from the Epitrepontes, for the situation was undoubtedly explained in the prologue. Now we do find in the prologue the word [ἀποπέ]μπειν (M², v. 10), and in H², v. 354, ἀπολείπειν is used—both words no doubt in the technical legal meaning. These passages and the fact that Charisius has not taken the ordinary and easy course of ἀπόπεμψε justifies us in looking for a full explanation in the provisions of Attic law. If the play were preserved complete our knowledge of the law of the subject would be considerably more definite in certain respects.

Either husband or wife could secure a separation on any grounds whatever, the husband by formally, i. e., probably always before witnesses, sending his wife away from his home.² The wife, on the other hand, was obliged to appear in person before the archon and to file with him a written notification (ἀπογράφειν τὴν ἀπόλειψιν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα). We do not know whether or not the reasons alleged had to be satisfactory to the magistrate to make the separation legally effective. Either party seems to have had the right to a trial by recourse to a δίκη ἀποπέμψεως or ἀπολείψεως respectively. Whichever party took the initiative the dowry went back to the wife's κύριος, except possibly

¹ Cf. p. 201, 22 ἀπόλειψις . . . ἰδίως δὲ ὅταν γαμετὴ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπολείπη καὶ χρηματίζῃ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἀπόλειψιν.

² Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, Att. Proc. II, pp. 519 ff.

in the case of repudiation by the husband on the ground of infidelity or perhaps unchastity before marriage. On this point there is a difference of opinion among modern authorities and a total lack of evidence for Athens in the classical period.¹ The few authors of a late period who touch on the subject assume that the husband retains the dowry if his wife is put away for adultery. While we may suspect that this is the underlying presumption in the *Epitrepontes*, yet we shall do well to leave Charisius' possible claim, in case he had taken the initiative, entirely out of consideration in discussing the plot.

Quite apart from the question of the dowry, which he does not desire to keep, Charisius has a sufficient motive in giving Pamphila an opportunity and an excuse for leaving him. He loves her sincerely and deeply regrets that the knowledge of her unworthiness, as he considers it, was brought to him by his meddling slave (v. 207). To call in witnesses and before them formally to dismiss his wife would have been to expose her to the infamy that was attached to an unchaste woman. When, even after he has told her of his irrevocable decision no longer to regard her as his wife, she does not leave his house, Charisius decides that his only hope is in Smicrines, whose meanness he knows. He enters upon a course of life that is bound to arouse in Smicrines grave fears for the security of the dowry. Smicrines acts as he is expected to. But the plan did not reckon upon the unfailing love, greater because of her remorse, of Pamphila.

What reason does Pamphila give her father for her refusal to leave Charisius? Verse 442 (end of H³) gave the reason in an indirect quotation by Charisius, but the first part of the verse is lost. All attempts at restoration have been based upon the assumption that she now knows, as well as Smicrines, that Charisius also has an illegitimate son, and that this is the *ἀνύχμη*

¹ Lipsius l. c., n. 114, dissents from the opinion of Gans and Schömann, "dass der Mann, wenn er mit Grund seine Frau verstiess, die Mitgift behielt", holding that the dowry was the property of the *κύριος*, and that he should not be made to suffer by the fault of his ward. In Hermann-Blümner Gr. Privatalt., p. 265, the general statement is barely qualified, "vielleicht nicht einmal den Fall des Ehebruchs abgerechnet". Caillemier in Dar.-Sagl. s. Divortium, p. 320, thinks that the husband retained the dowry in such a case; that though there is no evidence for Athens in the classical period, it is true of a later time in Greece and is supported by the analogy of Ephesus, Ditt. Syl. 344, 59. The late writers who touch on the question are Sopater VIII, p. 229 Walz, Libanius IV p. 582 Reiske, Achil. Tat. 8, 8.

which she must loyally bear with him. But this cannot have been the case.¹ If she had known the truth she would have welcomed it as an *εὐτύχημα*, for with the knowledge that her husband had been guilty before marriage of the same offense as she and was now likewise embarrassed by a nothos, she would have been able to look forward with some confidence to an ultimate reconciliation. The fact of Charisius' error was not disclosed even to her father until toward the end of the play (v. 515), and to her by Charisius himself as soon as he learns the truth from Habrotonon (after Q¹). The nine missing letters should be restored to the following effect:

κοινωνὸς ἦκειν τοῦ βίου,
 <πάντως ἄρ'> οὐ δεῖν τὰτύχημ' αὐτὴν φυγεῖν
 [τὸ συμβ]εβηκόσ.

The misfortune was her own; to flee it of her own accord (*αὐτὴν*) she would have to leave her husband's house (*ἀπολείψει*), as Smicrines insisted she should do. And to this she will not consent. In the same sense the corrupt verse 354, in which *ἀπολείπειν* is alone certain, must also be interpreted and restored.

Chaerestratus appears again in Q¹, a short fragment of nine verses coming from the bottom of a page. Apart from the restoration of his name in v. 2, which may be considered doubtful,² several other indications point directly to him. The person addressed is told that some third person has urged Onesimus to remain loyal to Charisius; that Habrotonon is not to be considered a common woman or an hetaera; then something about her part in identifying the baby; then the urgent appeal *λευθέρου*.³ The speaker must be Onesimus and the person to be freed Habrotonon. It

¹ Charisius, after he has overheard the interview, conceives of Fate as saying to him in vv. 436 ff.: *δείξω σε, χρήσεται αὐτῇ, ἐπιδειχθήσεται*—all futures pointing to the ultimate disclosure to Pamphila of his equal guilt.

² I do not think it is, though it seems to exceed the space slightly. I am glad to yield the credit for this restoration to Sudhaus, whose article in *Rh. Mus.* (1908, p. 301) has just reached me.—Körte now reports that the first letter is X and that the restoration is certain.

³ Lefebvre's *ἐλευθερος* cannot be construed with *παιδάριον* nor with anything else in the context. It must be changed to the imperative. What follows supports this view of the passage. Körte's reading in v. 5, *σπονδῇ* for Lefebvre's *νιού ὁή*, relieves a serious textual difficulty. After *παιδάριον* Körte reports σ or ε, then κμ or κω (very uncertain). σ and the combination εκω are both excluded by the metre. No verb *έκμεμ-* seems suitable to the sense, which would be satisfied by *σπονδῇ δὲ καὶ παιδάριον ἐ<ξήρηκέ σοι>*.

has been a part of the plan of these conspirators that Habrotonon should gain her freedom if the plan succeeded (vv. 321, 341) and that Onesimus should have some reward, not stipulated, if Habrotonon could give it to him (vv. 326, 345). The scheme has now been carried through successfully and the time has come for the distribution of the rewards—first to Habrotonon, by the intercession of Onesimus, then to Onesimus, probably through the intercession of Habrotonon. It may be suspected that the compensation of Onesimus is the hand of Habrotonon. So much stress has been laid upon her chastity (vv. 262, 221) at the present time, and Onesimus asserts it with so much ardor here and at the end of the scene (top of H³),¹ that we feel as if some such arrangement were being prepared for earlier in the play and consummated here. Onesimus is smitten with her charms in M². *ἦδε* in v. 2 indicates that Habrotonon is present during this scene.

To the continuation of this scene belongs Men. fr. 849 K., which Wilamowitz, Legrand and others recognized as belonging to the *Epitrepontes*. In granting the favors for which Onesimus had asked Chaerestratus says:

Chaer.: φιλῶ σ', Ὀνήσιμε, <εἰ> καὶ σὺ περίεργος εἶ.

If the quotation formed a single verse a syllable is lacking. Knowing as we do the meddling tendencies of Onesimus, the declaration "I like you, Onesimus" would hardly be without some qualification regarding his besetting sin. Fr. 850 K., which comes from the same context, may be from a lecture of Chaerestratus on the dangers of meddling, or from the excuse of Onesimus, probably the latter:

οὐδὲν γὰρ γλυκύτερον ἢ πάντ' εἶδέναι.

After H² there is a long break in the papyrus. H³ must be separated from H² by four pages. If a longer lacuna were assumed only two and one-half pages would be left for the early scenes in Act IV, in which Onesimus, Habrotonon, the Cook, and Sophrona, if not still others, take part, that is between χοροῦ in the Jernstedt fragment and H¹. In the four-page interval between H² and H³ falls Q. It is generally supposed that Q¹ precedes Q², but as soon as we recognize in the former a conversation between Onesimus and Chaerestratus in which Onesimus pleads for the liberty of Habrotonon, we see that this scene must

¹ V. 462: "... and she must be chaste, else he (Charisius) would not have kept his hands off so charming a woman. And shall I?" (reading ἐγὼ δ' ἀρέξομαι;).

follow Q^2 , in which Habrotonon accomplishes the service to Charisius on which her claim to a reward rests. Further, H^2 begins with the concluding lines of a speech by Onesimus which clearly follows his interview with Chaerestratus; the subject is Habrotonon. And finally, as Körte has recently pointed out, since Q came from the bottom of the leaf it would have to be placed on pp. 9-10 of the quaternion if the verso followed the recto in the codex, and this would make H^2 a direct continuation of Q^2 , which is impossible. $Q^2 Q^1$ must therefore be assigned, with Körte, to pp. 7, 8 of the quaternion.¹

Fragment M, which contains scanty remains of eighteen verse-beginnings and verse-ends on recto and verso respectively, was thought by Wilamowitz N. Jahrb., 1908, p. 62, to belong to the Epitrepontes, and Robert goes so far as to print it between NT^1 and NT^2 . Recognizable words which occur in it certainly suggest strongly this identification. But absolute certainty can be reached and M be made available for the reconstruction of the play only by the discovery of some new piece of papyrus that fits it or by the coincidence with some portion of M with a quotation that is already identified. Happily two of the verse-ends of the verso coincide, I believe, with the ends of the two full verses of Men. 600 K., which Croiset rightly assigned to the Epitrepontes. Wilamowitz surmised that 600 K. came from the exposition, and if the identification here suggested is correct, his conjecture is abundantly confirmed.

In v. 6 of the verso the restoration [$\psi\alpha\lambda$]τρίας is certain. The word is used of Habrotonon by the questioner of Onesimus in 600 K. and in Tisch. v. 20. ἀραγε v. 8 could hardly be filled out otherwise than τέτταρά γε, giving another answer of the same kind as πάνυ μὲν οὖν in the quotation.² Here we have the advantage of knowing from the Tischendorf fragment that four talents were precisely the amount of Pamphila's dowry. Above ψάλτριάς we have the letters νο . . σ, which coincide, so far as they go, with the end of the line above ψάλτριαν in frag. 600, viz. [θεῶ]ν, 'ο[νή]σ[ιμε].³ With the

¹ The correct position of Q between H^2 and H^3 was found by Lefebvre, and Legrand suspected that the order was $Q^2 Q^1$. But the interpretation which he and others have given of Q^2 differs essentially from that here advocated.

² Lefebvre does not indicate that anything was written after σ. But in a number of cases we must assume letters after the last reported traces. In general the fact must be recognized that the first editor has reported with great fidelity what he saw.

³ The unusual anapaestic close as in Ar. Ran. 1203, 1227.

exception that we have the accusative in the quotation and the genitive here the remains of *M*¹ have all the appearance of being a portion of the same dialogue between Onesimus and his questioner as that from which the quotation is taken. The topics which the two speakers would be likely to follow appear in the verse-ends in due order: music-girl, dowry, exposure (I had thought of [διαλέγ]χοντι δὴ before I had a theory), repudiation of the wife, the money again, punishment, the mistress separated from the house, the nurse, the dark-browed (or σύνοφρος) beauty. To place *M*¹ in the first Act seems necessary even if frag. 600 is not to be incorporated in it.

At first sight the discrepancy between the second verse of the quotation and v. 6 of *M*¹ may seem to place an insuperable objection in the way of the incorporation here proposed. But when we reflect upon the chances in favor of a departure from the original text in quotation, illustrated by numberless instances, this may seem to be a minor objection after all. Many times a passage is intentionally adapted to meet the needs of the user, or only the pertinent word or phrase is kept intact while the context suffers modification; and the usual dangers of corruption in the process of transmission are multiplied for the quotation.¹ Further in this quotation the line of which ψάλτριαν is the last word is already imperfect in all three of the writers where it is found. To remedy this error Wilamowitz and Leo have proposed to insert the article before the proper name. But this is only a provisional expedient and does not improve the diction of the passage. The article is not desired before Ἀβρόνιον τὴν ψάλτριαν. The error lies deeper. Now the passage is quoted in the scholia to Arist. De interpretatione, and twice in the *Rhetores Graeci* ed. Walz as a good illustration of the rhetorical effect of a quick answer following upon the question. It is a stock illustration, used in the schools. The second verse was much more likely to be modified than the first or third because it was of no importance in the illustration, and further, if the verse were too suggestive in

¹Of the 23 quotations from the four new plays which are derived from Menander texts only 8 are verbally exact, and most of these are short quotations, ranging from single words to two and a half verses. The changes in six of the rest may be regarded as intentional adaptations rather than as careless quotations. Only three or four seem to be due wholly to errors of transmission. The substitution of single words is one of the vices of quotation; e. g., ποιεῖν for ποιεῖν in 722 K., εἰμι for κάθημαι in 920 K.

its phrasing it was likely to be modified intentionally on that account. When we consider these possibilities, the actual loss of a syllable, the coincidence in all but the final letter, and the remarkable suitability of the quoted passage to the dialogue in *M*¹, we are disposed to look with suspicion upon the colorless *ἔχων*. It has displaced a trisyllabic word whose presence rendered the passage less suitable for the lecture room. *ἐρασθεῖς* would satisfy all the conditions (cf. *Φρύνης ἐρασθεῖς* Timocl. fr. 23).

According to the cues furnished by the ends of the lines, which are more significant in a dialogue than in long speeches, the passage may be reconstructed somewhat as follows:

- M* 2. <Dav.: σὺ δὲ τρόφιμός σου, πρὸς θεῷ> ν, 'Ο <νή> σ <ιμε> ,
 6. <ὁ νῦν ἐρασθεῖς Ἀβροτόνου τῆς ψαλ> τρίας,
 <ἔγην' ἀναγχο; Ones.: πάνν μὲν οὖν. Dav.: λέγο> υσι καὶ
 <ὅτι προῖκ' ἔλαβε πολλήν. Ones.: τάλαντα τέττ> ἀρά γε.
 <νόθον δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα διελέγ> χο(ν)τι δὴ
 10. <τεκοῦσαν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἀποπέ> μπειν' ἵνα
 <ὁμῶς ἀπέλθῃ ἀπολάβῃ> τὰ χρήματα,
 <ταύτην ἔχει μισθωσάμενος. Dav.: δει> νή (δ)ίκη
 <αὕτη 'στί! τοῦτό σου πυθέσθαι βού> λομαι'
 <ἐξῆλθεν εὐθύς ἢ γε δ> ἔσποιν' οἰκίας;
 15. <Ones.: οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἔτ' οἴκοι καταμένει μετ' ἀ> μμίας.
 <καλὸν τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο,> νή τὸν Ἥλιον!
 ταύτην ἐγὼ
 μελάνο> φρυσ.

9. *χοντιδῆ* pap.—10. Colon before *ἵνα* in pap.—12. *λικη* pap.—14. Colon after *οἰκίας* pap.—15. Hesych., E. M. s. ἄμμια· μήτηρ, τροφός, cf. Herond. 1, 7.—18. *μελάνοφρυν* Hesych. Possibly *σύνοφρυν*, cf. Theoc. 8, 73.—In *M*¹ read in 4. *δληται*, 10. *πλέον ἢ*, 11. *αὐτὸν διαλύσαι πρὸς*.—Körte, Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. LX, p. 131, reports *σιμμιος*, Lefebvre could make out only *μμιος*. If Körte is right the fragment cannot be assigned to this play. But appearances are strongly against Körte's reading, which should be verified.

Who is the interlocutor of Onesimus in this scene? There are only three possibilities, in my opinion: Smicrines, a *πρόσωπον προσακόν*, or Davus. Syrisus is excluded by the fact that he and Onesimus do not know each other in the second Act (v. 177). The Cook has not yet arrived (v. 166). The subject matter excludes Smicrines. The poet would not have used a protatic character if one of the other characters was available. Now Davus is present in the next Act, though the motive for his

appearance is unknown. If he participated in the first Act his presence in the second would be self-explanatory. He was passing through the deme on some errand not connected with Charisius or his household. He meets Onesimus, who is about to go to the city to engage a cook. The two are old friends and stop to gossip. Then Davus proceeds on his errand. On his return journey he falls in with Syriscus in front of the house of Chaerestratus, and their quarrel and the arbitration follow.

Smicrines is also present in Act I. When we first see him in Act II (v. 5) he has just come from his first interview with his daughter. He too probably talked with Onesimus in the first Act. Certain words in M¹ point to him as the speaker; e. g., he complains of Charisius (*ἄσωτος, πίνειν*), but does not regard the quarrel as serious; he hopes to effect a reconciliation (*αὐτὸν διαλ-
<ύσαι (-ω) πρὸς θυγατέρα Παμφίλην>*). Onesimus does not tell him all he knows—about Habrotonon, the daily banquets with expensive cooks, the crowd of invited guests, etc. Smicrines learns about all these things later, when he has returned to the city (v. 362). We suspect that Davus, to whom Onesimus talked freely, repeated the gossip in town and that in this way it came to the ears of Smicrines after a time. This leads to the conjecture that M² preceded M¹, i. e., that Davus departed for the city before the arrival of Smicrines. Certainly it would seem more appropriate, from the point of view of dramatic structure, that the exposition, which is effected through the dialogue between Onesimus and Davus, should precede the arrival of Smicrines, whose errand introduced the action proper. In the interval of 18 verses between M² and M¹ we may assume that Davus takes his departure. The first words of Smicrines which are preserved (v. 2 of M¹) may be his first words after his entrance, and the speaker in the preceding verse is most likely Onesimus, who remains silent during the monologue that follows. A dialogue between Onesimus and Smicrines would then ensue. On this hypothesis, that the verso preceded the recto, the position of M would be on pp. 15-16 of the quaternion. The other possibility, pp. 11-12, would give undue length to the first Act. Since M is from the bottom of the leaf, some 25 verses of text preceded M²—either a brief monologue by Onesimus interrupted by the entrance of Davus, or a dialogue from the start, as in the *Heros*. The beginning of the *Epitrepontes*—title, hypothesis, personae, and a few lines of the text—would accordingly be on p. 14 of the quaternion.

With the facts in our possession we are now able to estimate somewhat more closely the extent of the play and of its main divisions. Without entering into a discussion of the various questions involved as regards the *Epitrepontes* or considering the relation of the *Epitrepontes* to the other plays in the Cairo papyrus, we give here what seems to be a plausible arrangement of the Acts¹ in the three quaternions through which this play ran, with greater detail in the portions which have been considered in this paper. For convenience these quaternions will be designated x, y, and z respectively.

ANALYSIS OF THE EPITREPONTES.

Epit. page.	Quat. page.	Contents.
Act I.		
1	x 14	Title, hypothesis, personae. Beginning of Act I. Enter Onesimus from house of Chaerestratus, Davus from the country. So. 1: Onesimus, Davus.
2	15	So. 1 continued. M ¹ .
3	16	Exit Davus to city. So. 2: Onesimus alone. Enter Smicrines from city. So. 3: Onesimus, Smicrines. M ¹ .
4	y 1	So. 3 continued. Exit Smicrines into house of Charisius. So. 4: Onesimus alone.
5	2	So. 4 continued. Exit Onesimus to city. End of Act I (ca. 128 vv.)* Enter from city Chorus of banqueters (?).†
Act II.		
6	2	Enter Syrisus ² from country, Davus soon after from city. So. 1: Syrisus, Davus.
6	3	So. 1 continued. Enter Smicrines from house of Charisius. So. 2: Syrisus, Davus, Smicrines. D ¹ .
7-11	4-8	D ² , C ² , C ³ , B ¹ , B ² . End of Act II (ca. 215 vv.). Enter Chorus (from house of Chaerestratus, or from the city†) after B ² , v. 19.
Act III.		
11-16	8-13	B ³ (vv. 20 ff.), B ³ , B ⁴ , C ³ , C ⁴ , [D ⁴]=NT ¹ . Enter Smicrines from city. NT ¹ . Enter Onesimus and Cook soon after.
17	14	Onesimus and Cook. NT ² .
18	15	Smicrines alone. B ³ and frag. Tisch. 1-16. Enter Chaerestratus and Onesimus.
19	16	Smicrines, Chaerestratus, Onesimus. B ¹ , frag. Jern. Exeunt omnes. End of Act III (ca. 303 vv.). Enter Chorus from house of Chaerestratus.

* If we assume a prologue by Onesimus before the entrance of Davus two more pages of quaternion x would be needed, making ca. 1900 vv. for the play.

† It is probable that there was no choral intermission between Act I and Act II; we are told in v. 195 that the guests (chorus) are arriving.

¹ While the justice of Legrand's contention *Rev. ét. anc.* 10, pp. 3 ff., must be acknowledged, that we have no authority for assuming that the Menandrian play was divided into five acts, yet the *Epitrepontes* does very naturally fall into five divisions.

Act IV.

- | | | |
|--------|-----|--|
| 20 | z 1 | Rest of fr. Jern. Enter Onesimus from house of Chaerestratus.
Sc. 1: Onesimus alone. |
| 21-23 | 2-4 | Lost. |
| 24, 25 | 5-6 | H ¹ , H ² . |
| 26 | 7 | Charisius, Onesimus, Habrotonon. Q ² . |
| 27 | 8 | At close of scene exit Charisius <i>into his own house</i> . End of
Act IV (?) (ca. 270 vv.). Enter Chorus from house of Chaere-
stratus; at close of performance exit Chorus to city? |

Act V.

- | | | |
|--------|--------|---|
| 27 | 8 | Chaerestratus, Onesimus, Habrotonon. Sc. 1: these three. Q ¹ . |
| 28, 29 | 9, 10 | Lost. Exeunt Chaerestratus and Habrotonon. |
| 30, 31 | 11, 12 | Exit Onesimus into house of Charisius. Enter Smicrines from
city, Sophrona from house of Charisius. Enter Onesimus
from house of Charisius. H ³ , H ⁴ . |
| 32 | 13 | Lost. Exeunt omnes. End of Act V (ca. 200 vv.). End of play
(ca. 1120 vv.). |

EDWARD CAPPS.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, August 10, 1908.

III.—GILDAS, LIBELLUS QUERULUS DE EXCIDIO BRITANNORUM AS A SOURCE OF GLOSSES IN THE COTTONIENSIS (CLEOPATRA A III=WW. 338-473) AND IN THE CORPUS GLOSSARY.

In volume V, pp. 466-67 of the Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil. I had assumed the existence of an OE. *lūpe* (*lūpa*) 'loop, leash' as the forerunner of ME. *lowpe* 'amentum, ansa, corrigia' = NE. *loop* on the strength of *lypenwyrhta* 'byrseus', WW. 275, 25 = 359, 5 and the Leiden gloss *catastā · lūpā*, Glogger's edition, p. 33, 15, 26 = Hessels, p. 10, VI 11, which gloss I read *catastam · lūpan*. For confirmation I had referred to the Gildas passage, *item mittit satellitum canumque prolixiores catastam*, where *catasta* undoubtedly occurs in the sense claimed by me for OE. *lūpe*. Though years ago I had conceived the idea and collected some proof for it that Gildas must be among the sources of glosses in the Epinal-Erfurt-Corpus-Leiden glossaries, I was not prepared at the time I wrote the article for the Journal to claim with positiveness the gloss in question for the Gildas passage quoted, but Glogger,¹ following up the scent I had indicated, has now placed it beyond doubt by tracing to Gildas the whole number of glosses exhibited in the Leidensis under the heading *Incipit Brevis Exsolutio*. He also accepts my view concerning the reading and interpretation of *lūpā*, while Hessels, p. 240 of his edition, is rather sceptical. For the OE. *lūpe* posited by me and Holthausen as precursor of NE. *loop* he says, 'we require an A. S. *lōp*' since 'every E. *oo* comes from A. S. *ō*'. The only known exception to this rule he contends to be OE. *rām*,² which according to him became *room* in NE. because the old vowel sound was preserved by the *r* preceding. The same reason might be brought forward in explanation of the instance quoted by Holthausen, viz., NE. *droop* = ON. *drūpa*. A similar case is NE. *brook* = OE.

¹ Das Leidener Glossar, 3. Teil A: Verwandte HSS. und Ergänzungen, p. 11-12. Augsburg, 1908.

² He also mentions OE. *lūs* = NE. *louse*, but that must be a slip, for *louse* rhymes with *house*.

brūcan.¹ However, no *r* is preceding in the following instances: NE. *uncouth* = OE. *uncūþ*; NE. dial. *cooscot* = OE. *cūscote*; NE. *pook*,² by the side of *puck*, = OE. *þuca*; NE. *stoop* = OE. *stūpian*; NE. dial. *sloom* = OE. *slūma*.³ I believe a closer search will reveal a still greater number of exceptions to the rule, but the instances given will suffice to substantiate my claim that NE. *loop* may well go back to the OE. *lūpe* (-a) assumed by me for the Leiden gloss *catastā. lūpā*, Glogger 15, 26.

The phonological difficulty thus being removed, everything else is clearly in favor of my view. To be sure, there are two Gildas passages to which our gloss might seem to have reference, either the one I had quoted, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* Vol. 69, 345 B, or *ut ad carcerem vel CATASTAM poenalem . . . traheremini*, ed. Migne Vol. 69, 390 C. However, as Glogger rightly points out, reference to this latter passage is hardly probable, "*schon wegen der arithmetischen Reihenfolge*", and, moreover, *lupa* would have to be assumed to mean 'place or contrivance for execution or torture' for which there is no warrant either in Latin or Old English. The only reference, then, left is to the passage quoted first where, as I have shown, *catasta* stands in the sense in which Aldhelm, the imitator of Gildas, employs it in his *Epistola ad Eahfridum*, p. 94, 27 (ed. Giles): *ceu aper truculentus molossorum CATASTA ringente vallatus*, that is to say, it means a leash, lead or string of animals or men. This is well borne out in the Gildas passage by the explanatory *catervam* which, according to Migne, Bibl. P. P. Paris. exhibits. And with that is in accord the OE. interpretation *werod* which we find for *catasta* in the Cottoniensis as printed WW. 379, 8. In fact, I believe it to be strong corroborative evidence for the assumption of an OE. *lūpe* 'leash' in the Leiden gloss. For just as the cluster of glosses among which *catastā. lūpā* occurs in the Leidensis, so *catasta werod* with its surrounding glosses in the Cottoniensis can be traced to Gildas and *catastā. lūpā* as well as *catasta werod* fit in only with the *catastam* quoted above from Migne 345 B. No less than eleven Gildas glosses are in the neighborhood and they form with *catasta werod* a fairly consecutive, if not continuous, series of interpretation, as may be seen from the following :

¹ Note the occurrence of *bruc* 'usus' in Beda, Leechdoms, the OE. Martyrol, and Greg. Dial.

² Compare Kipling's Puck of Pook's Hill.

³ So Kluge. Sweet assumes *sluma*.

WW. 379 ⁶ :	<i>caumate swole</i> = Gildas ed. Migne . . .	341 B
379 ⁷ :	<i>carpebantur wæran slilene</i> = ibid. . .	344 A
379 ⁸ :	<i>calasta werod</i> = ibid.	345 B
379 ⁹ :	<i>celeumatis sæleopes</i> = ibid.	346 C
379 ¹⁰ :	<i>colludio besmitenese</i> = ibid.	353 B
379 ¹¹ :	<i>conpediuntur beoþ gecyspte</i> = ibid. . . .	357 A
379 ¹² :	<i>caprarius gathiorde</i> = ibid.	363 B
379 ¹³ :	<i>contestabor ic cype</i> = ibid.	376 D
379 ¹⁴ :	<i>concisius hludur</i> = ibid.	379 A
379 ¹⁵ :	<i>conpluitur bið gerined</i> = ibid. . . .	381 D
379 ¹⁶ :	<i>cimbula lyllum scipe</i> = ibid.	388 A
379 ¹⁷ :	<i>compilabat stæl and copade</i> ¹ = ibid. . .	389 B

I subjoin the passages in which the words glossed occur :

WW. 379 ⁶ :	<i>quasi in alto Titane incalescente</i> CAUMATE. M. 341 B.
379 ⁷ :	<i>invidiæ capacibus unguis</i> CARPEBANTUR. M. 344 A.
379 ⁸ :	<i>item mittit satellitum canumque prolixiozem</i> CATAS- TAM. M. 345 B.
379 ⁹ :	<i>alii transmarinas petebant regiones, cum ululatu magno ceu</i> CELEUSMATIS <i>vice hoc modo sub velorum sinibus cantantes.</i> M. 346 C.
379 ¹⁰ :	. . . <i>illam, cujus dudum</i> COLLUDIO ² <i>ac suggestione tantæ sunt peccatorum subitæ moles.</i> M. 353 B.
	. . . <i>istorum commanipulari, cujus</i> COLLUDIO <i>et uxoris dolo Naboth innocens oppressus est</i> M. 356 C.

¹On the strength of this gloss Bosworth-Toller has in his Dictionary *copian* 'to plunder, pillage, steal.' He does not seem to be aware that *copade* belongs together with *copped* 'having the top cut off, polled' he quotes from Cod. Dipl. Kmbl. v. 240, 28-29: *To þan coppedan þorne*, and Thorpe, Diplom. 145, 29 *Andlang weges on þa coppedan æc*, and so farther on with *copp* 'conus', Napier OEG. I, 1562 *cono coppe* = ibid. 32, 6. To be sure, Judas was reputed as a thief (*fur*), but when the glossator designated his activities by *copade* he referred to him as a grafter who tried to make a profit on the monies entrusted to him; may be was a *Münskipper*, too. Certainly, *copian* = *coppian* is not so much *furari* as *praecidere*. It is related to Low German, Middle German *kappen* 'lop off, trim', and farther on, to *kippen*, OE. *forccippian* 'praecidere' in the Regius Psalter, H. 2¹⁶.

²The glossator's interpretation shows he mixed up *colludio* with *colluvio*. He may have found in his copy *colludio* which he read *collubio* = *colluvio*. There are a number of such instances. Compare also WW. 492, 16 and 18.

- 379¹¹: *quid illis, qui propriis scelerum suorum criniculis*
COMPEDIUNTUR, *fiet?* M. 357 A.
- 379¹²: *sed eram pastor* CAPRARIUS *vellicans sycomoros.* M.
363 B. This is a passage Gildas quotes from
Amos VII 14, where the Vulgate reads *armenta-*
rius.
- 379¹³: *Cui loquar et* CONTESTABOR *ut audiat?* M. 376 D.
This is Gildas quotation from Jerem. VI 10.
- 379¹⁴: *Auribus quoque percipite Micheam ac si coelestem*
quandam tubam adversus subdolos populi princi-
pes CONCISIUS *personantem.* M. 379 A.
- 379¹⁵: *Tu es terra quae non* COMPLUITUR. M. 381 D.
This is Gildas' quotation from Ezek. XXII 24,
where the Vulgate reads *tu es terra immunda et*
non compluta in die furoris.
- 379¹⁶: . . . *undis in despecta ingenii nostri* CYMBULA
fluctuabimur. M. 388 A.
- 379¹⁷: *Iudas namque loculos* COMPILABAT, *vos Ecclesiae*
donaria filiorumque animas eius vastatis. M.
389 B.

Another batch of Gildas interpretation is represented by the glosses WW. 389^m-390^l; only one of these does not belong to Gildas, viz., WW. 390¹ *destinare to ansendan.* It has crept in from Aldhelm (ed. Giles, p. 79¹⁰) who furnishes the main bulk of the other glosses in the Cottoniensis. But the rest, ten in number, form a fairly coherent mass of Gildas glosses, the first two being taken from the very first paragraph of the author's preface to his Liber Querulus:

- WW. 389^m: *dispendium wom* = Gildas ed. Migne 330 D-
331 A.
- 389⁴⁰: *desidiosorum slawera* = *ibid.*
- 389⁴¹: *delatoribus wregendum* = *ibid.* 337 A.
- 389⁴²: *diuortio hiwgedale, geflile* = *ibid.* 337 C.
- 389⁴³: *destinatur wæs onsended* = *ibid.* 340 A.
- 390²: *de curricis of crætum* = *ibid.* 341 B.
- 390³: *demetarum ametenra* = *ibid.* 350 C.
- 390⁴: *deciduam gewilendlic* = *ibid.* 351 C.
- 390⁵: *disceptauimus we flitan* = *ibid.* 367 B.
- 390⁶: *diffilemur we widsacað* = *ibid.* 370 A.

The corresponding passages are as follows:

- WW. 389³⁰: } . . . *quippe qui commune bonorum* DISPENDIUM
 389⁴⁰: } *malorumque cumulum lacrymosis querelis de-*
flectam quia vero non tam fortissimorum
militum enuntiare trucidis belli pericula mihi statu-
tum est quam DESIDIOSORUM. M. 330 D-331 A.
- 389⁴¹: *comminata . . . a principe morte* DELATORIBUS
militum ejusdem. M. 337 A.
- 389⁴²: *quorum (sc. sanctorum) sepulturae et passionum*
loca, si non lugubri DIVORTIONE *barbarorum . . .*
adimerentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus
ardorem divinae charitatis incuterent. M. 337 C.
 For *divortione* the editions have *divortio* and that
 was evidently also in the glossator's copy.
- 389⁴³: *Cui mox* DESTINATUR *legio.* M. 340 A.
- 390²: . . . *emergunt certatim* DE CURICIS. M. 341 B. The
 talk is of the wickerwork coracles in which the
 invaders came over the Irish Sea. The glossator,
 however, thought of 'carts' and, in fact, the Bibl.
 P.P. Paris. has *carruchis*.
- 390³: *Quid tu quoque* DEMETARUM *tyranne, Vorti-*
pori, stupide riges? M. 350 C. Here again the
 glossator made a mistake mixing up *demetatarum*
 with *Demetarium*.
- 390⁴: . . . *et habens veram vitam, perennem profecto, non*
 DECIDUAM. M. 351 C.
- 390⁵: *Hactenus cum regibus patriae non minus prophe-*
tarum oraculis quam nostris sermonibus DISCEP-
 TAVIMUS. M. 367 B.
- 390⁶: *quod nec vehementer et nos* DIFFITEMUR. M. 370 A.

Smaller groups of Gildas glosses in the Cottoniensis the following seem to be:

- WW. 365⁴²: *concussionibus rædnessum* = Gildas ed. Migne 336 A
 365⁴⁴: *confoti afedde* = ibid. 338 C
 369³⁰: *condicio redin* = ibid. 369 B
 369³¹: *clauicularius cægbora* = ibid. 373 B

The corresponding passages are:

- WW. 365⁴²: . . . *imbellemque populum sed infidelem non tam*
ferro et igni machinisque . . . quam solis minis
vel judiciorum CONCUSSIONIBUS *edictis*

subjugavit. M. 336 A. The meaning is: Rome held Britanny in subjection not so much by military measures as by mere threats, law court thunder, edicts. The Corpus Glossary, with whom the Cottoniensis has this gloss in common as so many others, reads *rædnisse*. I cannot help thinking that the original interpretation was something like *punorradum rædnissa*.

365⁴⁴: *omnes exsultant filii, gremio ac si matris Ecclesiae* CONFOTI. M. 338 C.

369³⁰: *si talis coemptionis* CONDITIO *ingesta fuisset.* M. 369 B.

369³¹: . . *inversis pedibus crucis affixus . . . patibulo, ut* CLAVICULARIUS *ille* M. 373 B.

Another small cluster is represented by

WW. 355³⁵: *arcis fæstennes* = Gildas ed. Migne 341 C.

355³⁴: *a lanionibus from hylderum* = ibid. 342 A.

355³⁶: *arrectas upp arehte* = ibid. 344 A.

The corresponding passages are:

WW. 355³⁵: *Statuitur ad haec in edito* ARCIS *acies ad pugnam.* M. 341 C.

355³⁴: *Et sicut agni* A LANIONIBUS, *ita deflendi cives ab inimicis discerpuntur.* M. 342 A.

355³⁶: *non ignoti rumoris penniger ceu volatus* ARRECTAS *omnium penetrat aures.* M. 344 A.

A somewhat larger batch of Gildas glosses we have in the following:

WW. 397³⁰: *excidium hryre* = Gildas ed. Migne . . . 345 A

397³¹: *epimoenia fostrapas* = ibid. 345 C

397³²: *editiorem hearan* = ibid. 352 A

397³⁴: *cheu wa la wa* = ibid. 353 C

397³⁵: *exactores gerefan* = ibid. 375 C

The corresponding passages are:

WW. 397³⁰: *adinvenientes tale praesidium, immo* EXCIDIUM *patriae.* M. 345 A.

397³¹ *Item queruntur non affluenter sibi* EPIMENIA *con-*
tribui. M. 345 C.

397³²: . . . *quem cunctis pene Britanniae ducibus tam*
regno fecit quam status lineamento EDITIOREM. M. 352 A.

397^u: *HEU! si quidem parum auribus captasti propheti-
cam objurgationem.* M. 353 C. The glossator
may have found *Eheu* for *Heu* in his copy.

397^u: *Populum meum EXACTORES sui spoliaverunt.* M.
375 C. This is Gildas' quotation from Isaiah III 12.

Quite a number of detached small groups of Gildas glosses are
found under the letter I. So we have

WW. 422¹: *imminente atwesendre*¹ = Gildas ed. Migne 347 A

422^u: *ingesta ondoen* = ibid. 369 B

*Confugiunt . . . tam avide quam apes alvearii pro-
cella IMMINENTE.* M. 347 A.

. . . *si talis profecto coemptionis condicio ab impu-
dentibus istis non dicam apostolo Petro, sed cuili-
bet sancto sacerdoti . . . INGESTA fuisset.*
M. 369 B.

Then there follows a group of three:

WW. 422^u: *intransmeabili unoferfere* = Gildas ed. Migne 333 C

422^u: *inbellem orwige* = ibid. 336 A

422^u: *initiatum gesteped*,² *gehalgodne* = ibid. 339 A

The passages are:

WW. 422^u: *cuius diffusionem et ut ita dicam INTRANSMEABILI
undique circulo.* M. 333 C.

422^u: *INBELLEM que populum edictis subjugavit.*
M. 336 A.

422^u: *. . . ritu tyrannico et tumultuante INITIATUM milite
Maximum mittit.* M. 339 A.

Quite alone seems to stand:

WW. 427¹⁰: *inheret oncliofad* = Gildas ed. Migne 368 A: *si
tamen sanctionibus INHAERET.*

But this solitary instance is followed by a group of four:

WW. 427¹¹: *insertum ingeseted* = Gildas ed. Migne 331 D

427^{1u}: *in olitorum in geweaxenra* = ibid. 332 B

427^{1u}: *in cucumerario on wyrttune* = ibid. 357 C

427^{2u}: *inmane ungemellic* = ibid. 363 B

The corresponding passages are:

WW. 427¹¹: *Legebam Apostoli voce oleastri ramum bonae olivae
INSERTUM fuisse.* M. 331 D.

¹ Supply *yste* (procella).

² This seems to refer to another source.

- 427¹⁸: *Tibine . . . talis cura committitur, ut . . . contra hunc INOLITORUM scelerum funem . . . serves depositum tibi creditum?* M. 332 B.
- 427¹⁹: *Derelinquetur, inquit filia Sion . . . sicut tugurium IN CUCUMERARIO.* M. 357 C. This is Gildas' quotation from Isaiah I 8.
- 427²⁰: *Audite itaque haec, qui contribulatis IMMANE pauperem.* M. 363 B. The glossator has overlooked the fact that *immane* in this quotation of Gildas from Amos VIII 4 functions as adverb. *Immane* is absent from the Vulgate text; for *contribulatis* it reads *conteritis*.

A larger group we again meet with under the letter M :

- WW. 447²⁴: *muttire abyffan* = Gildas ed. Migne . . . 332 C
- 447²⁵: *murotenus wið ðone weall* = *ibid.* . . . 341 C
- 447²⁶: *marcebat lænede* = *ibid.* . . . 341 C
- 447²⁷: *minacibus heum* = *ibid.* . . . 346 C
- 447²⁸: *meretricabitur forliged* = *ibid.* . . . 363 B

The corresponding passages are :

- WW. 447²⁴: *Quid tu nugando MUTTIRE disponis?* M. 332 C.
- 447²⁵: . . . *solito confidentius omnem aquilonalem . . . partem pro indigenis MUROTENUS capessunt.* M. 341 C.
- 447²⁶: *Statuitur ad haec in edito acies . . . quae diebus ac noctibus stupido sedili MARCEBAT.* M. 341 C.
- 447²⁷: *alii a montanis collibus, MINACIBUS praeruptis vallati . . . in patria licet trepidi perstabant.* M. 346 C.
- 447²⁸: *Uxor tua in civitate MERETRICABITUR.* This is Gildas' quotation from Amos VII 17; the Vulgate reads *fornicabitur*. M. 363 B.

Another larger group is found under the letter O :

- WW. 462²⁴: *obrasum ascæfen* = Gildas ed. Migne . . . 340 B
- 462²⁵: *obulum sceat* = *ibid.* . . . 367 D
- 462²⁶: *oscitantes ganiende* = *ibid.* . . . 368 C
- 462²⁷: *obtigil gelamp* = *ibid.* . . . 375 B
- 462²⁸: *olitani geara gewunan oððe gewunede* = *ibid.* 389 D

The corresponding passages are :

- WW. 462²⁴: . . . *ne penitus misera patria deleteretur nomenque Romanum quod verbis tantum apud eos auribus*

*resultabat, vel exterarum gentium opprobrio
OBROSUM vilesceret.* M. 340 B.

462^m: . . . *egenis eleemosynam esse dandam summis e
labris praedicantes, sed ipsi vel OBOLUM non
dantes.* M. 367 D.

462^{no}: *ad praecepta sanctorum . . . OSCITANTES ac stupidos.*
M. 368 C.

462ⁿⁱ: . . *illi . . vati decepto . . . ut parum quid panis
et aquae sumeret, OBTIGIT.* . . M. 375 B.

462^{no}: *O inimici Dei et non sacerdotes, VETERANI malo-
rum et non pontifices.* M. 389 D. I believe with
Hessels, and in fact have done so before I knew
he shared my view, that the Leiden gloss *ollitani*.
senes, Gloger, p. 81, 56, 26, refers to this passage,
and is proof that Gildas wrote *olitan* which
probably was glossed in some text *veterani* and
gradually superseded by that. Further proof is
the above gloss in the Cottoniensis; the print has
obtani; that we must read this *olitan* seems to
me perfectly plain, and it is borne out by the OE.
interpretation which well fits in with the Gildas
passage quoted and confirms my view.

Somewhat doubtful I feel concerning the following small group
under the letter L:

WW. 438¹⁰: *luxerat heofde* = Gildas ed. Migne. . . 331 C

438¹¹: *lanio slaga* = *ibid.* 351 A

438¹²: *laguoenas ambras* = *ibid.* 371 B

The corresponding passages are:

WW. 438¹⁰: *dum ita eisdem statu prospero viventes egregios
LUXERAT, ut diceret.* M. 331 C.

438¹¹: . . . *Cuneglasse, Romana lingua LANIO fulve.*
M. 351 A.

438¹²: . . . *cum LAGENAS viris tenentibus egregias in man-
ibus.* M. 371 B. . . . *et LAGENAS splendidissimo
ignis lumine noctu coruscantes.* M. 371 B.

It must be admitted the interstice between the supposed place
of provenience of these glosses is rather large; still, they seem to
be interrelated. Anyway, in the groups just dealt with there is
never represented a perfectly continuous line of Gildas interpre-

tation, running from page to page, yet their relation to this author seems to be sufficiently apparent and their cumulative evidence makes strongly for Gildas as their source. Different it is with the scattered glosses which are traceable to Gildas, but can be accounted for also from other sources.

Of such description are the following :

WW. 408ⁿ: *ferarum wilddeora* may refer to Gildas ed. Migne 342 A, *ita deflendi cives ab inimicis discerpuntur, ut commemoratio eorum FERARUM assimilaretur agrestium*, but just as possible is the reference to Gildas' imitator, Aldhelm, who in the cat riddle (ed. Giles, p. 265, No. 6^o) says: *et vaga venatrix rimabor lustra FERARUM*. Of a certainty *mastigias da lala*, WW. 442^s, which on the face of it might seem to hail from Gildas ed. Migne 336 D, *suorumque quosdam præpositos relinquentes, indigenarum dorsis MASTIGIAS*, owes its origin rather to Aldhelm ed. Giles, p. 77, 32 *invectionis MASTIGIAS*, as is plainly shown by the surrounding glosses, all of which are from Aldhelm: WW. 442¹ = Aldhelm, p. 58, 31, WW. 442² = *ibid.*, p. 59, 16, WW. 442³ = *ibid.*, p. 75, 18, WW. 442⁴ = *ibid.*, p. 76, 6, WW. 442⁵ = *ibid.*, p. 76, 27, WW. 442⁶ = *ibid.*, p. 77, 15, WW. 442⁷ = *ibid.*, p. 77, 29, WW. 442¹⁰ = *ibid.*, p. 77, 32, WW. 442¹¹⁻¹³ = *ibid.*, p. 79, 30-31, WW. 442¹⁴ = *ibid.*, p. 81, 34. Just so WW. 343ⁿ *arceretur adrifem, bewered wære*, which at first sight would seem to go back to Gildas ed. Migne, 339 C, *si hostis longius ARCERETUR*, must be attributed to Aldhelm, p. 69, 25, because of the neighboring Aldhelm glosses.

WW. 403ⁿ *fimum gor* may be claimed for Gildas ed. Migne 363 D, *effundam . . . carnes eorum sicut FIMUM boum*, which is Gildas' quotation from Sophon. I 17, the Vulgate reading (*effundentur*) . . . *corpora eorum sicut stercora*, but it may just as well have originated from Orosius VII 8, 8, *passim FIMUM in os eius conieciantibus*. There are certainly a number of Orosius glosses in the Cottoniensis which it shares with the Corpus Glossary as it does some Gildas glosses we shall come to presently. So, too, WW. 386^{s, 13} may refer to Gildas 370 D and 369 C, but are rather from the Scriptures, 2 Reg. 17, 16 and Gen. 46, 34, in view of the fact that all the surrounding glosses are Scripture glosses.

With hardly more confidence we can pronounce on the Gildas provenience of WW. 385¹ *devincxit geband*; this occurs followed by *decerni* in the Corpus Glossary D 81, 82, and both are found in Gildas, the former in Migne 349 A, the latter 344 C,

which, however, may at the same time be claimed for Orosius II 5, 9, IV 16, 16, VI 15, 1, and color is given to that claim by the *deglobere fleam* following in both and met with in Orosius VII 4, 4. Also *obtinuit offercom*, WW. 459⁸ may be an Orosius gloss (Oros. VI 2, 4) or refer to Gildas ed. Migne 332 C; the latter is made somewhat probable by the following *obiectionibus gestalum*, WW. 459⁸ = Corpus Glossary O 105, which I have not been able to trace to Orosius; it is found in Gildas ed. Migne 332 C, *Præoccupabant igitur se mutuo talibus OBJECTIONIBUS vel multo his mordacioribus, veluti condebilores sensus mei*. Observe, too, that *condebilores* of the same passage is one of the Gildas glosses peculiar to the Corpus Glossary, C 826, and in the next neighborhood there are C 828, *concussionibus rædnisse*, and C 829 *confoti afoedde*, both of which we have previously found to belong to Gildas.

As to the following, I have somewhat more confidence in ascribing them to Gildas:

WW. 385 ⁸ :	<i>degeneraverat mispah</i> = Gildas ed. Migne	346 B
393 ¹⁸ :	<i>expeditionibus firdum</i> = ibid.	341 A
417 ²¹ :	<i>humare bemyldan</i> = ibid.	344 B
426 ¹² :	<i>intentarentur wæran beotende</i> ¹ = ibid.	374 C
438 ²⁴ :	<i>leena lio</i> = ibid.	335 A
456 ¹¹ :	<i>nodorum rapa</i> = ibid.	342 A
456 ¹² :	<i>non abortabit no miscalfad</i> = ibid.	364 C

The corresponding passages are :

WW. 385 ⁸ :	<i>Ita enim DEGENERAVÉRAT vinea illa olim bona in amaritudinem versa.</i> M. 346 B.
393 ¹⁸ :	<i>denuntiantes nequaquam se tam laboriosis EXPEDITIONIBUS posse frequentius vexari.</i> M. 341 A.
417 ²¹ :	<i>quæ (sc. lues) in brevi tempore tantam ejus multitudinem . . . sternit, quantam ne possent vivi HUMARE.</i> M. 344 B.
426 ¹² :	<i>. . . cum ab iniquo principe minæ hujusmodi INTENTARENTUR.</i> M. 374 C.
438 ²⁴ :	<i>rectores sibi relictos LEÆNA trucidavit dolosa.</i> M. 335 A.
456 ¹¹ :	<i>Interea non cessant uncinata NODORUM tela.</i> M. 341 C-342 A.
456 ¹² :	<i>Vacca eorum NON ABORTIVIT.</i> M. 364 C. This is

¹Read *wæron beotede*?

Gildas' quotation from Job XXI 10, where the Vulgate reads *bos* for *vacca* and *abortivit* for *abortabil* which our glossator evidently found in his copy.

A word at least I wish to say about WW. 442³⁰ *maceratus preatende* and WW. 442³⁸ *manticum handfulbeowæs*. The latter is on record also in the Corpus Glossary, M 32, as *manticum hondfulbeowes*, in the Erfurt, fol. 8 verso, A 37, as *manticum hand ful beouaes*,¹ in the Epinal Facsimile 15, A 21, as *manticum hand fulbeouuas*,² in the Leiden, ed. Glogger, p. 89, 63, 21 = Hessels, p. 48, XLVII 34, as *manticum hondful baues*. Though all the glossaries agree in exhibiting the lemma as *manticum*, I have always³ insisted that the interpretation shows this to be a mistake for *manuam*, or possibly *manum*, and I referred the gloss to Ezek. XIII 19, where the Vulgate, to be sure, has *pugillum hordei*, but I surmised there must have been a variant, either *manuam* or *manum*. This is borne out by the reading of the Ezekiel passage Gildas quotes, ed. Migne 381 D, *et contaminabant me ad populum meum propter MANUM PLENAM HORDEI et propter fragmentum panis*. I maintain the OE. interpretation *handful beouues* is an exact rendering of the reading Gildas offers, and the conclusion seems justified that the gloss in question may be based on the Gildas passage. However that may be, Glogger's effort to justify *manticum* as proper lemma for the interpretation following (Das Leiden Glossar, Teil 3 A, p. 64) seems to me perfectly futile; the lemma must have been either *manuam* or *manum* and the gloss either directly drawn from Ezekiel or through the medium of some such quotation as that of Gildas. The possibility of the latter alternative will seem probable, if we consider that the Erfurt shows at least traces of Gildas interpretation, proof of which I reserve for another time. The evidence of Gildas interpretation in the Corpus Glossary we shall presently produce.

As to *maceratus preatende*, only the Corpus Glossary, M 27, agrees with the Cottoniensis in exhibiting this gloss. Here again the OE. interpretation shows that the lemma as we read it cannot be right. I suppose in the archetypus the copyist found

¹ So the MS, Sweet OET, p. 78, n. 645 prints *handful beouaes*, Goetz, C. G. L. V 372¹⁹, following him.

² Sweet, ll., prints *handful beouuas*.

³ In my communications sent to Goetz and Glogger.

maceratus, that is to say, *maceraturos*, but by inadvertence he omitted the *ro* written over to correct the mistakenly written *maceratus*. And this original *maceraturos* *preatende* may be based on what we read in Gildas, ed. Migne 336 D, . . . *Italiam petunt suorumque quosdam praepositos relinquentes, indigenarum dorsis mastigias, cervicibus jugum, solo nomen Romanae servitutis haerere facturos ac non tam militari manu quam flagellis callidam gentem MACERATUROS*. The author means to say, so effectual has been the suppression of the revolt against Roman rule and so cowardly is the spirit of the British people, who know only how to be tricky, but not how to fight, that the Romans can safely withdraw their legions, leaving the management of such cowards in the hands of a few governors who will flog the refractory backs and impress the consciousness of their being serfs so indelibly upon the land that mere threats will suffice to make them quail before their masters.

We come now to the Gildas glosses in the Corpus Glossary. We have already noticed in passing by that a number of Gildas glosses in the Cottoniensis are also extant in the Corpus Glossary. Of these we shall speak first: C 498 *clavicularius · caeghiorde* slightly disagrees with WW. 369ⁿ *clavicularius caeghiora* = Gildas 373 B; so does C 828, *concussionibus · raednisse* with WW. 365ⁿ *concussionibus raednessum* (Gildas 336 A); concerning this compare what we have said above. There is perfect agreement, however, between the very next gloss in the Corpus Glossary, C 829 *confoti · afoedde* and WW. 365ⁿ *confoti afedde* (Gildas 338 C). Disagreement in the interpretation there is again between Corpus Glossary, A 805 *arectas · hlysnendi* and WW. 355ⁿ *arrectas upp arehte* (Gildas 344 A); so also between *ibid.*, E 526 *excidium · euersio emonnis*¹ & *discessio* and WW. 397ⁿ *excidium hryre* (Gildas 345 A). The same divergency is observable in *ibid.*, E 259 *epimenia · nest*² and WW. 397ⁿ *epimoenia fostrapas* (Gildas 345 C). As to WW. 397ⁿ *editiorem hearan* (Gildas 352 A), compare *ibid.*, E 39, *editiori · altiore* which may be miswriting of *editiorē · altiorē* = *editiorem · altiorem*. Agreement there is between *ibid.*, I 101, *imminente aet weosendre* and

¹ That is *æmonnis*. I want to state again that this is the noun to the adj. *æmenne*, Oros. ed. Sweet III 9, 17, Guthlac 187, and is absent from the dictionaries as the gloss is absent from Sweet's OET.

² If this is a Gildas gloss, then of course also Erf. 389 *epimenia nest* has to be referred there.

WW. 422¹ *imminente ætwesendre* (Gildas 347 A); so, too, *ibid.*, I 110, *ingesta · ondoen* agrees with WW. 422⁸ *ingesta ondoen* (Gildas 369 B), and *ibid.* I 456, *intrans · meabili · unoferfoere* with WW. 422²² *intransmeabili unoferfere* (Gildas 333 C) and *ibid.* I 460 *inbellē · orwige* with WW. 422²² *inbellem orwige* (Gildas 335 A). As to WW. 422²⁴ *initiatum gesteped, gehalgodne* (Gildas 339 A) observe that the Corpus Glossary, I 466, omits the second interpretation, reading *initiatum gestoepid*. For the *luxerat heofde* (Gildas 331 C) of the Cottoniensis, WW. 438¹⁰, the Corpus Glossary, L 329, has the Latin interpretation *luxerat · fleuerat*; just so for the *lanio slaga* (Gildas 351 A) of the Cottoniensis, WW. 438¹¹, the Corpus Glossary, L 17 has *lanio · qui lacerat* with which compare *lanio · lacetur* (= *laceratur* = *lacerator*) in the Gildas glosses of the Leidensis, ed. Glogger, p. 33, 15, 29 = Hessels, p. 10, VI 17. Some slight disagreement with regard to the interpretation there is again between WW. 462²², *oscitantes ganiende* (Gildas 368 C) and Corpus Glossary, O 272, *oscitantes · geongendi*. For the Old English of WW. 462²² *obtigil · gelamp* (Gildas 375 B) we have Latin interpretation in the Corpus Glossary, O 93, *oblegit · euenit*. WW. 385¹ *devincxit geband* (Gildas 349 A) agrees with Corpus Glossary, D 81, *devinxit · geband*; just so WW. 459⁸ *obtinuit ofercom* (somewhat doubtfully referred to Gildas 332 C) with Corpus Glossary, O 103, *obtinuit · ofercuom*. WW. 385⁸ *degenerauerat mispah* (Gildas 346 B) is the exact counterpart of Corpus Glossary, D 179, *degenerauerat · misthagch*. WW. 393¹⁸ *expeditionibus firdum* (Gildas 341 A) we find again in the Corpus Glossary, E 504 *expeditionibus · ferdun* (read *ferdum*). WW. 417²² *humare bemyldan* (Gildas 344 B) occurs miswritten *humase · bimyldan* in the Corpus Glossary, H 159. Whether WW. 379⁸ *caumale swole* (Gildas 341 B) is represented in the Corpus Glossary by C 237, *caumati · suole*, is rather doubtful, in the first place, because of the differing *i* of the lemma and, in the second place, because no other member of that particular group of Gildas glosses in the Cottoniensis we have pointed out as comprising the glosses WW. 379⁶⁻¹⁷, appears in the Corpus Glossary. The same doubt attaches to *commolitis þu forgrindesp*, WW. 365²¹, a gloss in the Cottoniensis not yet spoken of, as compared with *commolitio · forgrindet* in the Corpus Glossary, C 776. It is barely possible that both glosses may relate to Gildas' quotation from Isaiah III 15 which we find ed. Migne 375 D, *Quare atteritis*

populum meum et facies pauperum COMMOLITIS. Another possible Gildas gloss we have not mentioned yet, occurring both in the Cottoniensis and the Corpus Glossary, is WW. 391¹⁶, *eatenus oppæt* = E 2 *eatenus* · *oddæt* which may refer to Gildas 332 B, . . . *affectum saltem intelligibilis asinae* EATENUS *elinguis non refugito spiritu Dei afflatae*. *Eatenus* is in the Leiden Glossary, ed. Glogger, p. 33, 15, 21, glossed by *acteng* = *hactenus*. It certainly occurs there among established Gildas glosses.

Of Gildas glosses, absent from the Cottoniensis as it is printed in the Wright-Wülker collection, but extant in the Corpus Glossary, I have noticed the following:

Corpus Glossary, A 504, <i>amisionem</i> · <i>forlor</i> = Gildas .	348 A
ibid. A 280: <i>adcommodaturus</i> · <i>uuoende</i> = ibid. . . .	336 D
C 826: <i>condebitores</i> · <i>gescolan</i> = ibid. . . .	332 C
D 100: <i>depositum</i> · <i>commendatum</i> = ibid. . . .	332 B
D 180: <i>deuotaturi</i> · <i>maledicturi</i> = ibid. . . .	332 C
I 458: <i>in edito</i> · <i>in alto</i> = ibid. . . .	334 B, 341 C
I 459: <i>inclamitans</i> · <i>sepe clamo</i> = ibid. . . .	335 B
I 489: <i>irritum</i> · <i>forhogd</i> · <i>inanem</i> = ibid. . . .	331 B, 353 B
M 223: <i>minaci</i> · <i>hlibendri</i> = ibid. . . .	334 B
N 112: <i>nisu</i> · <i>uirtute</i> = ibid. . . .	392 A
N 168: <i>non profuit</i> · <i>pro nihilo</i> · <i>fuit</i> = ibid. . . .	340 A
N 202: <i>nugando</i> · <i>inutiliter</i> · <i>loquendo</i> = ibid. . . .	332 C
O 104: <i>obstes</i> · <i>contra stes</i> = ibid. . . .	332 B
O 105: <i>obiectionibus</i> · <i>gestalum</i> = ibid. . . .	332 C
P 337: <i>persoluo</i> · <i>ic drouuo</i> = ibid. . . .	332 A
S 568: <i>sternit</i> · <i>gehnægith</i> = ibid. . . .	344 B
S 699: <i>sub iugatis</i> · <i>gededum</i> = ibid. . . .	335 D
T 312: <i>tragoediae</i> · <i>miseriae</i> = ibid. . . .	340 B
U 146: <i>ueterno</i> · <i>faecnum</i> = ibid. . . .	343 C
U 294: <i>uscide</i> · <i>tohlice</i> = ibid. . . .	332 B

The corresponding passages are:

- A 504: . . . *exceptis paucis et valde paucis, qui ob AMISSIONEM tantae multitudinis, quae quotidie prona fuit ad tartara, tam brevis numeri habentur*. M. 348 A.
- A 280: *suorumque quosdam praepositos relinquentes, indigenarum dorsis mastigias, cervicibus iugum, solo nomen Romanae servitutis haerere facturos, ac non tam militari manu quam flagellis callidam gentem maceraturus, et si res ita postulauisset, ense (ut dicitur) vagian*

vacuum lateri eius populi ACCOMMODATUROS. M. 336 D. If this passage which I have discussed previously is the source of our gloss, and I think it is, the OE. interpretation may stand for *cuiuōende* = *cuiuomende*.¹

- C 826: *Praeoccupabant igitur se mutuo talibus* OBJECTIONIBUS . . . *veluti* CONDEBITORES *sensus mei.* M. 332 C. The author means to say, those who ought to have spoken out against the prevalent abuses in Brittany prevented each other from doing so by just such objections as he himself formerly had had to such a course, feeling as he had done then that it was none of their business and somebody better fitted ought to speak.
- D 100: *ut serves* DEPOSITUM *tibi creditum.* M. 332 B.
- D 180: . . . *asinae* . . . *nolentis se vehiculum fore tiarati magi* DEUTURI *populum Dei.* M. 332 C. Compare with this the Gildas gloss in the Leidensis ed. Glogger, p. 81, 56, 17, *Deuotatū · male | dicturio = deuotaturi · male-dicturi* as Glogger who traced the source of the gloss has shown (Das Leidener Glossar 3. Teil A, p. 58). Glogger also drew attention to the Corpus gloss.
- I 458: . . . *quorum culmina* MINACI *proceritate porrecta* IN EDITO *forti compage pangebantur.* M. 334 B.
Statuitur ad haec IN EDITO *arcis acies ad pugnam.* M. 341 C.
- I 459: . . . *neque nominatim* INCLAMITANS *montes ipsos aut colles.* M. 335 B.
- I 489: . . . *Gabaonitarum* IRRITUM *foedus.* M. 331 B.
. . . *post monachi votum* IRRITUM. M. 353 B. The additional interpretation *inanem* probably refers to a passage from another source where *irritum* occurs as acc. sg. of *irritus*.
- M 223: See the quotation sub. I 458.
- N 112: . . . *poenitentiae tabulam toto animi* NISU *exquirite.* M. 392 A.
- N 168: *Qui (sc. murus) vulgo irrationabili absque rectore factus, non tam lapidibus, quam cespitibus,* NON PROFUIT. M. 340 A.
- N 202: *Quid tu* NUGANDO *mutire disponis?* M. 332 C. The passage was previously quoted for *mutire*.

¹ However compare *woenlic* 'conueniens' Mk. 14⁸⁸ (Lindisf. and Rushw.); *woenlica* 'conuenientia' Mk. 14⁸⁸ (Lindisf.), *woenlice* (Rushw.). This needs investigation.

- O 104: *Tibine . . . talis cura committitur, ut OBSTES ictibus tam violenti torrentis.* M. 332 B.
- O 105: See quotation sub C 826.
- P 337: *. . nunc PERSOLVO debitum.* M. 332 A. The glossator evidently took this to mean 'I now pay the penalty for my doing' while the real sense is 'I now discharge my duty.'
- S 568: *pestifera namque lues feraliter insipienti populo incubuit, quae in brevi tempore tantam ejus multitudinem STERNIT, quantam ne possent vivi humare.* M. 344 B. The passage has been quoted before for *humare*.
- S 699: SUBJUGATISQUE *fnitimis quibusque regionibus vel insulis Orientem versus.* M. 335 D.
- T 312: *At illi, quantum humanae naturae possibile est, commoti tantae historia TRAGOEDIAE.* M. 340 B.
- U 146: *ita ut merito patriae illud exemplum propheticum, quod VETERANO illi populo denuntiatum est, potuerit aplari.* M. 343 C. The *veteranus populus* the author speaks of is what he elsewhere calls *callida gens Britannorum* who know how to trick but not how to fight.
- U 294: *Tibine talis cura committitur, ut obstes ictibus tam violenti torrentis et contra hunc inolitorum scelerum funem per tot annorum spatia [in]interrupte UISCIDEQUE protractum serves depositum tibi creditum?* I once referred the gloss to Aldhelm, p. 109, 31, but Glogger, ll., p. 11, has convinced me that it is a Gildas gloss; it occurs in the Leidensis ed. Glogger, p. 33, 15, 21 as *uiscide*, a lemma without interpretation, among other glosses traced to Gildas by Glogger; for *uiscide* Migne's (332 B) text has *late*; Mommsen, according to Glogger, exhibits *iuscide* as reading of his MS, which, of course, is nothing but *uiscide*. The reading *late* rests, I believe, on the gloss to *iuscide*, viz., *lente* which, when written *lāte*, could easily develop to what crept in the text as *late*. For *ininterrupte* Migne and Mommsen as well as Stevenson have *interrupte*, but *ininterrupte* is plainly required by the sense.

As to Gildas traces in the Erfurt and Epinal, I shall have to reserve their discussion, as stated above, for some other time.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

HARTFORD, CONN.

IV.—VIRGIL'S FOURTH ECLOGUE.—AN OVER-LOOKED SOURCE.

The recent discussion of this Eclogue by Professor Mayor¹ and Sir William Ramsay² leaves something yet to be said, I believe, regarding the sources.

To introduce appropriately what appears to me a source, I must first present a summary of their conclusions and hypotheses. Professor Mayor, who deals specifically with the sources, states his conclusion as follows: "I think the above comparison between Virgil and Isaiah naturally leads us to the conclusion that the thoughts and expressions of the prophet must have somehow filtered through to the poet; and the poet's own confession leads us to the Sibyl as the actual organ or medium of communication reaching through 500 years" (op. cit., p. 131). Professor Ramsay pronounces this hypothesis of filtration "through the poor medium of the Sibylline Books" inadequate, and asserts "that there seems no difficulty to prevent us from believing Virgil to have been acquainted with a Greek translation of Isaiah". To this hypothesis the whole tenor of Professor Ramsay's article assuredly commits him. Among the proofs offered, in addition to the verbal and conceptual correspondences adduced by Professor Mayor, two receive special emphasis:

First, that Virgil, as a prophet of a golden age to come, stands alone among pagan writers: "To the ancient all history was a progress towards decay, a degeneration from good to bad" (3, 558); "There was one exception [Virgil] to this universal hopelessness in the pagan world" (3, 564).

Secondly, that the metrical form employed in this Eclogue is unique in Latin literature, being "Hebraic and un-Roman" (3, 552). Two features of the metrical form are noted: "First, that the stops coincide more regularly with the ends of lines than

¹ Virgil's Messianic Eclogue: Its Meaning, Occasion, and Sources. Three studies by Joseph B. Mayor, W. Warde Fowler, and R. S. Conway. London, John Murray, 1907.

² The Divine Child in Virgil. Professor Sir William Ramsay. The Expositor, 7th series, 3, 551-564, and 4, 97-111 (June and August, 1907).

in any other passage of Virgil; and, secondly, that in a number of cases the second half of the line repeats with slight variation the meaning of the first half, or, when the meaning is enclosed in two hexameters, the second repeats the meaning of the first. These characteristics are unlike any previous treatment of the hexameter" (3, 555).

Two or three other features of the Eclogue yet call for preliminary consideration. First, what was the purpose of the poem, and, in view of its purpose, what is its character? "The Fourth Eclogue", writes Professor Conway, "is addressed to the Consul Pollio" (p. 13). "The poet", writes Mr. Fowler, "sought to celebrate the consulship of Pollio, and the peace of Brundisium, by describing a golden age now again to appear on earth", etc. (p. 53). (This is given as a view generally held in ancient and modern times.) Our attention also is called to the fact of the statesman's service to the poet a year before the date of the poem in restoring to him his farm lost in the civil wars. The poem would therefore appear to be a kind of poet-laureate's ode, or a personal encomium, upon an eminent statesman who was also a personal friend and benefactor of the author's.

Secondly, the golden age to be—what was its real character? Again the scholars may answer whom we have hitherto followed. Mr. Fowler, in the beginning of his essay on "The Child of the Poem", quotes what he terms a warning from Mr. Mackail (*Latin Literature* (1895), p. 94), that there is no great mystery in the Fourth Eclogue, and that it is in reality only a poem of nature. And then quoting, he continues: "The enchanted light which lingers over it is hardly distinguishable from that which saturates the Georgics. . . . It is not so much a vision of a golden age as Nature herself seen through a medium of strange gold". Mr. Fowler takes this only as a warning, it must be remarked, "in spite of the truth contained in it" (pp. 49-50). Professor Ramsay is in agreement, setting forth the view with fulness of detail. Virgil was imagining what might be accomplished in Italy "by the application of prudence, forethought, and true knowledge". Good government was to be the ally of science in bringing about a new era: "The union of science and government was now beginning to make Italy perfect under the new Empire; that union would soon destroy every noxious plant and animal, produce all useful things in abundance from the soil, tame all that was wild, improve nature to an infinite degree, make

the thorn laugh and bloom with flowers", etc. (4, 105-106). The limitation of Virgil's vision of the golden age to Italy must be noted in this account. "It [that union] would naturalize in Italy", continues Professor Ramsay, "all that was best in foreign lands, and thus render Italy independent of imports and so perfectly self-sufficient that navigation would be unnecessary" (ibid.). Again, "Virgil is the prophet of the new age of Italy" (4, 105).

Thirdly, the child-motive, which figures so largely in all the discussions of the poem, and which receives much attention both in the book and in the article before us, is proposed as a unique feature of this Eclogue. Quoting Professor Ramsay again: "Virgil is perfectly sure that the glorified and idealized Italy of his vision is being realized in their own time and before their own eyes, and he connects that realization with a new-born child. These are two ideas to which no real parallel can be found in preceding Greek or Roman literature" (3, 553). There is utter disagreement between Mr. Fowler and Professor Ramsay as to who the child was, or was to be; but all the writers are unanimous in their abandonment of every theory of a divine or miraculous birth. We may now proceed to consider the possible source hitherto overlooked.

In searching for the sources of an Eclogue of Virgil's to whom should we turn first but to Theocritus, his acknowledged master? Any of the more thorough commentaries upon the Eclogues will tell us that eight of the ten are modeled on the Idylls of the Sicilian poet. Here, for example, are some of Sidgwick's characterizations: The Second, Third, Fifth, and Seventh are purely Theocritean imitations; the Eighth imitates two Idylls; the Tenth is completely Theocritean; only the Sixth and Fourth desert Theocritus (P. Verg. Mar. Opera 1, 8 ff.). All other commentators, so far as I know, are agreed with Professor Sidgwick in excepting the Fourth Eclogue from the Theocritean imitations. Has this exception been made after sufficient comparison with the Idylls? It is this question which I wish to raise.

Theocritus, although he wrote idylls ("little pictures") that were not pastorals, was yet characteristically and κατ' ἐξοχήν a pastoral poet; and all of his poems were included under one title, implying their common character. For this reason idyll and pastoral came to be regarded as synonymous, and what in Theocritus was a heroic idyll, an epithalamium, or an encomium, served Virgil as a model for a quasi-pastoral in his Eclogues

("Selections"). To illustrate Virgil's freedom in using such supposed authority, we find him writing purely or mainly allegorical eclogues, such as the First and the Ninth, in which he introduces distinguished personages in the guise and under the Theocritean names of shepherds. In the end of the Third, Pollio's literary strife with Bavius and Maevius is introduced. It is certain that the Seventh Idyll gave him authority for this—that pure idyll of the country-side, in which Theocritus himself with his young minstrel friends, out for a frolic, goes a-masking, and meets with young Lycidas appareled as a goat-herd, and exchanges with him, in friendly rivalry, some snatches of song. This idyll, its pure intention thus perverted, was the basis of the allegorical pastoral, the "bucolic masquerade", which figures so largely and absurdly in European literature.

Now, let us ask, how shall we account for that other incongruous species of pastoral, the pastoral encomium? In the Seventeenth Idyll of Theocritus, entitled *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Πτολεμαῖον*, Virgil's pastoral model has given us an encomium which I take to have afforded Virgil all the authority he required, and much suggestion, for his panegyric eclogue. A comparison of the poems will, I believe, establish the fact of imitation.

First, to state the matter generally, the Seventeenth Idyll is an encomium upon Ptolemy Philadelphus, celebrating the glories of his reign and the peace and prosperity of Egypt under his wise government. The Eclogue, as we have seen, is addressed to Pollio, and was written to celebrate his consulship. Then, taking account of particulars, we shall note correspondences in respect to the following features :

1. The parallel traits of the poems as personal encomiums.
2. The child-motive.
3. The glorious new era for the respective countries.
4. Verbal and conceptual resemblances.
5. The metrical test.
6. Theocritus and the Septuagint.

In making quotations from the Idyll to show correspondences (for which purpose I shall use Lang's translation, if any) these topics cannot be kept entirely separate, and it is not desirable that they should be. It needs furthermore to be remarked that after all excerpting of lines has been completed, a full impression of resemblance can be obtained only by viewing the poems

together in their entirety. I shall proceed to consider the above topics in their order.

1. A feature made much of in each encomium is ancestral virtues: Ecl. 17: *patriis virtutibus*; 26: *facta parentis*. Id. 13-14:

Ἐκ πατέρων οἷός μὲν ἔην τελέσαι μέγα ἔργον
 Λαγείδας Πτολεμαῖος.

Only here it is the father of the subject of the encomium whose virtues are praised. But not so in ll. 104-05:

ᾧ ἔτι πάγχυν μέλει πατρώια πάντα φυλάσσειν
 οἱ' ἀγαθῷ βασιλεῖ, τὰ δὲ κτεατίζεται αὐτός.

And 122-4:

μοῦνος δὲ προτέρων, κ. τ. λ.

2. The birth of Ptolemy is commemorated in a lyrical and highly adulatory strain, in which the father is again praised (ll. 63 ff.): "Then the beloved child was born, his father's very counterpart. And Cos broke forth into a cry when she beheld it, and touching the child with kind hands, she said, 'Blessed, O child, mayst thou be'", etc.

3. A new era, or golden age, is immediately connected with this birth of Ptolemy, whom the voice of Nature had thus welcomed (ll. 71 ff.): "This sign [the screaming of the eagle], methinks, was of Zeus; Zeus, the son of Cronos, in his care hath awful kings, but he is above all, whom Zeus loved from the first, even from his birth. Great fortune goes with him, and much land he rules, and wide sea.

"Countless are the lands, and tribes of men innumerable win increase of the soil that waxeth under the rain of Zeus, but no land brings forth so much as low-lying Egypt", etc. Then the cities and lands over which Ptolemy holds sway are enumerated. "His ships are the best ships that sail over the deep—yea, all the sea and land, and the sounding rivers are ruled by Ptolemy". His horsemen and targeteers are many, "and in weight of wealth he surpasses all kings". Then, more remarkable than all this, the state of peace and security in which Egypt is kept is represented as perfect: "For never hath a foeman marched up the bank of teeming Nile, and raised the cry of war in villages not his own, nor hath any cuirassed enemy leaped ashore from his swift ship, to harry the kine of Egypt."

Here, then, is a picture of a golden age, not indeed to come, but already present. And the birth of the new ruler whose glory

it is to reign in this golden time has been duly celebrated. All the honor belongs to him: "So mighty a hero", thus continues the passage, "hath his throne established in the broad plains, even Ptolemy of the fair hair, a spearman skilled (ll. 104-05, above quoted in the Greek, follow), whose care is above all, as a good king's should be, to keep all the heritage of his fathers, and yet more he himself doth win."

It was noted above, in the quotations from Professor Sidgwick on Virgil's imitations of Theocritus, that for a particular eclogue he may cull from many idylls. The Seventh Eclogue is thus characterized as "a cento of passages from Theocritus". In filling in his picture in the present case we might, therefore, expect our poet to derive suggestions and materials from other idylls than that which served as a main model. The Twenty-Fourth, entitled "The Infant Hercules", may have afforded some such help. There is certainly one striking correspondence relative to topics 2 and 3, containing, as it does, the prophetic element, the prophecy being, as in Virgil, of a regenerated nature. The blind old prophet Tiresias says to the mother of the infant prodigy, after he had slain the snakes: "I swear that many Achæan women, as they card the soft wool about their knees, shall sing at eventide of Alcmena's name, and thou shalt be honourable among the women of Argos. Such a man, even this thy son, shall mount to the starry firmament. . . . Verily that day shall come when the ravening wolf, beholding the fawn in his lair, will not seek to work him harm" (ll. 75-87).

The Sixteenth Idyll, which is addressed to Hiero, King of Sicily, and is understood as an encomium upon his reign, contains quite as glowing a picture of a golden time as the Seventeenth. And in this instance there is something of genuine prophecy: "Not yet is the heaven aweary of rolling the months onwards, and the years, and many a horse shall yet whirl the chariot wheels, and the man shall yet be found, who will take me for his minstrel; a man of deeds like those that great Achilles wrought, or puissant Aias, in the plain of Simois" (ll. 71-5). With this prediction of an Achilles to be, compare line 36 of the Eclogue—

atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

A wish helps to complete the prophetic picture: "May our people till the flowering fields, and may thousands of sheep

unnumbered fatten 'mid the herbage and bleat along the plain, while the kine as they come in droves to the stalls warn the belated traveler to hasten on his way. . . . May spiders weave their delicate webs over martial gear, may none any more so much as name the cry of onset!" (ll. 90-97).

In view of these passages from Theocritus, how does it stand with Professor Ramsay's assertions that "to the ancient all history was a progress towards decay, a degeneration from good to bad", and "There was one exception [Virgil] to this universal hopelessness" (3, 564)?

4. The passages above quoted will be remarked as furnishing both verbal and conceptual parallels to passages in the Eclogue. A few other such parallels, of greater or less importance, may be noted :

Ecl. 21-2 :

*Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
ubera*

Id. 11, 12-3 :

*Πολλάκι ται δίες ποτὶ τωύλιον αὐταὶ ἀπήνθον
χλωρῶς ἐκ βοτάνας.*

Ecl. 34-5 :

*et altera quae vehat Argo
delectos heroas.*

Id. 13, 17-18 :

*οἱ δ' αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο
πασᾶν ἐκ πολλῶν προλελεγμένοι.*

The same heroes (the Argonauts) are meant.

Ecl. 29-30 :

*Incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva
et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.*

Id. 1, 132-3 :

*Νῦν δ' ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βᾶτοι, φορέοιτε δ' ἀκανθαί,
ἃ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἀρκείβοισι κομᾶσαι.*

Id. 5, 124-7 :

*Ἰμέρα ἀνθ' ὑδατος ρεῖτω γάλα, καὶ τὸ δὲ Κρᾶθι
ὄλη πορφύροις, τὰ δὲ τοι σία καρπὸν ἐνείκαι.*

*Ῥεῖτω χῶ Σύβαρις ἀμὲν μέλι, καὶ τὸ ποτ' ὄρθρον
ἃ παῖς ἀνθ' ὑδατος τῇ κάλπιδι κηρία βάψαι.*

To be sure, the shepherds of Theocritus are not thinking of such a golden age as Virgil is describing, yet this is no obstacle in the way of Virgil's deriving hints from them for his picture. Of this picture Hesiod had long since furnished the main features: Theocritus but suggested associating them with pastoral life by introducing them into pastoral song.

5. Professor Ramsay makes entirely too much of the metrical form of the Eclogue, it seems to me. Or, to speak more accurately, he makes nothing of it whatever. His hypothesis is that "Virgil found the idea and the metrical form together" (3, 356). To this I assent, but I demur at the conclusion. The "writer of the loftiest poetic power" was not Isaiah, at least not necessarily so, but Theocritus. Having in mind what Professor Ramsay says about the parallelisms, or repetitions of the meaning, in the Eclogue—not a single example of which, however, does he adduce—let the reader now consider the quotations already made from the Idylls for another purpose. He will find in them several instances of such parallelism as meets Professor Ramsay's definition—"repetition of the meaning, with slight variation". I will add a few others out of many that are available. But first let me give from the Septuagint, for a criterion, a passage or two which, according to Professor Cheyne, show parallelism in its most complete and common form:

1. Psalm 113 (114), 1-4:

Ἐν ἐξόδῳ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
οἰκου Ἰακώβ ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου,
ἐγενήθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ἀγίασμα αὐτοῦ,
Ἰσραὴλ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ.
ἡ θάλασσα εἶδεν καὶ ἐφογεν,
ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω·
τὰ ὄρη ἐσκίρτησαν ὡς κριοί,
καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ὡς ἄρνια προβάτων.

Isaiah 53, 1-5:

Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίον Κυρίου τίς ἀπεκαλύφθη;
ἀνηγγείλαμεν ὡς παιδίον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ· οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτοῦ
οὐδὲ ὄψα· καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ
ἀτιμον καὶ ἐκλιπὸν παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀνθρώπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ εἰδὼς
φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἠτιμάσθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη,
κ. τ. λ. (Cf. Isa. 60, 1-3.)

In Theocritus we may note the following types of parallelism :

I. EXEMPLIFYING REPETITION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE LINE.

Id. 1, 65 :

Θύραις δδ' ὡς Αἰτνας, καὶ Θύριος ἀδ' ἃ φωνά.

Ibid. 141 :

τὸν Μοῖσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύμφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ.

Id. 4, 43 :

ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωοῖσιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες.

Id. 13, 4 :

οἱ θνατοὶ πελόμεσθα, τὸ δ' αἶριον οὐκ ἐσορῶμεν.

II. EXEMPLIFYING PARALLELISM IN A DISTICH.

Id. 1, 71-2 :

τῆνον μὲν θῶες, τῆνον λύκοι ὠρύσαντο,
τῆνον χάκ δρυμοῖο λένω ἐκλανε θανόντα.

Ibid. 74-5 :

Πολλαὶ οἱ παρ ποσσὶ βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ τε ταῦροι,
πολλαὶ δ' αὖ δαμάλαι καὶ πόρτιες ὠθύραντο.

Ibid. 120-1 :

Δάφνης ἐγὼν ὅδε τῆνος ὁ τὰς βόας ὥδε νομεύων,
Δάφνης ὁ τὰς ταύρας καὶ πόρτιας ὥδε ποτίσων.

III. EXEMPLIFYING PARALLELISM NOT CONFINED IN A DISTICH.

Id. 16, 90-3 :

αἱ δ' ἀνδρῶμοι
μήλων χιλιάδες βοτάνη διαπιασθεῖσαι
ἅμ πεδῖον βληχῶντο, βόες δ' ἄγελαδὸν ἐς αὖλιν
ἐρχόμεναι σκυφαῖον ἐπισπεύδοιεν ὀδίταν.

Id. 24, 74-6 (76-8) :

πολλὰ Ἀχαιῶδων μαλακὸν περὶ γούνατι νῆμα
χειρὶ κατατρίφοντι ἀκρέσπερον αἰδοῖσσαι
'Αλκμήναν ὀνομαστί, σέβας δ' ἔση Ἀργελαῖσι.

Id. 17, 97-101 :

λαοὶ δ' ἔργα περιστέλλουσιν ἐκηλοι.
οὐ γάρ τις δῆλων πολυκῆτεα Νεῖλον ὑπερβάς
πεζὸς ἐν ἀλλοτρίαισι βοᾶν ἐστάσατο κώμαις,
οὐδέ τις αἰγιαλὸν δὲ θαῶς ἐξάλατο ναός
θωρηχθεὶς ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἀνέριος Αἰγυπτίῃσι.

Lang's version of these last three passages was given above under topic 3. Under topic 4 the Greek of two other good instances of parallelism was also given (Id. 1, 132-3, and Id. 5, 124-7). It has not been shown that any passage in Virgil approaches so nearly the norm of Hebraic parallelism as these do. It may also be remarked here that the strophic arrangement of the Eclogue finds a model in the Idyll, where, as is made to appear in Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's new Oxford edition of Theocritus, the first twelve lines are in distichs.

Passing to the second metrical peculiarity noted by Professor Ramsay, that of end-stopped lines, we shall find a comparison by enumeration of lines our surest way of arriving at the truth. Of the first 20 lines of the Eclogue (Ribbeck's text), 8 end with full stops, 1 with a colon, 3 with semicolons, and the remaining 4 are run-on. Of the first 20 lines of the Idyll (Ahrens' text), 6 end with full stops, 2 with colons, 3 with commas, and the remaining 9 are run-on. The advantage is with the Eclogue. But let us take Theocritus' other encomium, the Sixteenth Idyll. Of the first 20 lines of this, 8 end with full stops, 2 with colons, 6 with commas, and the remaining 4 are run-on. The counts are practically equal.

It is indeed a distinguishing trait of the hexameter verse of Theocritus, that, fluent and melodious as it is, it furnishes an unusually large proportion of single lines enclosing completeness of meaning. We do not find in the Fourth Eclogue any such series of end-stopped lines as the Idylls furnish over and over again. Groups of three, each line ended by a period, occur frequently; groups of four now and then; and even groups of five may be found. There are *eight* such hexameters at the end of the Fifteenth Idyll, and of the last nine of the Sixth Idyll, six are followed by periods, two by colons, and one by a comma.

In the light of these facts Professor Ramsay's assertion, that "These two characteristics [repetitions of meaning and end-stopped lines] are unlike any previous treatment of the hexameter" (3, 555) loses all value.

6. It is well known that under the very Ptolemies whom Theocritus celebrates, and in his own time, possibly while he was residing at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria, the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures was made for the great library which doubtless was the poet's haunt. Literary associates and friends of Theocritus were officially connected with the

library. Alexander of Aetolia—the Tityrus of the Seventh Idyll—was librarian in 283 B. C.; Callimachus, with whom our poet appears to have been on friendly terms, was librarian about 260 B. C. So notable a work as the Septuagint would not have escaped the attention of such librarians as these, and their knowledge and impressions would naturally be communicated to their literary circle, including Theocritus.

Furthermore, it is no recent criticism of the Idylls which first discovers in them parallels to images and modes of expression in the Song of Solomon and the prophecies of Isaiah. Matthew Poole, *Synopsis* (1669–76) 2, 1962, comments as follows: “Ab hoc autem Epithalamio profani expresserunt sua, praesertim Theocritus, a quo alii poetae, sicut alia plurima, epithalamii componendi leges didicerunt. Hic enim floruit sub Ptolemaeo Philadelpho, qui LXXII Interpretes evocavit, etc., et cum eo fuit Alexandriae, ut constat ex Idyl. 7 and 15. Est autem verisimile, hominem doctum, et rei amatoriae bucolicam operam navantem, accepisse a Ptolemaeo bucolicum hoc et amatorium Canticum; imo et egisse de hac re cum LXXII Interpretibus, et ab ipsis Epithalamii hujus partes et leges didicisse. Suadet hoc, quod non pauca ex hoc Cantico ad verbum expressa sint. Ut Idyl. 18, ubi, postquam virgines laudaverunt sponsum, promittunt venturas sese appetente jam die ut eum a somno excitent. In geniali pompa, Idyl. 15, Arsinoe plurima in medio ferculi amoris signa notat; ut Salomon cap. 3, 10, mediam, i. e., interiorem, ferculi partem charitate constavit. In Epithalamio, Idyl. 18, puellas psaltrias cantantes inducit eodem numero, et eodem modo quoque et ordine, et verbis non valde diversis. Helenam enim psaltriae comparant cum Aurora; item cum equa Thessalica, quae pulchre trahit currum”, etc.

Polwhele, in his *Dissertations* appended to his verse translation of the Idylls (1786), renders the Epithalamium of Helen in prose for the specific purpose of disclosing its “oriental character”. After Polwhele, other translators, as M. J. Chapman (1836), and J. Banks (1853), have cited parallels in their notes. The two most thorough studies of the question in English are as follows: 1. John Macgilwray (Oliver Yorke), “An Essay on the Greek Pastoral Poets” (*Classical Journal*), 18, 30–35; 2. W. M. Fullerton: “Theocritus with special reference to his supposed obligations to the Septuagint” (*Unitarian Review*), 26, 28–42 (July, 1886).

Macgilwray, discussing only the question "Whether Theocritus Imitated the Song of Solomon", cites these passages as offering parallels: S. 1, 5-6: Id. 10, 26-9; S. 1, 9: Id. 18, 30-1; S. 2, 9: Id. 3, 7; S. 2, 11: Id. 18, 26-8; S. 4, 11: Id. 1, 146-7, Id. 20, 26, and Id. 8, 83; S. 7, 7: Id. 11, 21; S. 8, 14: Id. 11, 21, and Id. 12, 6; S. 2, 15: Id. 5, 108, 112. To these he adds Proverbs 31, 13-27: Id. 28. Fullerton, besides noting most of these and adding to them from the Song, supplies the following from Isaiah: Is. 2, 4: Id. 16, 90-7; Is. 11, 6 and 65, 25: Id. 24, 84.

Virgil does not, then, after all, finally dismiss the Sicilian Muses in this Eclogue—he but bids them sing in a higher strain, worthy of a Consul. From songs they had sung he derives the pitch, the rhythm, and the general character of his own. It was they also who taught him to sing, in pastoral lays, of a golden age to come, and to connect that age with the birth of a child. On the other hand, there is much in the Idylls, as regards both conceptions and qualities of style, to induce the belief that their author knew the Septuagint, and that he was indebted to it for images and modes of expression. To add another illustration to the many that have been provided above, the way in which Cos (Id. 17, 64-70) is described as breaking forth into a song of rejoicing at the birth of Ptolemy is Hebraic, not Hellenic. We are, therefore, warranted, by all the facts, in concluding that, whether Virgil knew Isaiah at first hand or not—and the proof seems to me yet lacking—nevertheless Theocritus serves as an important mediator between the two in respect both to matter and style.

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

FARMVILLE, VA.

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102

103

104



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INSCRIBED VASE FROM RHODES.

V.—A NEW RHODIAN INSCRIPTION.

An inscribed vase purchased in 1906 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York contributes some information to our knowledge of the pottery of Rhodes by identifying as Rhodian a group of small vessels which have been found from time to time in Rhodes and are located now in several museums.¹

The specimen in New York was procured from a dealer in antiquities who is a native of Rhodes, and his other wares are said to have been all of Rhodian origin, so it is safe to accept his word that the present vase was found in that island. The vessel is 11.25 cm. high with a circumference around the shoulder under the handles of 38.25 cm. The clay is rather fine and of a pale buff color. There is no painted slip, but the bands that surround the vessel and the inscriptions on the shoulder are painted with a brown varnish. The lip and the foot also are varnished. Under the inscriptions a wave line is drawn entirely around the body of the vase and under this in turn are two parallel bands with short projecting lines like teeth set closely together. It is probable that the vase originally had a cover which has not been preserved.

As this description indicates the present vase belongs to a group that is represented by thirteen examples in the Berlin Museum. These "Deckelgefässe" were discovered in Rhodes, chiefly in graves near Siana, but at least one is reported from Kamiros; they are published in the *Arch. Jahrb.* I (1886), p. 152. They vary in size, but their shape is uniform and differences in decoration occur only in details; all have the same general scheme of bands in brown varnish around the neck and body, with a varnished lip and foot. The shoulder is frequently decorated with triangles which in our specimen are replaced by the inscriptions. Inventory numbers 2971 and 2973 of Berlin are most similar to our vase in size, decoration and

¹ For permission to publish this vase I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Edward Robinson, Assistant Director of the Metropolitan Museum.

general appearance; no. 2973 shows the line with projecting dashes, poorly executed, and on another larger specimen in Berlin the wave line occurs around the body. In view of this close similarity the date of our vase may be fixed as approximately the same as that of this group, which it is stated (l. c.) on proof derived from the circumstances and conditions of discovery belong to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston possesses another member of this group which is also reported to be from Rhodes, see the Annual Report, 1903, p. 82.¹

Although the clay resembles closely that of the Kabirian ware it has seemed incredible that such cheap common vessels could have been exported from Boeotia to any considerable degree. The inscription on our specimen supports the view that the group is of local Rhodian manufacture. On one side is found the irregular iambic trimeter *καλλίστα γὰρ ἡ Βρασία ἐστὶ μὲν δοκεῖ*, the Brasian region is the fairest in the land in my opinion, and on the other appear the names of four deities *Δεὺς, Ἑρμῆς, Ἄρταμις, Ἀθαραιά*.

Unmetrical verses in inscriptions are of frequent occurrence as is shown by F. D. Allen in Papers of the American School at Athens IV, pp. 45 ff. (cf. J. C. Rolfe in Harvard Studies II, p. 90). It is possible that here as in several instances cited by Allen a new name has been set forcibly into a typical verse, thus disarranging the metre.

The dialect plainly is Dorian. The characteristic long alpha appears throughout, and the use of *ἐμὲν* for *ἐμοί* is found only in writers of Doric (cf. Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorica, p. 251). So for example it appears in Epicharmos, fr. 94 and 95 (Ahrens), and often in Theokritos; Epicharmos, in fact, employs it in fr. 99 in the same phrase as that which is found on our vase, *χαρίεν, ἐστὶ γ' ἐμὲν δοκεῖ* (Meineke), as does Theokritos with the omission of *ἐστὶ* in XI 2 and XIV 7. The shapes of the letters can be paralleled without difficulty among the Rhodian inscriptions. For the purpose of comparison reference may be made to I. G. XII

¹ Dr. D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University informs me that in the archaeological collection of that University there is a similar vase that was found at Akragas (Girgenti), a city that was colonized from Gela, a colony of Rhodes. Gela itself is the provenience of another specimen of the same group that is now in the National Museum at Palermo, and the Hofmuseum at Vienna has in its Rhodian collection still another example.

1, 720 and 887, of which the latter shows an omega of similar shape to that of our inscription in connection with regular Doric forms. Such combination of Doric and Ionic elements is characteristic of Rhodian inscriptions, as is natural in view of the proximity of the island to Ionia, and the strength of the Doric cities that must have opposed the Ionic movement. The branch of the Dorian race to which the Rhodian colonists belonged is known to be Argive on both mythological and historical evidence, whatever view may be taken of the place of manufacture of the famous Euphorbos plate with the Argive inscription.¹

The name *Βρασία* (*Βράσιος*) occurs several times in the Rhodian inscriptions. It is added to an individual's name as a demotikon like *Ἰαλύσιος*, *Δίδιος*, etc., and in such a use it is found attached to the names of two commissioners in a long list appointed by the Lindians, I. G. XII 1, 761 (cf. 764). This would indicate then that the Brasian was a man from Brasos, a town and district under the jurisdiction of Lindos. In fact this is actually stated in an inscription dating from the first century B. C., which was found at Lindos by the Danish excavators and is published in their third report, *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres*, Danemark, 1905, pp. 55 ff. This enumerates in two different places the twelve "demes in the Lindian city", and in each list the Brasian occupies the second place. It may be that at one time or another this number was supplemented by the acquisition of further territory, as van Gelder (op. cit., pp. 215 ff.) thinks it most probable on inscriptional evidence that several other demes, including those on the neighboring islands of Karpathos and Kasos, were also under the suzerainty of Lindos, but in general they seem to have comprehended the whole southern portion of the island of Rhodes. Some of these places can be identified by the similarity of the name which they bear to-day, and indeed it is on this very ground that Hiller von Gaertringen (I. G. XII 1, p. 112) argues for the location that he has assigned to Brasos. On the basis of the modern name he places the site in the extreme southern end of the island on a little projection of land called *Πρασονήσι*, and with this opinion van Gelder (op. cit., p. 213) concurs. Selivanov, however (I. G. XII 1, p. 112), locates it in the western part because a

¹ Daemmler, *Arch. Jahrb.* VI, 1891, p. 265; Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, pp. 158 f.; van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, pp. 32 and 63.

sepulchral inscription with the name *Βρασία* was found near Istrion, I. G. XII 1, 894. Also the inscription of a Brasian man (ibid. 749) was found in the same region, near Siana, which was the site of the discovery of most of the vases composing the group in Berlin to which our example belongs. But other inscriptions with this word have appeared in the region of Rhodos in the northern part of the island, so that it seems impossible to form any conclusion from the places of discovery in the different cases, and the location of Brasos remains still undetermined.

The form of the feminine adjective suggests that some such word as *γῆ* or *χώρα* is to be understood. Indeed, the use of an adjective for a country's name, with *γῆ* or *χώρα* omitted, is common in the literature; e. g., Aristoph., Vesp. 1162, Pax 245, ἡ Λακωνική. But as in I. G. XII 1, 762 A 19 and 840, 9, as well as in the inscription in the Danish report cited above, we find the periphrasis *Λινδία πόλις* for *Λίνδος*. It is barely possible that *πόλις* may be meant. A parallel to the use of the genitive *γῆς* in our verse is found in Eurip., Elek. 1, ὁ γῆς παλαιὸν Ἄργος. The exaggerated expression of local patriotism has a parallel in I. G. XII 1, 787, where the Lindians refer to Rhodos as ἡ λαμπροτάτη πατρίς ἡ καλὴ Ῥόδος.

The inscription on the other side of the vase consists of the names of four deities who were selected presumably on account of some connection with Brasos. In I. G. XII 1, 786 is given a list of deities worshipped by the various cities of Rhodos, and assigned to Lindos are Athena, Zeus and Artamis with another whose name is not decipherable (cf. ib. 831). Again in the Kamiros list occur those same three with an undecipherable fourth, but the letters recorded, on which we must rely as the inscription itself has disappeared, do not suggest remotely the word Hermes, who is not mentioned in the Rhodian corpus apart from two rhythmical inscriptions, 141 and 981. We know, however, from other sources that he was "worshipped in Rhodos as Epipolaeos (Empolaeos), protector of trades, and as Chthonios, guide of the dead." (C. Torr, Rhodos in Ancient Times, p. 76).¹ Reference is often made to the gods in pairs or groups of three, the combination of Athena and Zeus, of Apollo and Artemis being most frequent, so that the presence of the names in our example would be quite in accord with its possible provenience from the district of Lindos.

¹ This subject is fully treated by van Gelder, op. cit., pp. 321 f.

The form of the word $\Delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ demands special attention. It is attested as Boeotian and Laconian by several Greek grammarians, Herodianos I 400, II 373, 911 (Lentz), Choeroboskos (Hilgard, *Gram. Graec.* IV 213), *Anec. Ox.* IV 325, and others (cf. Herwerden, *Lex. Dial.* s. v.), but actually it appears in Laconian only in a single early inscription, G. D. I. 4417, and in Boeotian only in Aristophanes' *Ach.* 911 (MS. Rav.).¹ The difficulty in interpreting as this the words $\Delta\beta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\mathfrak{Z}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ on the amphorae in Berlin and Paris has been pointed out by Kretschmer (*Vas. ins.*, p. 103). The nominative of this word does not happen to occur in the extant Boeotian inscriptions before Roman times, but their evidence for the spirantic pronunciation of delta is familiar. How widespread such pronunciation was in the fifth and fourth centuries is not known. Meister (*Abhand. d. Phil.-Hist. Kl. d. K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* XXIV, pt. 3, 1904, pp. 1 ff.) makes it one of the criteria by which the true Dorian dialect may be distinguished from the Achæan, and shows that it was used by the unmixed Dorian stock in Sparta (l. c., p. 35), in the Argive plain (p. 58), and in a limited region of central Crete, including Gortyna and Knosos (pp. 80 ff.). Its existence in Rhodes had already been indicated by the form of the word $\rho\delta\zeta'$ written for $\rho\delta\delta'$ that is found in an inscription, I. G. XII 1, 737, assigned by Selivanov to the end of the seventh century (*Athen. Mitth.* XVI, 1891, p. 118). The explanation of the reason for the appearance of this phenomenon in Rhodes is open to conjecture. It is possible to cite the legend of Spartan colonization of the island (see van Gelder, *op. cit.*, p. 32), and to point to the identity of the name of our town Βρᾶσος with that of the Laconian town Βρασιαί (Πρασιαί); cf. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnam.*, pp. 91 and 114. But there is also a tradition that Argive colonists from Crete settled in Rhodes and in support of this are cited many proofs of a close relationship existing between these two islands in early times. Although this theory is opposed by van Gelder (*op. cit.*, p. 29), it is worthy of notice that the inscription cited above from the Rhodian corpus (737) to show the interchange of zeta and delta

¹Long search has failed to discover the presumably Boeotian sherd from the "Perserschutt" on which this form is found according to Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften*, p. 230. Dr. Stais declares that it is not among the other sherds in the Athenian Museum, and Prof. Graef writes me that he can find no record of it in his notes on these sherds.

contains the Cretan name Idameneus, and that Strabo, p. 478 (10, 4, 12), states that there were *Πράσιαι* in Crete neighbors of the Gortynians. But whether the colonists came to the island from Argos direct, or after a sojourn in Crete, the evidence for Argive colonization of Rhodes is overwhelming, and it seems very probable that our inscription exhibits in the form under discussion a survival of the spirantic pronunciation of delta in Argive Doric.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae. Recensuit enarravit FRIDERICUS MARX. Volumen Prius: Prolegomena Testimonia Fasti Luciliani Carminum Reliquiae Indices. Pp. CXXXVI + 169. Volumen Posterius: Commentarius. Pp. XXII + 437. Leipzig, Teubner, 1904, 1905. 22 Marks.

Untersuchungen zu Lucilius, VON CONRAD CICHORIUS. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908. Pp. IX + 364. 12 Marks.

Lucilius's *scribendi simplicitas*, the extent to which he influenced Horace, the tenacity of his reputation (Quint. 10, 1, 93-94), and above all the fact that he alone of Latin writers evolved a new literary form,¹ all alike fill one with eagerness to know more of this striking personality.

In Volume I of Marx's work we have a praefatio, a conspectus operis, prolegomena (IX-CXXXVI), the fragments of Lucilius (1-95), and indices, as follows: I. Nomina Propria (96-99); II. Index Auctorum (100); III. Index verborum Latinorum (101-155); IV. Vocabula Graeca praeter nomina propria (156-158); V. Versus Graeci (159); VI. Vocabula peregrina praeter Graeca (159); VII. Index grammaticus metricus rerum memorabilium (160-169). In Volume II, pages V-VII are devoted to praefatio, addenda and corrigenda; VII-XXII constitute a Supplementum Capitis <in volumine primo> de Nonio; 1-437 contain the commentary.

The fragments are well printed. Beneath them references are given to their provenience; the passages in which the fragments are set are printed in full in the commentary. The MS variants recorded are limited in number. One can thus easily see the materials out of which a text is to be constructed. Marx clearly indicates his own changes, additions, omissions, etc. This is of prime importance, because emendation, though a particularly crying need of fragments, is in fragments more than ordinarily precarious, since we know not the context (cf. e. g. Müller, Lucilius XLIII; Lindsay, Nonius I XXVIII-XXIX; Housman, Class. Quart. I 53-54).

¹Since Lucilius in Book 30 made the hexameter the sole meter of Roman satire, in each nation "the accepted satire is in verse, and that verse the heroic verse of the nationality" (so Professor Gildersleeve in the Universal Cyclopaedia and Atlas, s. v. Satire). Of all this Marx nowhere gives a hint.

I turn with special interest to the prolegomena. In IX-XVII Marx discusses the word *satura*. This form alone, he holds, is Latin; *satyra*, *satyricus*, *satyrice* are late; *satira* is not Latin at all. The discussion of the etymology of *satura* is brief and feeble. It reveals a serious weakness of Marx's book, the failure consistently to cite the literature of the subject under discussion; books and articles of prime importance are often not named.¹ Here he ignores Funck's article on the etymology of *satura* in Archiv V (1888) 33 ff. He agrees with Mommsen in regarding *satura* as *cantus saturorum vel ebriorum hominum*, connecting the word with *satur*, 'full'.² Walde, Etymol. Lat. Wört. (1905), does not notice this view. Marx will have none of *lanx satura*; Walde still regards this phrase as the starting point in any attempt to reach the origin of the word.

The existence of the dramatic *satura* Marx denies in toto. Neither Varro nor Verrius Flaccus in discussing the word *satura* mentioned a form of poetry called *satura*; hence, he infers, they had no knowledge of such poems. This point, which Marx seeks to prove by mere assertion, is not demonstrable so long as our

¹ It is interesting to find the Germans, to whom preëminently is due the demand that before one writes on any subject he shall master the 'literature' even down to the most completely dryas dust details, repeatedly hoist with their own petard; cf. e. g., A. J. P. XXVII 74. On p. XIII Marx asserts that there was in Ennius *neque maledictio probrosa neque insolentia contumax*; he ignores Pease's argument (P. A. P. A. XXVII xlviii-li), that there was in Ennius a decided satirical element. Sellar, Roman Poets, 84, 114, had long before noted that the fragments of Ennius show marked satirical power. Again he declares (XIII-XIV) that we ought to say that Horace wrote four books of *saturae*; he does not refer to Hendrickson's paper, Are the Letters of Horace Satires? A. J. P. XVIII 313-324. One of the theses maintained by George Bancroft when he applied for his doctor's degree at Göttingen in 1880 was *Epistolae Horatii forma non re different ab eius Satyris*; see The Classical Weekly II 31. On p. X Marx disposes of Livy's famous account of the *satura* by saying that Livy wrote *magis rhetrice quam historice*, blandly ignoring all that Leo and Hendrickson, to name no others, have written on the subject. On p. XIII he calls Ennius *princeps auctor saturae*, merely referring to Hor. S. 1, 10, 66, without discussion. This is to ignore wholly a warm controversy, and, in my opinion, to fly in the face of truth; to Horace *Lucilius* alone can have been *auctor saturae*. Marx is unaware, apparently, that his 'argument' from the silence of Varro and Verrius Flaccus had been anticipated by Elmore P. A. P. A. XXX lxvii. In discussing the date of Lucilius's birth, Marx says not a word of Munro's argument for the year 168 B. C. (see Sellar, Roman Poets, 231; Journal of Philology VIII 16). But Cichorius (13) argues at length for this very view as if novel, also ignoring Munro's paper. For a still more striking omission see below (p. 480), in my discussion of Marx's views on Nonius Marcellus and Lucilius. Marx does indeed say (XVII) that he has not tried to put together all that has been said on satire, but in an edition plainly meant to be definitive and permanent, we have a right to expect a conspectus of the whole subject. A kindred weakness is the lack of cross-references within the work itself. This forces the reader to piece together widely-scattered passages; it leads also to divers inconsistencies, which I have not space to enumerate.

² Yet he thinks (XIII) that this derivation cannot be made to square with Ennius's *Saturae*.

knowledge of the writings of Varro and Verrius remains as imperfect as it now is. Further, argument from silence is always dangerous; cf. Cichorius 15. I may add that in discussing the etymology of a word one is under no obligation to mention all the uses to which the word was put in the course of ages. After a perfunctory discussion Marx tells us (XI) that he approves Vahlen's views of the *satura* as expressed by him in his Ennius' CCXIV. Vahlen disposes of this complex subject in two lines.

In tracing the applications of the word *satura* to forms of literature we must begin, Marx continues, with the phrase *per saturam*, which = *incondite*. Ennius, desiring to suggest that a certain collection of his poems had been made *incondite et e vestigio*, called the poems *poemata per saturam*. This assertion, I submit, is opposed to what we know of the pride Ennius took in his work; cf. Cicero, Brutus 71. There is a wide difference between calling certain pieces *saturae*, 'medleys', and calling them *poemata incondite facta*; medleys need not be *incondita*. Lucilius, continues Marx, called his writings *sermones per saturam*. Once more we have mere assertion. This is why, says Marx further, Horace at first called his pieces *Sermones*, not *Saturae*. But the term *Sermones* belongs to the days of Horace's Epistles, not to those of his so-called Satires; cf. e. g., Wickham, Satires and Epistles of Horace, editio maior, 6-9. Out of the titles *poemata per saturam* and *sermones per saturam*, says Marx finally, Horace at last made the term *satura*.

Such, then, is Marx's attitude toward a subject of profound importance to the right understanding of Latin literature. If there were Versus Fescennini and a dramatic *satura*, we can see more readily than we can in any other way why the first efforts to create a literature at Rome and for Rome took the form of the drama (cf. e. g., Sellar, Roman Poets 156). If the Italians had independently developed such forms of the drama, then, however embryonic these forms were, the Italians had independently taken some steps along the road which their far more gifted Hellenic brethren—more gifted, yes, but brethren still—had pursued so far and so well, a view a priori credible and supported by Roman tradition. If, however, there were no Fescennines and no dramatic *satura*, he who would make out a case for the originality of Latin literature is indeed hard pressed and we are confronted by an important psychological problem: can the artistic sense be implanted in souls wholly dead to all suggestions of art (cf. Nettleship, Lectures and Essays I 46)? But of all this Marx remains unconscious. He is unconscious, too, that in disposing of the dramatic *satura* he is disposing of the dramatic Fescennines also; both rest on the same evidence. But Professor Hendrickson remained unconscious through his long paper on the dramatic *Satura* and the Old Comedy at Rome (A. J. P. XV 1-30) that his argument logically carried out compelled him

to reject the Fescennines also; it was not till four years later that he took this step (A. J. P. XIX 285-311).

To sum up, Marx missed here a great opportunity, that of writing a really incisive discussion of this whole subject. He seems unaware that many, at least in America, are unconvinced by Leo and Hendrickson. He has not even given us a bibliography of the subject.

Marx writes next *De Vita et poesi C. Lucilii* (XVII-L). It is here that Cichorius's book comes within our field of study. In his preface Cichorius declares that thanks to Marx's book "ist für das Studium und das Verständniss des Dichters und seiner Satiren eine völlig neue Grundlage geschaffen worden". Yet his book, so far as it comes within our view, deals rather with points in which he differs from Marx. His point of view is historical; if the chronology of Lucilius's life and writings can be firmly established important results will follow for the student of those times and for the investigator of Roman history and politics. In pages 1-62 he discusses the family of Lucilius, the dates of his birth and his death, his social position, his estates, his relations with Spain and with Athens, his friendship with Scipio, etc.; in 63-98 he treats the chronology of the satires. The rest of the book (99-355) consists of *Untersuchungen zu den einzelnen Büchern*. There are finally (1) a *Namensverzeichnis* (357-359); (2) *Verzeichnis der behandelten Stellen*, (a) aus Lucilius, (b) *Sonstige Stellen*, (c) *Münzen*, (d) *Inschriften*, (e) *Papyrus* (360-363); (3) *Wörterverzeichnis* (364). There is no general index to the subject-matter. We shall be concerned with pages 1-98.

Of the many points that Marx considers in his treatment of the life of Lucilius (XVII-XXIX) few can be noted. Lucilius hated women and matrimony (XVIII); he remained a bachelor. He sings the praises of *meretrices et pueri*; in his old age he dedicated Book 16 to his *amica* Collyra. His birthplace, Suessa Aurunca, lay in territory once at least Oscan (XVIII). His excellent knowledge of Greek was not due to the fact that he was born and brought up near Campania, but to his education. He uses also Umbrian, Gallic, Tuscan, Sardinian and Syrian words. In verses 182, 1049 we see traces of the Latin that was used at Suessa Aurunca. He was extremely rich, especially in *praedia et agri*:¹ he was *rei rusticae gnarus et studiosus*, and *rei equestris peritus* (XX-XXI). We get from him some information about his slaves. Thanks to his *adfinitas*, through his brother's daughter, with the Pompeii, learned men of the Pompeian circle—Pompeius Laenas, Valerius Cato, etc.—edited his satires and helped to

¹ Marx (XX-XXI, XXIV) and Cichorius (22 ff.) both discuss Lucilius's wealth. Marx holds that he had an estate in Sicily; Cichorius maintains that he had *praedia* also at or near Tarentum and Consentia. Cicero, *De Orat.* 2, 284 shows that he belonged to the landholding class. In 254-256 Cichorius sees a reference to a journey to Sardinia. Why should Lucilius go to a place so notoriously unhealthy? Because, answers Cichorius, he had lands there.

give them their vogue (XX, L). As early as 159 he owned the house which had been built at Rome for the hostage-son of Antiochus the Great; this, however, Cichorius (10-11) disputes successfully. Sometimes Marx's imagination runs riot, as when he says (XXVI), "Non dubium est quin Lucilio inprimis rogante patrocinium sociorum <Scipio> suscepit" and declares that Naples gave him a public funeral "ob munificentiam hominis erga oppidum . . . et ob merita eius in socios Italicos". (On p. XXVIII he gives a different explanation of this funeral.) One would like support for views so concrete and so interesting and important if true.

In discussing the dates of the birth and death of Lucilius Marx notes that Jerome dwells at length on the death of Lucilius, but says next to nothing of the year of his birth; he infers, therefore, that Jerome had definite and correct information about the former only. On p. XXIII he adopts Haupt's view that Lucilius was born in 180 and that Jerome's error arose from a confusion of the names of the consuls of 180 and 148. To this Cichorius (8-9) demurs. By this view, he says, we have Lucilius in active service as an *eques* at Numantia in his forty-seventh year, an unusual phenomenon. If, however, we suppose that Lucilius went with Scipio to Spain *amicitiae causa*, to aid him with money (Marx XXV), Cichorius's argument breaks down; even a *homo aetate admodum proventus* can fight thus.

But Cichorius has a more effective argument. Marx has rightly shown, he says, that Lucilius's literary activity (i. e. formal publication) began in 131. If, then, he was born in 180, he was for fifty years voiceless, then extraordinarily fertile; for fifty years he revealed nothing concerning himself, then made frankest revelation. But Horace, S. 2, 1, 30 ff. will teach us better; there we must emphasize *omnis vita*. Again, in the later books, which Marx assigns to 116-110, there is much erotic material out of keeping with an assumed age of 64-70 years. Far weaker is Cichorius's assumption that Lucilius and his brother (he has much to say in various places of the latter) were not far apart in years. The brother was active in the senate in 110; if he and Lucilius were born in 180 he was then 70 years old and still active in public life. For the view adopted by Cichorius himself, see p. 468, n. 1. If Lucilius was born in 168 all is clear, says Cichorius. By the Numantine War he was 33 or 34; he was 36 or more when he began formal publication of his satires. We understand his fanatical opposition to the marriage law of Metellus; we appreciate better his independence, if he was still relatively young. I may add that other Latin writers made their literary debut when they were in their thirties; e. g., Cicero, Vergil, Horace. Finally, if we adopt 168 as the date of Lucilius's birth, we are enabled to explain *senex* in Horace, S. 2, 1, 34 literally.

Marx, starting with the fact of Lucilius's birth at Suessa Aurunca, maintains that Lucilius was not a *civis Romanus*, but a

socius nominis Latini, an *eques municipalis* (XIX, XX, XXI). The *socii*, he argues, could gain citizenship either by leaving children in their home towns or by holding magistracies in those towns. Lucilius was a bachelor, he was not the man to value office in a provincial town. To this view Marx appends others. Since Scipio was *patronus sociorum*, we understand the friendship between him and Lucilius; a queer argument surely! In this view he finds also (XVI) the explanation of Lucilius's freedom of speech; the Italians, he asserts, held in those days that they were not bound by the laws of Rome. But Macrobius 3, 17, 6, the only authority cited by him, has to do with but a single law and that law a sumptuary regulation. Further, says Marx, for some time after Scipio's death, Lucilius published nothing, because the *socii* and the *Latini* were most uncomfortable at Rome now that their champion Scipio was dead. To all this Cichorius makes answer (14-22). The fact that Lucilius was born at a Latin colony proves nothing; in those days every Latin colony had its Roman citizens resident there, temporarily or permanently. Many families Italian, not Roman, in origin had gained citizenship but preferred to live on in their old homes. There is no hint in any of the many passages that refer to Lucilius that he was not a citizen; had he not been a citizen Horace could not have spoken of him as he does in S. 2, 1, 74-75. Lucilius's slighting reference to the Latin of non-Roman towns would have been most ungracious had he been merely a *Latinus* himself. In 592-596 Lucilius praises C. Persius, a pronounced enemy of the *Latini*. If Lucilius was in fact not at first a citizen, could he not have gained citizenship through some of his influential friends, aye, through his own brother and the Pompeii? Again, many of the fragments (e. g. 1259-1263, 1287, if the latter passage is rightly emended and interpreted by Marx) would have been impossible in the mouth of a *Latinus*, especially if we assume that the period was as unfavorable to the *Latini* as Marx would have us believe.

In 18 ff. Cichorius seeks to show positively that Lucilius was a citizen. In a *senatus consultum* of *Adramyttium*, the name of a man whom Cichorius (5) believes to have been Lucilius's brother is given as Μάνιος Λευκέλιος Μάρκευ (Eph. Epigr. IV 213, Viereck, Serm. Gr. 22). Now in the *Fasti Capitolini* *Triumphales* the names of father and grandfather are given except in six cases falling between 45 and 34 B. C., and one case in 19 B. C. We know enough of the seven men involved to be sure that their grandfathers were not citizens; hence the omission of the names of the grandfathers. We may infer that the mention of the name of father or grandfather proves the citizenship of the one named. Thus Lucilius's father and Lucilius himself as well were citizens. But Cichorius advances no real proof that the *Λευκέλιος* of the inscription was the brother of Lucilius.

Of Lucilius's service in Spain Marx speaks but briefly (XXIII, XXV); he nowhere hints that Lucilius had been in Spain prior to the Numantine War of 134-133. Cichorius (29-40) believes that his military experience was much more extensive, that he served at Numantia as an *equus Romanus* (not in the allied cavalry) and probably in Scipio's *ὕλη φίλων*. By very ingenious combinations, which, however, leave me at the end somewhat cold, he seeks to show that Lucilius probably was in Spain from 139-136 in actual service. Lucilius's references to these wars are our oldest literary evidence for them; it would be worth while to prove that he wrote from personal participation and observation. Neither Marx nor Cichorius notes that Müller (Lucilius, p. 290, *Leben und Werke des Lucilius*, 5) long ago suggested that Lucilius had seen service in Spain prior to his presence there with Scipio.

Of Lucilius's knowledge of Greek Marx writes warmly (XVIII, XXVIII). He notes, too, that Lucilius was well known in Greece, instancing as proof the dedication to him of a book by Clitomachus. Cichorius (40-53), by an argument strained to the last degree, tries to prove conclusively that Lucilius had been in Greece for a long time, and that in Greece he had met Clitomachus and his teacher Carneades. One admires the ingenuity with which Cichorius grasps at every straw, but one cannot help smiling (till he grows sad) at the complete surrender of the logical faculty to the desire to maintain a startling thesis. It would indeed, as Cichorius says, throw brightest light on Lucilius if we could show that his familiarity with Greek (which Cichorius illustrates afresh) was not a matter of the closet at Rome, but the result of personal observation. But this is precisely why one should not venture the thesis on such slender grounds as those on which Cichorius relies.

Of Marx's theory of the explanation of the friendship between Scipio and Lucilius I have already spoken (p. 472). Cichorius treats the matter more fully (53-58). He reminds us how very intimate they really were; cf. Lucilius 961-964, 1138-1142; Hor. S. 2, 1, 71 and the scholiast there. There was not time, argues Cichorius, for the development of this intimacy after the Numantine War, for Scipio died in 129. It could not have begun at Numantia; the distance between general and subordinate, especially in the strict discipline maintained there by Scipio, was too great. Scipio was at Carthage in 149-146, in the East in 140-138; Lucilius was in Spain in 139-136 (see above). We are obliged, therefore, to carry the friendship back to the poet's early years.

Now the intimacy would seem to have had its seat especially in the country; cf. again Hor. S. 2, 1, 71, with the scholiast. Lucilius's family had an estate at Suessa Aurunca. Scipio had estates at Lavernium, which probably lay only a few hours' ride from Suessa; it was a quiet out-of-the-way place. Caieta, too,

where Scipio also had an estate, was near Suessa. Scipio and Lucilius may thus, concludes Cichorius, have been neighbors and friends for many years.

Marx turns now (XXVI-L) to consider the chronology of the Satires. Cichorius treats the same subject on pages 63-98; he holds that it is Marx's great service that he first undertook to determine the chronological order of Lucilius's writings.

Marx holds, as had others before him, that Lucilius began to write or at least to publish after his return from Numantia; the tense of *militaverat* in Vell. 2, 9, 4 is here significant. The first certainly datable references in the fragments belong to 131. The lower terminus, says Marx (XXVI), relying on the statement in Pliny, N. H. 36, 185 *Romae scutulatum . . . primum factum est post tertium Bellum Punicum initum, frequentata vero pavimenta ante Cimbricum . . . indicio est Lucilianus ille versus* (= 85: Book 2), is 105. The singular here in (*bellum*) *Cimbricum*, says Marx, clearly shows that Pliny had in mind the crowning years of the conflict with the Cimbri, 105-101. But, objects Cichorius (64), Pliny twice has *Cimbrica bella*; had he meant what Marx supposes him to mean, he ought to have added *posterius* or *alterum*. The singular must refer to the whole war, as it does in Flor. I 38, Asconius, p. 60; it is conditioned by the general run of the sentence, for Pliny is contrasting as wholes two great wars. In his note on the verse of Lucilius involved in this discussion, Marx refers it (and so Book 2; so Cichorius) to 119; hence the argument which Marx seeks to build on it for 105 as the lower terminus of the Satires falls to the ground.

Before Marx editors and critics had maintained that there were two ancient *corpora carminum Lucilii*, the one containing Books 1-25 of our present numbering, the other 26-30; see e. g., Müller, *Leben und Werke*, 27. Marx maintains (XXIX) that there were tria corpora: (a) 1-21; (b) 22-25; (c) 26-30. His argument is as follows: Of Book 21 we have no fragments, because this book stood last in one corpus and was thus by its position peculiarly exposed to destruction. Witness the loss of the *Vidularia*, itself last play of a corpus of Plautus.¹ We have a relatively large number of fragments of 22, the beginning of a corpus, few of 23-25, the end of that corpus. The lacuna, then, that separates 1-21 from 22-25 and the larger lacuna that parts 22-25 from 26-30 make for the doctrine of tria corpora (XXX). Again, 1-21 are in hexameters only, 22-25 in elegiacs, 26-30 in several meters, trochaic, iambic, hexameter. 1-21 differ, says Marx, from 26-30 in language and meter; we have *contrā*, old style, in 864 (Book 28), *contrā*, new style, in 1335, which probably belongs to 1-21.² Again, says Marx (cf. Cichorius 65), 22-25 are very different from *saturae indoles ac natura* (they are in elegiacs, not in hexameters,

¹ With this argument Lindsay, *Class. Rev.* XIX 272, has no patience!

² On Marx as a metrician see Housman, *Class. Quart.* I 61-62.

the vehicle of true satire); they contain no historical allusions, but deal with Lucilius's slaves. Marx maintains (XXIX) that Gellius used a corpus consisting of 1-21; Varro, too, he says, had this in mind in L. L. 5, 17. Lachmann, he adds, had rightly observed that Nonius used two corpora, one covering 1-25, the other 26-30.

Of the three corpora (c), containing 26-30, is the earliest. Müller had seen this (Lucilius IX, *Leben und Werke*, 31), but he had sought to prove it, says Marx, by dubious arguments. Yet Müller's arguments are in part those of Marx himself. In 589-596 (Book 26) Lucilius "*de novae suae poeseos ratione . . . agit quasi ad scribendas saturas primum adgrediens*" (cf. Müller, *Leben und Werke*, 27). I would call attention to Horace's *primus* in S. 2, 1, 63. Book 26 contains references to events in front of Numantia, which would have most point if made shortly after the events themselves, say on Lucilius's return to Rome, in 131. In 26-30 there are references to Scipio; these books, then, must antedate Scipio's death. In 131 Metellus Macedonicus, then censor, urged that all men should be compelled to marry. The woman-hater Lucilius (XVIII, XXXIII) assails this proposal (XXXIII); Marx thinks that Scipio, who was unhappily married, would have enjoyed a diatribe on women. This Metellus made Lupus princeps senatus in 131. There is, then, nothing in 26-30 that points to a time after Scipio's death. On the other hand since Metellus, when he heard of Scipio's death in *publicum se proripuit* and eulogized Scipio, it is hardly likely that Lucilius would have satirized him after this event. 26-39, then, fall in Scipio's lifetime, between 132 and 129.

These matters Cichorius discusses on pages 70 ff. On Marx's view that 26-30 belong prior to Scipio's death in 129, since he also dates Book 1 in 126 and Book 2 in 119, we have a period of ten years (129-119) in which the poet is virtually silent. Such a supposition is opposed to all we know of the poet's fertility. Marx seeks to account for this silence by asserting that in the years immediately following the death of Scipio it would have been dangerous for Lucilius, a non-citizen (but see p. 472), to write. But Marx himself is obliged to put Book 1 in 126; this book contains a sharp attack on Lupus, the most distinguished leader of the opposition. In a word we have political satire, of all kinds the most dangerous to its writer, if any kind at all is fraught with peril, under the very circumstances which Marx would have us believe so fatal.

Cichorius thinks he has most important evidence in Lucilius, 671-672:

publicanus vero ut Asiae fam, ut scripturarius,
pro Lucilio, id ego nolo, et uno hoc non muto omnia.

The word *Asiae* here must denote the Roman province in Asia, and so the passage must fall after the date at which that province

was made, 129-126. *Publicani* in Asia existed first in 123 when the lex Sempronia first levied on Asia such taxes as the publicani gathered (I may refer to Greenidge, *A History of Rome*, I 218 ff.). Therefore the publication of the first corpus as a corpus cannot antedate 123, though some of the individual pieces in which there are references to Scipio made during his lifetime must go back of 129.

I return now to Marx. He holds that Books 1-21 are differentiated in time from 26-30 by the reference in verse 31 to the death of Carneades, which took place in 129 or 128. This line of argument can be applied, however, I would note, only to the completed collection, if, as Marx and Cichorius (66) both argue, separate pieces of the various collections were in circulation publicly or privately before the corpora were made.

The date of composition of the pieces in the remaining corpus, Books 22-25, Marx declares (L) that we cannot even guess, though elsewhere (XLIX) he holds that 20-21 are the latest utterances of the poet. Emphasizing again the difference in character between these books and the others Marx lets his imagination run in these words: "Suspiceris poetam Neapoli hoc modo manibus familiarium suorum litasse et grammaticum quendam diligenter has poeseos Lucilianae reliquias singulares quas in scriniis poetae defuncti invenerat collegisse disposuisse publici iuris fecisse, quo magis poetae humanitas nota fieret popularibus". But to assign these poems to the last years of Lucilius's life (Marx thinks [XXVIII] the poet withdrew to Naples in 105) is to date the collection: why then say that we cannot even guess its date? Further, why should we not suppose that a man who took the pains to propitiate the manes of his slaves took the pains also to publish the result that he might himself make his *humanitas* better known and show that he could write something more than satire in the narrow sense? This hypothesis is as legitimate as Marx's and no more unmonstrable.

Marx seems here to take for granted¹ what Müller (Lucilius XI) was at some pains to prove, (a) that each book contained several satires, (b) that the separate books were long. Every one remembers that Horace describes Lucilius as a fluent writer. The individual pieces, says Marx (XXXV), of the various corpora were published prior to the making of the corpora; verse 1013, for example, shows that earlier writings of the poet were then well known. Cf. Cichorius, 66-67.

Turning to the order of the pieces in 26-30, Marx maintains (XXXV) that it is chronological and that Horace saw them in the order in which we have them. His argument is that Horace, S. 2, 1, 63 ff., in mentioning the themes of Lucilius's satires names Metellus first, then Lupus; according to our fragments of Lu-

¹ He argues the matter, however, later; see CVII-CXI.

cilius Lupus was assailed in Book 28. But the considerations which lead a poet to arrange such things as names are too numerous and diverse to make this argument conclusive; given the idea Horace sought to convey so briefly, given the metrical values of the names Metellus and Lupus and the position of the two names seems well-nigh inevitable, aside from any effort on Horace's part to attain chronological accuracy where such accuracy could have had but the remotest academic interest to his readers or himself. One need only recall the order of the names in Horace, C. 1, 12, 33 ff., to see how indifferent he could be to matters of chronology (see Wickham on Horace, C. 1, 12, 34).

Marx maintains that we cannot tell whether Lucilius himself or another arranged this corpus. Müller had held that Lucilius made the grouping. This view Cichorius also holds (73-74). He thinks too that Lucilius wrote a prefatory satire to this corpus and that to this preface an array of extant verses belongs. On p. XXXVI Marx holds that Lucilius himself arranged Books 1-21; his chief argument is that we have a preface to Book 1 by Lucilius himself (Varro, L. L. 5, 17). Cichorius discusses this matter in 67-70. He reminds us that (1) the satires of a given book may stand in chronological order, as written for that specific book, (2) the book may consist, in whole or in part, of satires written long before and in part already published. Who arranged the books within the corpora? On what principle did he arrange them? On p. 68 he declares that "in Bezug hinauf die Verhältnisse für die beiden Sammlungen <i. e., 1-21, 26-30> der Satiren ganz verschieden liegen".

In Books 26-30, he says, we may see, with Marx, a chronological sequence. The meters of this corpus are of paramount importance. In 26-27 we have trochaic septenarii only, in 28-29 trochaic septenarii, iambic senarii and hexameters, in 30 hexameters only. Manifestly, says Cichorius, 26-30 were not arranged on metrical principles; verses in the same meter are not grouped together, the same meter appears in different books, and two or three meters appear in a single book. There was, then, some principle other than the metrical at the bottom of the arrangement; this was the chronological. But do the metrical and the chronological exhaust the list of possible arrangements? I can readily conceive of at least another—the haphazard. Further, the metrical phenomena to which he calls attention can best be explained on the theory that Lucilius began with trochaic septenarii, and that presently he experimented with other meters, till at last he tried hexameters, found them suitable and abandoned all else. On this view the arrangement of 26-30 as a whole is at once metrical and chronological. On pages 86 ff. he argues that the arrangement in 1-21 was not chronological. To get a starting-point here we must, he says, find some passage which we can definitely restrict to a period of a few months. "Die Möglichkeit hierzu verdanken wir der . . . glänzenden Kombinierung

und Erklärung der Verse 210-11 aus Buch V und 1130 durch Marx" . . . By this Kombinierung Marx gets the end of 117 or the beginning of 116, Cichorius 118 as the date of Book 5. By yet more Kombinierung we get 119 as date of Book 2. If, now, the arrangement of the books is chronological, we have four books (2-5) appearing within less than a year. On the other hand, if Books 1 and 2 are in chronological sequence, then on Marx's view of their dates we have seven years between them (126-119), on Cichorius's view of their dates four years (123-119). The arrangement, then, says Cichorius, was not chronological. Any one not actually engaged in the fascinating task of making such combinations readily sees how insecure a foundation they supply for the logical and dispassionate student.

I have not time or space to consider the views held by our authors of the dates of the individual books. Enough has been said, however, to indicate their method of attacking these difficult problems. As I read over what I have said above I am sorry that I have so often been obliged to speak in opposition to the views expressed in books which have both demanded much labor. I hope I am not insensible of the difficulty of the task they set before themselves or of the patience, research and ingenuity shown by both. Inasmuch, however, as both authors start with fragments, wholly or almost wholly contextless, then 'emend' their fragments in divers ways, at the risk of departing widely through such emendation from the sense actually conveyed by the fragments in their original setting, and finally proceed to put together these elements, so elusive individually, so baffling in themselves to the keenest thought, it was inevitable that any critic who subjected their work to careful analysis would find himself more often in opposition than in agreement.

I turn finally to consider Marx's theory of Nonius Marcellus's method of citing Lucilius. He regards Nonius as a much maligned man. Most people, he says, think of Nonius as *stuporis plenus et ineptiarum*, because they attribute to him "*quae aperte erant mancipiorum opera collata et digesta*."¹ After tracing briefly the attempts made to discover how Nonius composed his dictionary, Marx (LXXXIII) holds that Nonius followed the recipe given by Cato De Agri Cultura 76 for making *placenta*; "when you have it all done sprinkle with honey". So when Nonius had finished chapters 2-4 "*tum tamquam mellis guttas versiculos Horatii superfudit operi perfecto*". He had in his library the four books of Odes, the two of Sermones, in that order. "*Ea volumina servulus ab initio ad finem perlustravit, notas criticas*

¹ In the Prolegomena of Volume II, in which he seeks to show what Lucilius-citations Nonius drew from grammarians rather than from texts, Marx adheres to this view. We have now an easy method, far better than Horace's *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*, of defending ancient authors; we may charge, e. g., Varro's etymological *ineptiae* to some slave. On p. LXXXV Marx holds that other grammarians, too, may have used this backward-citation-method.

locis singulis apposuit. Quo facto sex illa volumina ita erant comparata, ut singula circum sinistrum umbilicum¹ quem dicimus convoluta non potuerint adhiberi, nisi denuo servulus omnia sex revolveret, quo facto in pristinum ordinem erant restituta. Quo labore commode supersedebat Nonii servus ita ut ultimum volumen primum replicando ab umbilico dextro exorsus sic deinceps singulos locos Horatii adpingeret capp. II-IV operis Noniani, ut ordine inverso hodie legantur: idem fecit in Lucilio quem a XXX ad XXVI librum regrediens ordine fere semper adhibuit; idem fecit nonnumquam in Lucilii libris I-XX Ciceronis epistulis et Academicis. Quae res non insani stupidi inepti erat hominis, sed parcentis viribus et tempori et commode sicuti fecimus rei librae condicione et ratione potest explicari". The argument in support of this position runs as follows. In Nonius 120, 134, 196, 203, 255, under the lemmata *hallec*, *ligurrire*, *clunes*, *diluvies*, *crepare*, we have references to Hor., S. 2, 4, 73; 1, 3, 81; 1, 2, 89; C. 4, 14, 28; 1, 18, 5. Hence "apparet inverso ordine eiusdem saturarum libri I afferri fragmenta". So in Nonius I-II four references to Cicero's *Academica* are given in reverse order (2, 70, 67, 57, 51). But elsewhere citations from the *Academica* follow the natural order. Again in Nonius IV four citations from Cic., ad Fam. 15 are given in inverse order (14, 5; 4, 2; 3, 2; 2, 2). Later in the same book we have two citations, in this order, 15, 16, 3; 15, 16, 1. On pages LXXXIV-CVII we have a table giving all the Lucilian citations in Nonius; from this it appears clearly enough that for some reason the citations given by Nonius from Lucilius 26-30 are so arranged that wherever a series occurs the citations from 30 precede those from 29, those from 29 precede those from 28, etc. Thus from Nonius 34-38 we have citations from Lucilius in this order: 7 from 30, 5 from 29, 2 from 28, 4 from 27, 7 from 26. For Books 1-22 there is little evidence of citation *inverso ordine*.

Now when we seek to value these phenomena we may at once eliminate the citations in Nonius II-IV. These books differ in certain respects from the remaining books of Nonius; see Lindsay, Nonius,² pp. 2, 5, n. h., 35-36. Until we can explain this difference and agree concerning its cause citations from these books will not avail to bolster up Marx's view. So far as the mode of citation from Books 26-30 is concerned, Marx has, with all his pains, adduced no new facts. Lindsay, Nonius, had set them forth clearly in 1901; indeed, Schmidt had done so in 1868. On p. 9, in enumerating the sources of Nonius's rough lists of words, under No. 25, Lindsay writes: "Lucilius Satires, Books XXVI-XXX. Curiously enough, the list compiled from these books began with Book XXX and ended with Book XXVI, pre-

¹ For the latest view of the *umbilicus* (*umbilici*), a view somewhat different from Marx's, see Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig, 1907), 228-235.

² I cite thus, for convenience, Lindsay's Nonius Marcellus's Dictionary of Republican Latin (Oxford, 1901).

sumably because Nonius had begun his task of excerpting with the last book of the Satires". Here we come upon two curious phenomena. Marx, who knew Lindsay's monograph (see LXXXII), does not ask us to note that Lindsay had written the words just quoted from him. It is hard to believe Marx ignorant of the fact that Lindsay had done so; it is equally hard to charge him with lack of intellectual candor, in a failure to indicate that his view did not require so elaborate a demonstration after Lindsay's convincing presentation of the facts. On the other hand Lindsay, in his review¹ of Marx's first volume in *Class. Rev.* XIX 272, in laughing out of court the view of Marx now under consideration, utterly fails to recall or at least to cite the fact that he had himself set forth in print, at least in part, the very view at which he is so heartily laughing.²

I stop for the moment to consider Marx's explanation of this backward-citation-method (see his words cited above, p. 479). Does Marx *know* that immediately after the slave affixed the critical marks to Nonius's copy of Horace, Nonius himself or one of his slaves employed those volumes in work on the dictionary? The five references from Horace are scattered over 136 pages of Nonius's book. It must have taken some time to cover that ground: are we to suppose that all this time Nonius or his slave allowed these six *volumina* to remain in an abnormal condition? Further, is the scheme so ardently championed by Marx—for just a very few works, be it noted—in reality a time-saving plan? Only experiment could answer this, and even experimenters might disagree. To me, however, it would seem a priori clear that any plan of working through a book backward, involving as it does a wholly abnormal process, would inevitably involve a loss of time. Further, a man keen to save time would be far more likely to work as Lindsay (Nonius, 3) supposes that Nonius worked—by making at first from various sources lists of words, to which he could have recourse from time to time—than by making marks in the text; a multitude of different marks would be necessary and he would have been obliged to unroll the book scores of times as he worked along different lines. Marx's explanation, then, of the phenomenon he has noted fails to carry conviction.

That Books 26-30 of Lucilius were for some reason cited by Nonius in reverse order seems to be certain. Why? We do not know. Marx, however, assumes that Nonius or his slave worked backwards within the limits of the individual books. But this is by no means a necessary assumption. A priori such a procedure seems well-nigh incredible. It is a simple matter—for any

¹ This 'review' is unworthy of its author; its preparation cannot have required much time.

² It is to be noted that Lindsay in his Nonius, p. 9, has no conception that anyone would ever suppose that Nonius had made his excerpts from any given book backwards; his whole monograph is a protest against such a view.

reason—to examine Book 30 as a whole from front to back before 29, Book 29 as a whole, similarly, before 28, etc., but it is hard to believe that one would work through a long text to affix notae criticae of divers sorts and then seek later to pick up those marks by working backwards first through 30, then through 29, etc. (see above, p. 480). Further, such a supposition is opposed to all that we know of Nonius's procedure. It is platitudinous to say that the progress of knowledge is from the known to the unknown; some, nevertheless, seem to be unaware of this principle. Lindsay, Nonius, by comparing the citations from authors whose text is yet extant with that text, has demonstrated overwhelmingly that the citations are given exactly, in the vast majority of instances, in the order in which they appear in the full text of the author. I have space to cite but a single instance of this. In Non. 4-12 we have citations from Plautus in the following sequence: As. 172, 377, 706, 892, Au. 355, 422, Ba. frag., 792, Cis. 371, Cas. 169, 267, 967, Cap. 661, Cu. 99, 613, Ep. 609, Men. 50, Am. 843, Mil. 632, 1407, Pers. 104, 169, 408, 421, Ps. 572, Poe. 48, Stich. 369, Poe. 312, Tr. 251, Tru. 566. In pages 10-35 and 37-88 Lindsay gives further proofs in abundance. The important exceptions, aside from Lucilius 26-30, are the few cited by Marx from Books 2-4 (on them see above, p. 479), but even in 2-4, as Lindsay shows, pp. 37-88, the evidence for the forward-moving method is overwhelming. Every consideration of logic, therefore, requires us to suppose that in such cases as Lucilius, where the text is lost, so that we cannot concretely test Nonius's method of working, that method was identical with the method he employed in such an overwhelming array of instances elsewhere. The leopard cannot change his spots, at least when they are as deeply ingrained as they are in this instance. Hence I feel that in applying his idea that Nonius worked backward even within the individual books 26-30 as a working principle by which to determine the place within the individual book of the fragments cited by Nonius, Marx erred seriously and thereby vitiated his arrangement.

At present, then, what we know is, that so far as the last five books of Lucilius are concerned, Nonius cited these in reverse order. In what order he cited *passages* from these books individually we do not positively *know*; but our knowledge of what he did in fact in so many instances elsewhere obliges us to start with the assumption that in citing within each book itself he worked forward, from the beginning to the end, not backwards, as Marx supposed. One thing is certain, that until some one disproves the facts presented by Lindsay concerning Nonius's mode of citing from a given book, we are obliged to agree with him (p. 3) that every edition of the fragments of early Latin thus far made has gone on wrong lines, because every edition has ignored these facts, though Schmidt had demonstrated them sufficiently as long ago as 1868, that is, before Ribbeck

brought out his *Römische Tragödie* (1875) or the two volumes of his *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta* (editio maior: 1871, 1873), or Müller his *Ennius* (1884) and his *Nonius* (1888), or Vahlen the second edition of his *Ennius* (1903). One can easily see why the editors of the fragments have been loath to accept such a view as Schmidt advanced and Lindsay presented with greater detail; it ties their hands. Ignoring it, they are unfettered, free to let their imaginations roam at will; recognizing it, they have a far more difficult task to guess the coherence of the extant fragments.

Lengthy as this review is, I am obliged to omit all mention of divers matters of interest and importance. For example I have not discussed Marx's commentary at all. This I hope to do at another time.

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Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain: Première Partie, Les provinces latines. Tome 1, Les cultes officiels; les cultes Romains et Gréco-Romains. Par J. TOUTAIN. Paris: Leroux, 1907.

During the last two decades there has been a marked tendency in the study of religions to turn from the comparative method, which has attempted to construct theories of religious development without sufficient basis of fact and often without due regard to the varying conditions of time and place, to the historical study of particular systems or of individual cults. Indeed many more special investigations in the various fields must be made before a science of religion worthy of the name can be built up. Such a special investigation into the religious conditions of the Roman world has been undertaken by Toutain in a comprehensive work of which the first volume lies before us. The author has set himself to determine the manner in which the cults of Rome, both native and adopted, were spread among the nations which she conquered, to show how the national and local gods fared under Roman domination, and to make clear how far foreign divinities, transplanted from one part of the empire to another, took root and flourished. The contrast in character between Greece and the Orient on the one hand and the western provinces on the other has naturally led to a geographical division of the work, so that the Latin provinces only are treated in the present volume; of this about one half is devoted to those cults which Toutain chooses to call official, that is the worship of the *Urbs Roma*, of the emperor living or dead, and of the Capitoline triad; the remainder of the volume deals with the worship of the other Roman and Græco-Roman gods who belonged to the varied and

complex Roman pantheon. This arrangement of the work has been wisely adopted in spite of certain difficulties, such as, for example, the impossibility of distinguishing between the members of the official Capitoline triad and the same gods in a less official capacity, so to speak; or the danger in attempting to draw a sharp distinction between Jupiter or Mercury as Roman gods and local divinities identified with them.

The execution of the work deserves high praise. It is written with all that clarity and grace which characterise the productions of the best French scholarship, and is as inclusive and complete as could be desired. We feel, however, a single regret that more attention has not been given to the chronological data. Naturally the book does not supplant monographs on the several cults. Although excavations are almost daily adding new epigraphical data for the study of Roman religion, Toutain's conclusions are based on so large and so varied material that future discoveries will hardly affect them seriously, much as they may increase our knowledge. We are now able for the first time to estimate the proportionate strength of the several cults in the Latin provinces and to comprehend the great variety of religious expression which these provinces exhibit. The worship of the imperial power, for example, in Africa and Spain was directed to the deified members of the imperial family, but along the Danube, in Rhetia, Noricum, the Germanies, and Britain dedications to the *divi* are rare; in the Spanish province of Tarraconensis and in the three Gauls dedications were addressed chiefly to Augustus and Rome, who hardly appear in the dedications of Pannonia, Dacia, Moesia, or Britain; but in the last province and the Gauls the imperial *numen* is often named, which in turn is seldom found in Spain or Africa.

The popularity of the other gods varied in similar fashion. Among the members of the Capitoline triad Minerva received the fewest dedications, and those chiefly in the Gauls and Germanies; those to Juno are more numerous; while the number addressed to Jupiter is very large. The geographical distribution of these is significant, for although they are rare in Africa, Spain, and the Gauls, they are numerous along the Rhine, in Pannonia and in Dacia. Toutain points out that the reason for this is that the dedicators were chiefly officials, most of whom were connected with the armies stationed in the imperial provinces; in the Germanies alone do we find a considerable number of dedications to Jupiter and Juno set up by civilians of the lowest class, apparently natives only half Romanised. But this circumstance finds its explanation in the fact that in the Rhine valley two indigenous divinities were popular, which the loyal provincials chose to address by Roman names.

In this and similar ways Toutain shows how the worship of the Roman gods, or of gods with Roman names, throws light on the social condition of the provinces. The popularity among civilians

of Mercury and Apollo in the Gallic and Germanic lands, of Mars in southern Gaul, of Silvanus in Dalmatia, Pannonia, Dacia, and Upper Moesia, of Hercules in southern Spain and Africa, all prove no less the assimilation of the devotees into the Roman imperial system than the absorption of the local gods into the Roman pantheon. The inscriptions found in the southern part of Aquitania seem to indicate the existence there in the second and third centuries of large bodies of slaves and freedmen established on estates; and on the frontiers the armies clearly marked their presence by dedications to their favorite gods.

This variety in religious expression, which Toutain shows was found everywhere in the western provinces, attests as nothing else could do the spontaneous character of the provincials' devotion. Rome did not impose a fixed form of official worship on her subjects, but allowed them entire freedom. There is no proof, for instance, that the imperial power ever tried to compel the worship of the living emperor or of the *divi*—save in the requirement of oaths—, although it well knew the worth of such devotion in stimulating the loyalty of its subjects and valued it as a means by which the provincials might be absorbed and Romanised. To-day the stronger European nations, as well as the United States, are engaged in colonial experiments which thus far have not been successful. As has been more than once pointed out, the Romans understood how to assimilate their subject peoples, modern nations know only how to dominate and overawe them. Toutain very aptly suggests that we may find a valuable lesson for ourselves in the tact and toleration of the Romans, in their unwillingness to impose their own gods on their subjects or to interfere with the native religions; they left to time and association their sure work.

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T. S. DENISON, *Nauatl or Mexican in Aryan Phonology*.
Chicago, T. S. Denison, Publisher.

With the best will in the world it is hard for the professional scholar, overlooking shortcomings of technique, to give a fair reading to the work of an amateur. It is hard not to approach it as a Pharisee—or a Brahmin. At the startling assertion of cognation between Mexican and primitive Aryan, and more particularly the Indo-Iranian group—and this is the thesis of Mr. Denison's book—it is hard not to feel the hostility of surprise. But the author has made a conscientious study of his problem and, barring details of technique, his method is fundamentally sound, as far as it goes. If his classifications are not quite as rigid as such classifications can now be made in Indo-European

Comparative Philology, they are not less rigid than such classifications were a few decades ago.

Granted the Aryan origin of Mexican, who could, *a priori*, refuse his assent to comparisons like the following?—Mex. *pacha* 'woolly': Lat. *pecus*, Mex. *patli* 'potion': Lat. *potat* (better *poculum*), Mex. *pallauac* 'broad': Lat. *patulus*; Mex. *cantli* 'cheek': Lat. *gena*, Mex. *conell* 'child': Lat. *genus*. These are average samples taken from a comparison of some eight score Mexican 'roots' with Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Germanic words. Nor are the comparisons limited to the obvious. With much patience the author had elaborated the phonetic law, *r > u/i*: one realizes how, when he subsequently found this phonetic change in the Iranian group, his theory seemed to him a demonstration.

But it is no proof of cognation for languages to exhibit a pretty wide correspondence in root material. The number of conveniently utterable vocables is not great, and the store of fundamentally distinct notions to which our stock may be reduced is small—or, to put it in another way, the reach of semantic change is immense. The Aryan and Semitic groups exhibit no insignificant correspondence in root material, without our being convinced that the correspondence means cognation (see, e. g., M. A. Cuny's review of Möller's *Semitisch und Indo-Germanisch* in the *Bulletin d. l. Société de Linguistique*, 14, ccxlv; [but now see Pedersen, *lf.* 22, 341 sq., for a quite favourable counterview]). A correspondence of groups of words, as of the numerals and names of relationship in the Aryan languages, might start conviction of cognation, and a correspondence in flexions or word-formation would clinch it. Should Mr. Denison enlarge his present brochure, as his preface hints, it would be well to search for such correspondences. As a starting point he might institute a comparison of the person signs prefixed to the Mexican and affixed to the Sanskrit verb, to wit: 1st sg. Mex. *ni*:- Skr. *-mi* (impv. *-ni*), 2d sg. Mex. *ti*:- (impv. *ji*:-) Skr. *-si*, 3d sg. Mex. —: Skr. *-ti*, 1st plur. Mex. *ti*:- Skr. *-mas*, 2d plur. Mex. *an*:- Skr. *-thas* (*-tam*), 3d plur. Mex. —: Skr. *-an*(*ti*). The different allocation of *ti* in the two languages for person might be explained on the theory that 2d and 3d person are merely a nearer and a remoter non-ego; and one might compare the person allocation of Lat. *iste* in contrast with *ille*, or the repetition of *hi* to mean first 'this (the near) group' and second 'that (the far) group'. Similarly note Mex. *an*- 'you': Skr. *-an*(*ti*) 'they'. Not without interest is the Mexican use of *ti*- 'thou'—in combination with a change of accent in the verb stem—for 'we', as if 'we' were 'I + thou' with a (polite) suppression of the 'I.' It would seem also a patent suggestion to identify the Mexican general noun-formative *tl/lli* with the IE. instrumental suffix *tlo-*, as e. g. in the already cited Mex. *patli*: Lat. *poculum* (from **pottom*).

In a revision of the essay a sharp eye should be kept on inconsistencies, whether of explanation or of statement: thus in the equation of Mex. *cui* with Skr. *grabh-* 'to take', once the *r* is said to be dropped (p. 23); once (p. 12) it is said to be represented by *ui* (? or *i*); and again (p. 9) the *u* is derived from *bh*. There must be confusion here, either in the author's conception or in his statements. It were well also to note that Mex. *pal*: Skr. *bhar-* 'to bear', based on the laws $p < bh$, and $l < r$ might, on the same principles, be compared with Lat. *por-tal*. This emphasizes again the uncertainty attendant on comparisons of root material only. As for the author's derivation of *naua-laua* 'to ridicule', the probability of onomatopoeia here puts any other explanation at a disadvantage.

EDWIN W. FAY.

REPORTS.

HERMES XLI.

Fascicle 3.

Das dritte und vierte Buch der Tusculanen (M. Pohlenz). Hirzel's attempt to prove that Philo of Larissa was the main source for all five books of T. D. has met with little favor; but the close connection in subject matter of III and IV has suggested for these a single source, to O. Heine, Chrysippus; to Kreuttner, Antiochus; to Poppelreuter, Posidonius. Others, however, believe in a plurality of sources, as v. Arnim does in the introduction to his Stoic fragments, which Pohlenz reviewed approvingly in the Berl. Ph. Woch., 1905, pp. 1495-96. Now P., partly in agreement with v. A., shows by means of a connected exposition of the arguments of III and IV that Cicero made a wider use of Chrysippean doctrine than is generally believed, though he breaks the connection by introducing matter that he had already used (viz., in de Fin. and Consolatio) and inserting extracts from a Stoic hand-book (possibly by Chrysippus). Further, while accepting Antiochus as the direct source for III, P. holds that Antiochus himself, whose work appeared subsequently to Posidonius' *περί παθῶν*, followed Chrysippus more closely than is usually supposed, so that his work might be designated a kind of new edition of Chrysippus' *περί παθῶν*, but mainly of Vol. II. The difference in treatment between Tusc. D. III and IV makes Antiochus an unlikely source for the latter. At any rate the *θεραπευτικός* of Chrysippus was the ultimate source here. This work did not constitute a fourth volume of Chrysippus' *περί παθῶν* as v. A. and others hold; but was an independent popular work, which may partly account for the milder presentation of Stoic doctrines in Cicero. It is this popular treatise that Philodemus, Origen and Galen read.

Ein delphisches Exemplar von "Kassanders Ehrentafel" und die delphischen Inschriften aus Bd. VIII d. Z. (M. Pomtow). This is a second edition, as it were, amplified and improved, of seven fragments published by Kaibel in Hermes VIII (3, 6 and 7 no longer extant). No. 7 should read: ἡ πόλις [ἡ Κ]ορωναιίων [τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι] and ἡ πόλις ἡ Μεγαρίω[ν δάφνης στεφάνωι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγέτου]. The word *corona* which K. added to each dedication can now be replaced by pictures of crowns inscribed on other fragments of marble found in situ. All these must have belonged to a Delphic duplicate of a large tablet inscription in honor of Cassander of Alexandria in Troas, which was set up 165 B. C., discovered, 1853, in

the ruins of the temple of Apollo Smintheus and sent by Spratt to Cambridge. An illustration of this shows us under the heading 'Αγαθὴ τύχη' Κάσσανδρον Μενασθίως ἐτίμησεν, an orderly arrangement of eighteen inscribed crowns, each with a dedication, the first being τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ. These with grants of *προξενίας*, etc., make 23 honors in all; Kaibel's two agree with Nos. 17 and 22.—Fragments 4 and 5, supplemented by means of additional pieces, present a fairly complete text of a letter of Hadrian (118 or 119 A. D.) and two of Trajan (98 and 99 A. D.), which assure the Delphians in their possessions and autonomy.—No. 1, the base of a left anta, with traces of moulding and inscriptions on three sides, is important for the identification of the treasury-houses marked 13 and 18 on Tournaire's plan of Delphi, as those of the Siphnians and Knidians respectively. The remaining fragments, Nos. 2, 3 and 6, while less important, are interestingly discussed with the aid of the lists of Delphic archons, bouleuts, etc. (cf. Pauly-Wissowa Delph. Chronol.).

Zu Odyssee = 73-79 (W. Helbig). H. summarizes the results of a study of cinerary urns and their contents. From about 700 B. C. down to Hellenistic times, the ashes of the dead were enveloped in linen, as a substitute for the custom of shrouding the remains. This illustrates α 795 καὶ τότε (δασία) χρυσεῖον ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες πορφύρεοις πέπλοις καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν and explains how in = 73 ff. the ashes of Antilochus could lie separate in the same amphora with those of Achilles and Patroclus. When the idea of shrouding was forgotten urns of precious material were themselves wrapped with cloth. This custom being a familiar practice Alexandrian scholars offered no comments.

Zum homerischen Hermes hymnos (C. Robert). In the hymn to H. morning dawns three times (98, 143, 183) and his birth-place appears now as a dark cave and again as a magnificent dwelling richly furnished. These and other inconsistencies have not been solved. R. introduces as a new criterion the use of Homer. Whole blocks show inferior imitations and borrowings, while long stretches merely contain well-known epic phrases, or a few excellent parodies. A detailed examination makes it probable that the original hymn told only of the theft of Apollo's cows and how the youngster won his older brother's friendship simply through his cunning. This story was expanded by the interpolation of the lyre. The account of its invention (vv. 24, 26-59) was either an independent prooemium or a fragment of a longer poem, in which H. appears to be a youth, in accordance with representations in art. In expanding this theme the interpolator introduced a number of inconsistencies. A second interpolator added the sacrifice at Pylus (vv. 105-141) and other verses, which show a love of the marvellous and the aim to include all the phases of Hermes worship, thereby foreshadowing the later Hermes Trismegistus. To the latter are due the most

glaring inconsistencies. The following scheme indicates the three strata: 1-10, 11. 12, 13-16, 17. 18, 19, 20-23, 24, 25, 26-59 (24, 26-59 the independent fragment), 60. 61, 62-65, 66-104, (gap between 91 and 92 and perhaps at this point 356, 357 in place of the following 105, 106), 105-138, 139, 140, 141, 142-144, 145-149, 150-152, 153-183, 358-360 a, 184, 185, (gap), 218-227, 186-193, 194-196, 197-212 (210 altered), 216, (gap), 217, 213-215, 228-230, 231-234, 235-241, (gap), 360 b, 361, 242, 243-252, 253-315, (gap), 316-357, (gap?), 358-402, (gap), 403-408, 409-415, 416-474, (475-488 though excellent, seems to be an interpolation), 490-512, 513-525, 526-573, 574-580.

Das dritte und vierte Buch der Ilias (G. Finsler). The poet that in B made use of a story how Odysseus and Nestor frustrated Agamemnon's purpose to return to Greece after ten years of fruitless warfare, adapted in RA an account of a duel that took place near the beginning of the war between Paris and Menelaus, including the truce and treachery of Pandarus. He overlooked the discrepancy in time (B 134, 329) and added descriptions of Ionic armor familiar to him; but inconsistent with the Mycenaean armor of the older story. He added with great ability the two scenes with Helen, the council of the gods and Agamemnon's Epipoleis, besides other touches, showing familiarity with legends and using Z. The *Τειχοσκοπία* was based on a poem of the rape of Helen by Theseus, in which she appeared on the tower of Troezen accompanied by Aethra and Clymene and pointed out her brothers, the Dioscuri, who had come to rescue her. The Epipoleis was composed to prepare for Diomedes' *ἀπιστία*. The similes in III 1 ff. and Δ 422 ff. connect with B. The composition of E was in accordance with the poet's plan of writing an Iliad rather than an Achilleis; but the postponement of Zeus' promise to Thetis in A had to be justified, hence the council of the gods and the agreement between Zeus and Hera and the despatch of Athena. The details are valuable.

Diogenes bei Plautus (F. Leo). The earliest reference to Diogenes the Cynic appears to have been in the original of Plautus' *Persa* (vv. 120 ff.), which v. Wilamowitz (Götting., ind. lect. 1893/94) proved to be a contemporary document (circa 350 or 340 B. C.). The joke lies in the suggested resemblance of the ascetic philosopher to a parasite. But Diogenes is not characterized as squalid and barefoot with wallet, staff and cloak, a later conception that was transferred to him; instead he wears: *ampullam, strigilem, scaphium, soccos, pallium* and *marsuppium*, which was merely the outfit of an *egens* probe. Leo discusses the passage in the light of other evidence. A critical life of Diogenes is yet to be written.

Die Myrmidonen in Kyrene (A. Gercke). That Cyrene was founded at an early period in the course of the migratory move-

ments of the Aeolic tribes of southern Thessaly and not from Thera under Doric influence in the VII century B. C. (Herod. IV 115 ff.; Pind. Pyth. IV, V, IX), is made likely by the unique relationship of inscriptional forms of Cyrene (cf. ἀήκοισαν, πρῶγε-γονοίσαυς) with the Lesbian dialect, which points to the country of the Myrmidons as their common origin in a pre-Dorian period. Gercke substantiates this view with an interesting discussion of the legends of Cyrene, Euphamus, the Argonautic expedition, etc. Accordingly the Battiad dynasty merely succeeded the earlier reign of the Euphamids and we recognize the kinship of Callimachus' dialect with that of Sappho and Alcaeus.

Zu Varro de vita populi Romani (P. Wessner). W. discusses five Varro fragments carelessly excerpted by Nonius Marcellus (ch. 18). They describe the dulcia wines which alone were allowed the women of ancient Rome; viz., lora, sapa, defretum, passum and muriola.

Miscellen: W. Dittenberger points out to Joel (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 473) that Plutarch does not represent Nicias as more superstitious than Thucydides does, on whom he depends (cf. Thuc. VII 50, 4; Plut., Nic. 4). Hence Plutarch does not depend on Antisthenes for this side of Nicias (cf. Hermes 41, p. 317).—M. Holleaux thinks that the βασιλεύς from whom Aratus received 25 talents (Plut. Arat. 11) was Antigonus Gonatas, the last king mentioned (l. c. 9), not Ptolemy Philadelphus as generally understood.—S. Koujeas cites the modern πλέχει 'σὰν ἀσκή' 'he swims like a bag' and πλέχει 'σὰν τσηκούρι (securis) 'he swims like an axe' to explain Theophr., Char. 5. Please-man, raising the host's child on high, says ἀσκάς 'light as a feather', then letting it down, πέλκευς 'heavy as an axe'. A drawing from a sarcophagus at the villa Pamphili illustrates the act. In Hesychius πέλκευς = σταθμίων ἱξυμαίων.

Fascicle 4.

Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus (O. Seeck). A. M. as a continuator of Tacitus' history has been regarded as an annalist and it has been customary to accept the dates printed in the margin of his editions. Mommsen was the first to note the chronological confusion [but cf. Gibbon's Rome, ch. XIX, no. 59; ch. XXV, nn. 122, 123] and undertook a detailed examination which S. has now made, chapter by chapter, with a strong grasp of pertinent details, thus throwing considerable light on Am. sources and his method of using them. The latter part of Am. history (Bks. XXVI, 10–XXXI), being contemporary and so more particularly his own, reveals by its utter lack of a chronological scheme, its carelessness and mistakes in dating, how dependent Am. was on his sources in the earlier books. There two chronological schemes are recognizable: the one annalistic beginning the year January 1, the other grouping

events according to summer and winter and beginning the year with spring, when the yearly consuls are often mentioned. The annalist was an Oriental Christian, possibly a certain Cappadocian named Eutychianus, whom Malalas quotes; the other, as shown by an extended argument, was probably the pagan Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, whose biography Seeck has given in the introduction to his edition of Symmachus (p. cxii). Ammianus carelessly followed now the Thucydidean now the annalistic scheme; but it is usually difficult or impossible to determine to which of the two sources the matter is due, which is frequently out of place. Of course other sources, such as Julian and Libanius have also to be reckoned with. The chronicle of Rome was derived from the Thucydidean and possibly also the military record of Julian's Persian campaign, which was written by Magnus of Karrhae not by Julian's physician Oreibasius.

Zur Geschichte des ältesten griechischen Alphabets (A. Gercke). A detailed and suggestive discussion of its origin and development. The Carian alphabet, as well as the Lycian, has preserved some archaic forms on the basis of which Gercke reaches the conclusion that the origin of the Greek alphabet dates from the ninth century if not earlier.

Phaedrus-studien (G. Thiele). The Ionic Aesop was succeeded by the Attic, who continued a legendary life, like Till Eulenspiegel, the embodiment of popular wit and philosophy. A similar rôle was played by Anacharsis, Socrates and Diogenes, the two latter being associated with Aesop in this sense by Dio of Prusa or LXXII II, p. 188, Arn. 13. An Aesopic-Socrates, a popular creation, which suggested perhaps to Plato *Phaedo* 61 B., appears in Phaedrus III 9, app. 25, while III 8 expresses a Socratic gnome (D. L. II 33). Anacharsis is mentioned indeed by Phaedrus (III prol.); but his rôle of adviser and judge (cf. A. J. P. XXVII 344) is given to Aesop (Phaed. IV 5, app. 10), just as this one acts the part of Anacharsis in Alexis' Aesop. But especially have the Aesopic fables been enriched from the allegorical *χρειαί* of the Cynics, a thesis that Thiele elaborates with interesting details. Finally this influence reacted on the Diogenes legend, so that the *πρῶσις*, his meeting Alexander, etc., may be Aesopic in origin (cf. Leo above).

Hierax der Platoniker (K. Praechter). Many a forgotten author may yet reveal himself to the careful student of Stobaeus' excerpts. Some eight of these shed light on Hierax, a hiatus-shunning eclectic philosopher of the II century A. D. (Zeller does not mention him), who with Albinus, Apuleius, etc., made up that Moonshine academy (Diels), which taught a diluted form of Platonism. From these Taurus and Atticus are sometimes discriminated as upholders of a pure Platonism against the prevailing eclecticism; but the latter was certainly tinged with Stoic doctrine, and Hierax also defined his position over against the

Stoics and Peripatetics, which makes it probable that all these precursors of Neoplatonism were essentially alike. Hierax' contentions probably originated in the schoolroom, where ἀμαθίστερον πρὸς εὐκλείην καὶ σαφέστερον was in vogue (cf. A. Gell. XII 5, 6).

Miscellen: K. Weissmann regards the staff supporting men on the east frieze of the Parthenon, Nos. 18-23 and 43-46 (Michaelis) as representing the ten Attic eponymous heroes and identifies most of them. Like the seated divinities they are invisible, hence No. 47 is clearly beckoning to Nos. 17 and 16.—M. Bang points out another misplaced fragment in Cassius Dio. The unmotivated massacre in LXXVII 13, 4-5, beginning with οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἡγρόμενοι, is identical with the punishment of the Alexandrians, in Herodian IV 9, 3 ff., and properly belongs to Dio l. c., ch. 22-23. Did Herodian take his account from Dio or a common source? (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, R. Enc. III, p. 1720).—F. Leo shows the comic fragment (Hibeh Papyri, part I 24 ff.), which Blass, Grenfell and Hunt attribute to Philemon and accept as the original of Plautus' Aulularia, is wholly different from this and may be merely the ephemeral product of an Alexandrine.—M. Wellmann comments on Xen., Oecon. X 10, which he found in Oreibasius III 98. Xenophon was a favorite with the Stoics, from whom he could easily pass together with their physiological theories into medical works.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

PHILOLOGUS, LXVI (N. F. Bd. XX), 1907.

I, pp. 1-15. F. Boll, Zum griechischen Roman. 1. Lychnopolis. Lucian in his True History bases this episode on Antonius Diogenes, mentioned by Photius (p. 111 b 35, § 13) as a source, and Rohde (p. 192) has suggested his ἀνιστοα as the original of the experiences in the moon (I 9 ff.) Antonius may perhaps be placed before Teukros the astronomical writer, the end of the first century B. C. and after Asklepiades of Myrlea.

2. Bardesanes and Achilleus Tatios. The method of the proof of the innocence of the heroines in Tatios' romance Kleitophon and Leukippe is shown to be derived from Bardesanes.

II, pp. 16-35. H. Lucas, Zu den Milesiaca des Aristides. Ar. wove his "tales" together in a connecting narrative.

III, pp. 36-47. F. Hahne, Zur aesthetischen Kritik des Euripideischen Kyklops. Euripides has made many innovations and changes in the story; many are due solely to the dramatic form of the composition, and to the fact that the play was written in the last quarter of the fifth century B. C. by a talented Athenian.

IV, pp. 48-66. Edwin Müller, Die Andromeda des Euripides. Investigation of certain disputed points and especially an attempt

to overthrow Wecklein's reconstruction of the dramatic form (based on Ovid's narrative) by showing that it should really be based on the story as given in Manilius.

V, pp. 67-84. M. Goepel, Bemerkungen zu Philostrats Gymnastikos. Notes partly critical partly intended to elucidate the text—based on the work of Jüthner, "Der Gymnastikos des Philostratos", Wien, 1902.

VI, pp. 85-134. P. Thielscher, De Statii Silvarum Siliij Manilii scripta memoria. I. Codicem Matritensem M 31 esse Poggii librum. II. De librorum Manilianorum recensione. To restore the Manilian archetype the Madrid and Leipzig MSS should be used; G, only for the better understanding of L.

Appendix I. L. Traubei de librorum LG aetate iudicium. App. II. Lectiones, quibus librorum MLG cognatis illustretur. App. III. Librorum Manilianorum Index. App. IIII. De archetypi Maniliani forma.

VII, pp. 135-152. O. Leuze, Die Schlacht bei Panormus. A chronological investigation into the history of the first Punic War. The battle was probably fought in April according to the then existing calendar, in the last month of the year of office of Metellus in 250 B. C., that is, in April or the first half of May according to the Julian calendar.

Miscellen.

1. pp. 153-156. G. Albert, Der Sinn der platonischen Zahl. The number 2592, in the 8th book of the Politeia, is a tenth of the period of revolution of the earth's axis in the precession of the equinoxes. The precession of the equinoxes was known to Plato with a high degree of exactness. This traditional reckoning is well grounded.

2. pp. 156-159. R. Meier, Zur Form des Grusses im Gebet Herondas IV. The optative is used instead of the imperative for the sake of the metre.

3. pp. 159-160. F. Norden, Apuleius Met. VI, 9, reads *furentes irati*.

4. p. 160. C. Marstrander, Noch einmal *ἀμαρα*. Rejects Bau-nack's derivation of *μάρη* from root *men-* but agrees that *ἀμαρα* and *μάρη* should be connected.

VIII, pp. 161-172. A. v. Domaszewski, Beiträge zur Kaiser-geschichte. III. The inscription of Antonius Naso (CIL III 14387 ff., ff. and k, three fragments which can be connected). The person is of some historical importance, being the tribune of the praetorians dismissed from the guard by Galba (Tac. hist., I, 20). In 78 A. D. under Vespasian he was procurator in Bithynia.

IV. The inscription of Velius Rufus found at Baalbek, publ. by Mommsen, Sitz.-ber. d. Berl. Ak. 1903, 817-824. Interesting light on the time of the Flavians.

V. Inscription from Capua, Ephem. epigr. VIII, n. 478. The discussion and restoration point to Fulvius Plautianus, Septimius Severus' most trusty counsellor.

IX, pp. 173-191. A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Iranisches bei den Griechen*. Examination of Iranian names and words occurring in Greek, with the purpose of correcting the commentaries, etc., especially of the *Anabasis* and *Herodotos*.

X, pp. 192-201. E. Hefermehl, *Studien zu den Homerapyri*. I. The Chryseis-episode and the hymn to Pythian Apollo. The fragment, publ. by A. Ludwig in *Philologus*, 1904, p. 473, sqq., is reconstructed on p. 198 and shown to be a fuller version of the episode in which the verse about the landing was repeated at the end, or perhaps stood only there.

XI, pp. 202-230. R. C. Kukula, *Alkmans Partheneion*. A contribution to the Laconian cult of Artemis. Text and discussion with translation. Summary, pp. 222-3. We may infer with full certainty that Alkman's Partheneion was composed on the occasion of a public festival of the Laconian Artemis Orthia for competition by a chorus of distinguished maidens.

XII, pp. 231-259. E. Wenkebach, *De Dionis Prusaei elocutione observationes*. Contains lists of words used on the authority of Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato, and especially poetic and Ionic words taken on the authority of Xenophon.

XIII, pp. 260-286. H. Pomtow, *Gesteinsproben von den delphischen Bauten und Weihgeschenken*. The essay gives in part I a description of the native stone at Delphi, and in part II (written by R. Lepsius) an investigation of the specimens at Delphi, poros, limestone and marble; and a list of the monuments at Delphi from which specimens were taken.

XIV, pp. 287-295. J. Oeri, *Die Aufführungszeit der Hekabe*. Conclusions, p. 295, probably the Dionysia 426 B. C.

XV, p. 296-312. H. Magnus, *Catullus Gedicht 67*. A new interpretation given in detail, pp. 297-302 and then discussed.

Miscellen.

5. pp. 313-314. E. Assmann, *περιστέρα*, derived from Phoenician perach-Istar, "bird of Istar."

6. p. 314. J. Oeri, Zu Sophokles Oedipus 1350, reads *νομᾶδος ἐπὶ ποίᾳς*.

7. p. 315. O. Crusius, *σύγκρισις*. In Oxyrh. pap. III, p. 72. It has the sense of "comparison" not "formation" as translated by the editors.

8. pp. 315-319. W. Sternkopf, *Zu Cicero ad Att. III 25*. Summary, p. 319. Atticus journeyed from Rome in the second half of November and soon after the tenth of December reached Dyrrhachium. Here he gave Cicero a truthful report of what concerned him and then continued his journey to inspect his estates in Epirus.

9. pp. 319-320. E. Nestle, *ABCD*. This is the original term used by the ancients, not ABC.

XVI, pp. 321-335. J. Lezius, *Gentilizische und lokale Phylen in Attika*. Summary on pp. 334-5. 1. The Ionian name originated in European Greece and denoted the stock which settled in Attica and its neighborhood. 2. The "Ionian" phylae deserve this name only so far as the inhabitants of Attica, among whom they arose, were Ionians, and so far as the Ionian colonization proceeded from Attica. 3. The four ancient phylae were created as divisions of burgesses and land through legislative enactment. 4. Their gentilician character consisted only in the fact that membership in them was hereditary. There is no essential difference between them and those of Kleisthenes. 5. Those of Kleisthenes based on the ancient foundation, corresponded more to the needs of the state. 6. The names of the "Ionian" phylae were taken over into Asia Minor by Attic colonists.

XVII, pp. 336-345. W. Klinger, *Zur Märchenkunde*. Connection is shown between modern Greek folk-lore (in N. G. Politis' book, publ. in 1904) and ancient tradition; e. g., No. 980 with *Ps.-Callisth. II 39-41* (C. Müller); No. 279 with *Antigonos hist. mir. c. 158* (174) *Westerm.*; No. 830 with *Apul. Met. I 11-13, 17-19*, a story of Greek origin. "

XVIII, pp. 346-360. P. Corssen, *Der ursprüngliche Verbannungsort des Philoktet*. A tradition older than Sophokles going back to the Kypria and perhaps to the Little Iliad makes the island of Chryse the place.

XIX, pp. 361-373. H. Weber, *Zu Senecas Tragödien*. Critical notes and emendations.

XX, pp. 374-395. A. Rehm, *Anlage und Buchfolge von Senecas Naturales Quaestiones*. Results, p. 386, 4. The order of books is IV b, V, VI, VII, I, II, III, IV a, proposed by Haase (*Ind. lect.*, Breslau, 1859, p. 7).

XXI, pp. 396-426. F. Lützbacher, *Beiträge zu einer kritischen Geschichte des ersten punischen Krieges*. The discussion of events is arranged under the successive consulships.

XXII, pp. 427-432. H. Weber, *Zu Antiphon dem Redner*. Four emendations, I 8, 9; I 14; V 8; VI 4.

XXIII, pp. 433-458. A. Mommsen, *Apollon auf Delos*. Discussion of Apollo as the chief god of Delos; his names and

epithets (pp. 436-439). Oino, Spermo and Elais, the three creators of fruit in the Delian belief; the fruitfulness of Delos and Rhenea at their time of greatest prosperity (its desolation was reclaimed, but later the island was laid waste in the first century B. C.) The myth of the Hyperboreans although not of Delian origin, under the influence of the Apollo worship in Delos assumed the form found in Diodor. 3. 47. The feasts of the Delia and Apollonia are discussed from p. 449 to the end.

XXIV, pp. 459-467. N. Wecklein, *Vindiciae zur Ars poetica des Horaz.* On p. 466 is given his analysis of the poem, with a few alterations, the same as his earlier view (*Sitz.-ber. der bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1894, S. 379 ff.).

Miscellen.

10. pp. 468-471. P. Maas, *Zu den Interpolationen im Text des Apollonios Dyskolos.* I 35, 20-36, 7 (43 C-44 A Bekker).

11. pp. 471-475. C. Wunderer, *Gleichnisse aus dem Gebiet der Malerei bei Polybios.*

12. pp. 475-476. O. Crusius, Alexander und "die Schöne der Berge." On Ps.-Callisth. II 40 ff., aftermath to Klinger's article above p. 337.

13. pp. 476-477. O. Cr., "Iranisches bei den Griechen." The editor disagrees with the position taken by Hoffmann-Kutschke in his article, pp. 174 ff.

14. pp. 477-480. G. A. Gerhard, *Zum Heidelberger Digestenpapyrus.* (P. Heid. 1272) containing Dig. V 2, L 17, 18, 19.

XXV, pp. 481-490. V. Gardthausen, *Ein Vizekönig von Aegypten* — C. Minicius Italus. The inscription C. I. L. III, S. 12053 is restored on p. 490.

XXVI, pp. 491-497. K. Münscher, *Menons Zug nach Kilikien* (on Xen., *Anab.* I, 2, 19-20). The topographical discussion of F. Schaffer, "Die kilikischen Hochpässe und Menons Zug über den Taurus," in *Jahreshefte des öst. archäol. Inst.*, Bd. IV, Wien, 1901, pp. 204-7, is shown to be incompatible with the statements of Xenophon, *Anab.* I, 2, 19-20.

XXVII, pp. 498-502. E. Holzer, *Zu Philodemos περί μουσικῆς.*

XXVIII, pp. 503-510. W. Nestle, *Metrodors Mythendeutung.* Attempt to find some method in the madness of his allegorizing of myths.

XXIX, pp. 511-525. J. Miller, *Die Damispapiere in Philostratos Apolloniosbiographie.* The report of Damis is to be regarded as a fiction of Philostratos.

XXX, pp. 526-530. Eb. Nestle, *Die Evangelien der lateinischen Vulgata.* The differences in style and language show

that each of the four Latin gospels comes from a different translator. This whole question should be reëxamined for the entire New Testament.

XXXI, pp. 531-561. O. Leuze, *Chronologisches zum Annalisten Piso*. 1. Piso's datings of the years in Pliny and Livy. 2. Piso's saeculum. 3. The secular games mentioned by Piso. 4. Piso's chronology for the period before the War with Pyrrhus.

XXXII, pp. 562-589. R. Hildebrandt, *Eine römische Gigan-tomachie*. Text from Aetna 41-73, with critical and exegetical notes, followed by a recension (pp. 586-587).

XXXIII, pp. 590-596. P. Maas, ὑμήν ὑμήν. 1. ὑμήν (*lat.* hymen) part of the marriage cry. ὑμήν ὑμήν and ὑμήν (ᾧ) ὑμναί' ε —later varied—υ is short—sometimes lengthened in Hellenistic hexameters. Then 2. Hymen and hymen (only nominatives) in Roman poets since Ovid synonymous with Hymenaeus and hymenaeus. Quite different are (3) ὑμήν, -ένος the membrane and (4) hymen (-enis) since the late Roman period, an anatomical terminus technicus.

Miscellen.

15. pp. 597-598. J. Baunack, ἀματα=aufrichtig.

16. pp. 598-599. J. Baunack, πῖλον=pilum, Keule (in Diod. Sic. βιβλ. Ιστ. XVII, 100, 4).

17. pp. 599-600. O. Cr., *Ζηρόνιον* in Philodem. *περὶ τῶν Στωικῶν* (Crönert, p. 55) probably a jest on the name *Ζήνων*.

18. pp. 600-601. J. Sanney, Zu Hor. Carm. III, 30, 2. In his use of situs=θήκη Horace may have had Herod. II, 148 in mind.

19. pp. 601-603. K. Tümpel, Cäsars lateinischer Scherz über seinen nahen Tod. Caesar's reply (Plut. Brut. 8), τί δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑμῶν δοκεῖ Βρούτος ἀναμείναι τοῦτ' ἡ σαρκίον (cf. Caes. 62, τοῦτο τὸ δέσμα) may have been "Quidni credatis illum opperitum hoc silicernium?" Silicernium=funeral-feast, also 'an old man nothing but skin and bones.'

20. pp. 603-604. Th. Stangl, Zu Tacitus Annalen 14, 60, reads canere tibiis perdoctus.

21. pp. 604-606. M. Rabenhorst, Plinius nat. hist. VIII, 16. Rejoinder to Leuze Philol. 1907, p. 148, defending his own reasons for using this passage for the year of the battle of Panormus.

22. pp. 606-608. W. Anderson, Eine Märchenparallele zu Antonius Diogenes. A Caucasian and an Imeretic parallel to the tale of the enchanted pair Mantinias and Derkyllis.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The normal limit of a number of the Journal is 120 pages, and I notice to my shame,—the positive verbs of shame seldom take the participle in Greek—that the surplusage has largely run to *Brief Mention*, which could readily be spared by the graver readers of the Journal, to whom the editor's licence must be an offence or a puzzle or both. Persius ascribes his jocularity, a painfully forced jocularity, to a petulant spleen (1, 12), a pathological observation, which the commentators do not take seriously. But I have read somewhere an article on popular medicine—which I have never been able to run down—that when a man has ague-cake (indurated spleen) he cannot stop laughing, and as Persius died young *vitio stomachi*, there may be more in his plea than his critics have been willing to admit. But there is no physical woe on me to write *Brief Mention* of the lighter sort, and as I have of late occupied so much space in the Journal and shall continue to do so until I get out of the third circle of my Inferno—*sì fatta pena | che s' altra è maggior nulla è sì spiacente*—I think with compunction of all the contributors I have been obliged to put off, of all the bright spirits waiting to be born into the warm precincts of the cheerful day, and herewith suppress a dozen pages of random comment on people and problems.

Besides, this is no time for lightheartedness. As I write, news comes that my old fellow-student and age-fellow, WOLFFLIN and, my former colleague and always friend, JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, the Latinist and the Grecian, the European scholar of world-wide renown and the Harvard Professor, whose life and work were an example to the younger generation, have joined the long procession that has been marching, as it would seem with accelerated pace, into the deep silences of the other world. One turns from the blankness of the present and seeks comfort in the thought that there is a paradise of memories for those who have finished their course. *μνάσσεσθαι τινά φαμι καὶ ὑστερον ἀμύνειν*. But one will not find much comfort in WILAMOWITZ'S memorial address on Kirchhoff, the Academician, who departed this life some months ago. It is not cheerful reading, despite the summary of the varied achievements of the great pupil of Lachmann. Though much that Kirchhoff wrought has proved an abiding possession, though he opened the way to better things in this province and that of

Greek study, yet very much of his work has passed into the limbo of wrecked playthings; and his spider-web combinations, his ἀράχνια λεπρά in which the spinner saw the unbreakable, indissoluble bonds of Hephaistos—where are they? The palpitating life of Homer has broken his bands asunder and cast away his cords from it. We do not read Plotinus and Euripides in Kirchhoff's text, says WILAMOWITZ, we learn Umbrian and Oscan in Bücheler's school, we have lost faith in the Nostos of Odysseus; and Kirchhoff's Herodotean studies have found no favor in the eyes of Gomperz. Kirchhoff had an astounding amount of work to his credit. 'In ihm war die Kraft eines ganzen und originalen Gelehrten'; and he attained the celebrity, not to be despised, of having his name misspelt (A. J. P. V 544). But the joy of his work seems to have been denied him. He looked upon himself as one of the ἐπιγονοί, and the shadow of his great predecessors darkened his path. It is well to think on these things. What is to become of lesser men? How much of the best work of our great teachers bears legends writ in German, for German is the classic language of damnatory epitaphs—one half 'überwundener Standpunkt', the other half 'ganz gegenstandlos geworden'. The dictionary, the concordance seem to give the surest hold on aftertimes, and yet Gehring thrusts out Seber as Young has thrust out Cruden. Caravella lives only on sufferance, and Trommius, I believe, is doomed. Happy the man who is content to merge his life in the life of a high cause, and such a man was Kirchhoff, for in the judgment of his fellow-academician, he added to his rare endowments, selflessness and self-denial.

Multum nuper amisimus is the motto of the *Addenda* to the last of the three volumes of SANDYS' *History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, University Press) now happily completed. For obvious reasons the plan of the work excludes the mention of living scholars and these *Addenda* register the newly dead. Zeller is the first name of those who have gone before, and Kirchhoff the second; and so up-to-date is the unwearied chronicler that he has outstripped this Journal in the citation of WILAMOWITZ's *Nachruf*. Of course, in a necrology of the recently departed no one will look for perspective and, indeed, proportion is one of the insoluble problems of such an undertaking as that by which Professor SANDYS has made the whole world of scholars his debtor. Professor SIHLER,—whose *Testimonium Animae*, by the way, is less merciful to pagans, ancient and modern, than his Tertullianesque title would have led one to expect—might think that some of his pet Humanists have had scant measure; and I must confess that I was disappointed, quite unreasonably so, at not finding Frischlin in the Index. It was the irony of fate that I had to hunt him up with the help of his arch-

enemy, Martin Crusius. In my early pot-boiling days I wrote for the Southern Methodist Quarterly Review for July, 1856, an account of that disreputable person, based on David Strauss's interesting and instructive Life. It is not every classical scholar that has the distinction of so dramatic an exit as Nicodemus Frischlin's, not everyone that has a memorial set up to him in Baedeker. See South Germany s. v. Hohen-Urach. But to Baedeker as to SANDYS Frischlin is mainly a poet, and yet he was a poet lined with a grammarian, as is shown by his *Strigilis grammatica* (A. J. P. VIII 253). To judge by the quickening of conscience and purpose I myself have felt in reading the lives of great scholars, it seems to me of prime importance that more attention should be paid in our colleges and universities to the biographical history of philology, and it is not the least of the services Professor SANDYS has rendered to the good cause that he has not failed to enliven the long catalogue of worthies with human touches, which will be remembered long after weightier matters are forgotten.

To the second volume of VAHLEN's *Opuscula Academica* (Teubner), EMIL THOMAS has appended exhaustive indexes for both volumes, which increase the practical value of the collection indefinitely, enhance the admiration of the reader for the wide reach of the author, lighten the task of the busy reviewer and stir, or ought to stir, a lively sense of gratitude to the patient and skilful compiler. But I have neither space nor inclination for a formal review or even for the irresponsible comment, characteristic of *Brief Mention*. As I once confided to the readers of the Journal (A. J. P. XXII 229), it is impossible for me to take up any work of VAHLEN's in the impersonal way in which I am wont to approach the performances of other scholars. *τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἔφ' Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη* was a favorite motto of my youth. Truth is truth no matter by whom discerned. 'There is Truth', says Justin Martyr, 'and there is nothing stronger than Truth'—a sentence which Bunsen admired. The backwoodsman's motto, 'Be sure you're right, then go ahead', is a companion-piece to Diomed's declaration of confidence in his divine mistress. But somehow the awe still abides with which the newcomer looked up to the headboy of the school, and the distance instead of lessening has widened with the process of the years. Doubtless there is work for the *velites* of the philological host to do, but the battle is decided by the *triarii*. Great is the potency of the reserves, and one always thinks of the *triarii*, when one sees VAHLEN marshal his dense array of proof-texts. So I prefer not to attempt a review, though there is so much in the grammatical line on which I might say something, and I content myself with turning over the leaves of the new volume, out of which flutter so many memories of dead hopes. The Latin form

so clear, so fluent, so facile, so apt, recalls the hours the men of my generation used to spend on the now much neglected art of Latin composition. One revisits the shrine with the same feeling that came over Julian at Antioch, when in the stately language of Gibbon: 'Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity the emperor complains that he found only a single goose provided at the expense of the priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of the decayed temple', or to come nearer home, as I myself felt when I visited the deserted silk factory at Sparta. Hand was still studied in 1850-1853. Grysar had a certain vogue, and my copy of his *Theorie des lateinischen Stiles* is interleaved. Nägelsbach was the *κρηδοῦχος* of the inner *cella* of Latinity, and among those who taught us to mimic Cicero I recall but not with delight the exercises excogitated by Süpfle. Schneidewin set us the task of translating Lücke's tribute to Karl Otfried Müller. Lücke, a theologian, was supposed to command an admirable German style, as un-Latin as possible, and so a good gymnastic for the novice. Ritschl believed in Stilübungen. In fact he exercised himself in French composition towards the close of his residence in Bonn; and we, his admiring disciples, used to collect floscules from his Latin writings. The young fellows had ideals of Latin style. Some of us rebelled against Cicero. Some were secretly attracted by Livy—Patavinitas and all. Some went so far as to follow Justus Lipsius in his imitation of Seneca and Tacitus. One eccentric person thought that Quintilian and Pliny the Younger were good models for those who would be at once grammarians and men of the world, and saw in the so-called Silver Latinity a real advance. 'Sedulous apes' were we all. But when it came to actual work, some of us found Gesner's Thesaurus a present help in time of trouble. There we had at hand alphabetically assorted the legally wedded substantives and adjectives, verbs and nouns; and every now and then long phrases could be fished out to fill the rhetorical creel. These are not the least pleasant memories of the tumultuous days of my apprenticeship, and as old Mitscherlich asked Lane whether the boys were still diligent in making Latin verse, I find myself asking whether the boys are still diligent in working out their Latin prose. They may be, though appearances are against them, but at any rate few of them can hope to reach the measure of VAHLEN. Every new test brings new trouble. The doctrine of the clausula adds a fresh fear to the Latinist of to-day. The management of the train is one of the great problems of the court-dame and suits what Seneca says of Latin, Ep. 40, 11: *Romanus sermo magis se circumspicit et aestimat praebeque aestimandum*. It would be a question not without interest to see how far the instinct of modern Latinists coincides with the schemes of the Roman writers. In Greek Starkie has called attention to the havoc wrought by Rumpel and Bernhardi with the Aristophanic trim-

eters of modern versifiers (Wasps, Introd., p. xxxix), and Zielinski (A. J. P. XXV 453-463) may be to Latin prose what Rumpel and Bernhardt have been to iambic verse.

I regret to learn from the author himself that Professor MARX's lecture on *Recent Metric*, which formed the staple of my comments in the last number of the Journal (A. J. P. XXIX 369 foll.), suffered scath in passing through the press without the benefit of the lecturer's supervision or any specialist supervision at all. There are few subjects in which lapses are easier and *lacunae* more fatal. If any misrepresentation should have crept into my summary, I am sincerely sorry. The recent revolution in metres has sent me into exile (l. c. 369); and remembering the Italian patriots of my youth, I, like them, wrote *esule* on my metrical visiting-card but for a different reason—not for sympathy but for a warning. Professional exiles are never to be trusted. However, no metrician will take the *obiter dicta* of *Brief Mention* otherwise than they were meant. If I succeeded in reasserting with the help of Professor MARX the rights of the modern analysts, whatever serious object I had has been attained. That I personally have not moved on with the progress of the times, that I am waiting for the seasons to bring back in their circling course the beliefs of an earlier day, that I am still crooning the appropriate wish *Ἡθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλιππίδαν . . . ζῶεν τὸν ἀποσχόμενον* after the Schmidtian and not after the Schroederian method is a matter of no moment. And yet I hope I shall be pardoned for adding that nothing in Professor SANDYS' *History of Classical Scholarship* has given me more pleasure than the tidings (III 158), that my generous old friend HEINRICH SCHMIDT, my former fogleman, is still living and that 'amid the active occupations of a hale old age he has applied his metrical principles to the newly discovered *nomos* of Timotheos and to the odes of Bacchylides.'

It has been said of irony that at its best it is an intaglio which must be held in a certain light or make an impression on a responsive surface before it can compete with a cameo. It has been compared further to a knife-blade without a handle. It cuts both ways with a vengeance. That great master of the instrument, Plato, has left us a warning in his Cratylus, which has been considered by some a precursor to scientific etymology, by others an elaborate persiflage. And with Plato's example before him an awkward manipulator of the figure may console himself for his repeated failures. Years ago a downright Dutchman was completely mystified by an article of mine in the *Nation*, which he yet thought worth translating, and the appearance of the new Teub-

ner edition of *Pindar* by SCHROEDER reminds me of another misadventure, due to the deplorable tone of *Brief Mention*. To an honest nature an undeserved compliment is a cross, and I have been restless for nearly a twelvemonth under the congratulations received from some of my friends on the handsome way in which I surrendered to a great master my interpretation of a passage of Pindar (A. J. P. XXVIII 481). As if an editor ever gave up an interpretation to which he had once committed himself in deference to any master however great! 'Be plain, good son, and homely in thy drift, Riddling confession finds but riddling shrift', and so I may as well say frankly that in the matter of my favorite motto, the motto of an aging scholar, *διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος* (Pindar, O. 4, 18), I am still in the *δυσμάχεσθαι* mood and refer all inquiring friends to the superscription of B *Ὀνειρος*,—*Διάπειρα*, where *διάπειρα* in any other sense than that which I have given it would be *δνειρος*.

EDUARD VON WOELFFLIN,

JANUARY 1, 1831—NOVEMBER 8, 1908.

Although he had passed beyond the measure of three-score years and ten, the death of Wölfflin is not only a loss to the world of scholarship, but a personal one to his many friends in America, both to those who knew him through his writings, and to those who had the privilege of becoming intimately acquainted with him. During the past decade he attracted a large number of our countrymen to Munich, to all of whom he gave unusual privileges in the way of personal counsel and friendly assistance. The number of his friends and admirers in all parts of the world is shown by the testimonial presented to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Since a memorial volume, the *Commentationes Wölfflinianae*, had been addressed to him ten years before, and as the plan of having his portrait painted by Lenbach was forestalled by his refusal to accept any present of great intrinsic value, this took the form of an address in Latin, to which more than five hundred signatures were appended, representing thirteen different nations, and including not only classical philologists, but specialists in many other lines.

Wölfflin was born at Basle and his studies were carried on at the university of his native town and at Göttingen, where he received his degree in 1854. From 1856 to 1861 he was privat-docent at Basle, and from 1861 to 1869 gymnasiallehrer at Winterthur in Switzerland. In 1869 he was called to a professorship at Zurich, in 1875 to Erlangen, and in 1880 he succeeded Halm as professor of classical philology at Munich, where he remained until his death. During the last years of his life he was emeritus professor, but in spite of ill health he continued his editorial and

literary work to the last. Although known to the world as a Latinist, he was *doctus utriusque linguae* and regularly lectured on Greek subjects.

He received all the academic honors, among which he greatly valued the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by the University of Michigan in 1897; but although he was officially *Geheimr. Prof. Dr. phil. et iur.* Eduard Ritter von Wölfflin, to his many friends he was *Lupulus*, the simple-hearted, enthusiastic, kindly gentleman and scholar.

Although thrifty and economical in his personal expenditures, he was liberal to scholarly enterprises. To quote from the address mentioned above, *cum esses religiosissimus dispensator pecuniae publicae Tibi commissae, de Tua extitisti largitor valde munificus.*

The list of his publications is a long and varied one, and is particularly impressive in the light of his many activities, for he devoted an unusual amount of care and attention to his university lectures and to the work of his students, while in the list at the beginning of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* his name appears twelve times among the revisers of texts and twenty-one times among those who made excerpts from the later writers. The address justly says, *novam quandam artis criticae aperuisti viam*, for from the beginning of his activity he laid special stress on the importance of the careful study of a writer's language and style in all critical work, and on the value of the late Latin. He possessed in a high degree the faculty of imagination, and no one excelled him in the power of giving meaning to masses of statistics by a logical arrangement and by suggestive comments. His services to Livy and Tacitus, both through his own writings and those of his pupils, are especially noteworthy.

He was deeply interested in the project for a great *Thesaurus* of the Latin language, and to him more than to any one else is due the successful beginning of that enterprise, especially through the founding of the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*.

In spite of the many demands on his time, he was accessible to all who had a reasonable excuse for visiting him, and he talked with them without betraying impatience or preoccupation; and he was never too busy to answer letters with a fulness and cordiality that made the recipient feel that he had a special personal interest in him and in his work.

He was a man of broad general culture. His published work was always carefully written, and is lucid in its arrangement and admirable in its literary form. His articles may always be read with pleasure, whatever their subject may be. He was a musician too, both in theory and practice. He was a pianist of no mean ability, and in 1897 he presented to the Bavarian Academy, of which he was an active member, a paper entitled *Zur Geschichte*

der Tonmalerei. A march of his composition was played at the meeting of the Philological Congress in Munich in 1891.

Unlike many great scholars, he possessed the domestic virtues in an eminent degree, and entertainment at his home was among the most highly prized of the many privileges which he freely offered to his students. He leaves two sons, of whom the elder is a professor in the University of Berlin, while the younger is beginning his career as privatdocent in Basle.

No better epitaph can be written for Eduard von Wölfflin than the words applied to him by one of his pupils, in magnis voluit, in magnis vicit.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

Dr. HIRAM BINGHAM, the apostle of the twin archipelagoes of Ni Makin and Ni Peru, which the Pacific charts record as the Gilbert Islands, has passed to his account.

Few who pursue philological research with the comfort of library facilities at hand have the slightest appreciation of the difficulties which condition the work of such intrepid pioneers of unknown languages. Seldom is it recalled that these earnest workers risk their lives in order that just one slim volume may find its place on the shelves as the vocabulary of yet one more speech reduced to writing and brought within the world's reach. To those to whom it has been given to thread the island jungle of the intertropical Pacific, to endure the turmoil of its calms, to sweep perilously in its torrent currents, to struggle against the might of its tempests, feeble amid the immensities—to such remains tender sympathy with Dr. Bingham's life toil.

Exegit monumentum, for he completed his half century task of translating the Scriptures into the language of his islanders. Then for ten years he toiled to work out anew a dictionary of the speech to replace a once completed manuscript lost through the carelessness of a trusted borrower. In this year imprinted on the title page of this grievously duplicated task his life closed. There remains ready for print a Bible commentary for the instruction of the converts of the Gilbert Islands. He had accomplished his work. Doubtless he was often on the edge of despair, nevertheless he continued at his work and has won a victory and its glory.

Not of such beauty of diction as the Tahitian version, lacking the classic grandeur of the Samoan text, in fact singularly arid in its style, Dr. Bingham's Gilbert Bible falls below neither in its value to him who would explore the languages of the equatorial Pacific.

WILLIAM CHURCHILL.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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INDEX TO VOL. XXIX.

ABCD not ABC,	493	Buecheler, Franz, Death of,	247
Accental Clausulae in Greek		Byron's Lucifer,	109
Prose,	280-302		
Accusative of Exclamation in		CAPPS, EDWARD. Ὑπερθεός and	
Plautus and Terence,	303-315	Ἐργασίας in Schol. Dem. De	
Achilles Tatios and Bardesanes,	492	Page 6,	206
Adverbs, English,	109	The Plot of the Epitrepontes	
Aetna vv. 69, 119, 395 emend-		of Menander,	410-481
ed,	361	Cassander Tablet,	487
After,	110	Cattle-Raid of Cooley,	347-352
Alcidamas, Isocrates and,	229	Catullus LXVII,	494
Aleman's Parthenaeon,	494	Hieremias De Montagnone	
Alphabet, Greek,	491	and,	186-200
Ammianus Marcellinus, Chro-		Charlemagne, Arthur and,	111
nology and Sources of,	490	CHURCHILL, WILLIAM. Dupli-	
Ancient Religions in Universal		cation Mechanics in Samson	
History,	156-171	and their Functional Value,	
Antonius Naso, his importance,	493	33-54	
Anyte and Simonides,	228	Obituary Notice of Hiram	
Apollo and Delos,	495	Bingham,	505
Apuleius, Met. VI 9 (emended),	493	Cicero, ad Att. III 25,	475
Archiv für Lateinische Lexi-		pro Sulla 18, 52,	316-321
kographie und Grammatik,		Tusculana,	487
99-107; 353-359		Cichorius, Untersuchungen zu	
Aristides, Milesiaca,	492	Lucillus, (rev.),	470 foll.
Arthur and Charlemagne,	111	Cinerary Urns,	488
Arval Brethren, Song of,	357	Ciris,	230-232
Asyndeton in Sallust,	353	Clausulae, Accental in Greek	
Athelston, M. English,	110	Prose,	280-302
Attic Phylae,	495	Constantine's Accession,	222
Aufidius and Pliny,	229	Contraction in the case forms	
		of <i>Deus</i> and <i>meus</i> , <i>is</i> and	
BASORE, JOHN W. Review of		<i>idem</i> ,	336-341
Van Wageningen's Album		Correspondence,	248-249
Terentianum and Scaenica		Curtius, Quintus and Metrical	
Romana,	223-227	Prose,	360
Behistan Inscription, Critical		Cyprian (Pa.), Adversus Iudaeos,	355
Note on,	212	Cyrene, The Myrmidons in,	489
Bennett's Latin Language			
(rev.),	84-93	Delos, Apollo and,	496
Beowulf's comrades,	107	Delphi, Stone used at,	494
Bingham, Hiram, Death of,	505	Denison, Nautli (rev.),	484
BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE. Ety-		Dictys, The Greek,	329-335
mology of πρέσβυς,	78-81	Dio Cassius, A misplaced frag-	
Boethius, Maximilianus and,	233	ment,	492
Books Received, 129-32; 253-		Dio Chrysostomus, his Vocabu-	
256; 385-388; 510-512.		lary,	494
Brief Mention, 113-125; 239-		Diogenes in Plautus,	489
247; 368-375; 498-505		Dion. Hal., Hiatus in,	228
Bright's Gospel of St. John in		Dioscorides as a Source of Isi-	
West-Saxon (rev.),	342-344	dore,	103
British Museum Papyrus,	362	Doctoral Dissertation,	113 foll.
Poets, Virgil and the,	1-32		

- Duplication Mechanics in Samoan and their Functional Values, 32-54
- EBELING, HERMAN L. Report of Hermes, 487-492
- ELLIS, ROBINSON. Notes and Suggestions on Lefebvre's Comedies of Menander, 178-185
- Emphasis by separation, 366
- Englische Studien, Report of, 107-112
- English Language, Jespersen on the, 107
- Etymology of *πρῶτος*, 78-81
- Eugraphius, Commentary on Terence, 229, 231
- Euphemism and ellipsis, 353
- Eupolis ap. Poll. 10, 136, 112
- Euripides:
Andromeda, 492
Bacchae 427, 330
Cyclops, 492
Hecuba, when acted, 494
- Farnell's Cults of the Greek States (rev.), 93-98
- FAY, EDWIN W. *Ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων*, 201-205
Review of Denison, Nauatl, 484 foll.
- Felspar > Feldspar, 82, 83
- Firmicus Maternus, 108
- FLICKINGER, ROY C. The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence, 303-315
- FLOM, GEORGE T. Correspondence, 248-9
- Folklore, 495, 497
- Fortunatus, Authorship of certain poems of, 362
- FRAZER, PERSIFOR. Felspar > Feldspar, 82, 83
- Fulgentius, his style, 354
- GARNETT, JAMES M.:
Huyshe's Beowulf, 344-346
Review of Bright's Gospel of St. John in West-Saxon, 342-344
Thorndyke's Tragedy, 346-347
- GERIE, JOHN L.:
Review of D'Arbois de Jubainville, Faraday, and Windisch's Translations of the Cattle-Raid of Cooley, 347-352
- Gildas Glosses, 432-434
- GILDESLIEVE, BASIL L.:
Eupolis ap. Poll. 10, 136, 112
- Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb, 257-279; 389-407
See *Brief Mention*.
- Granius Licinianus, 358
- Greek Alphabet, 491
- Greek Dramatic Poetry, Sigma-tism in, 69-77
- Greek, Historical Tenses in, 242
- Greek Prose, Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose, 280-302
- Greek States, Cults of the, 93-98
- Greek:
ἀματα, 493; *δικη ἐξούλης*, 361;
ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων, 201-205;
βάναντος, 233; *θήκη*, 233;
οὐτός and *ὅδε*, 375-379; *πρῶτος*, 78-81; *περιστέρα* = bird of Istar, 494; *ὕμνην*, 497;
ἕμνος, 280; *ὑποκριτής* and *τραγῳδός*, 206-211.
- GRIFFIN, NATHANIEL E. The Greek Dictys, 329-335
- Havelok Legend, 108
- HEIDEL, W. A. Review of Hirszel's *Themis u. Dike*, 213-223
- HENDRICKSON, G. L. Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries A. D., 280-302
- Hermes, Report of, 487-492
- Heracitus, frgg. 82, 83, 239
- Herondas IV, 493
- Hesiod, O. et D. 121, 194, 230
- Hiatus in Dion Hal., 238
- Plantus, 238
- Hibeh Papyri, 492
- Hierax, the Platonist, 391
- Hieremias de Montagnone and Catullus, 186-300
- Hirtius, B. G. 3, 4, 1, 361
- Hirzel's *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (rev.), 213-223
- Homer:
Hymnus in Apoll. 171, 233
In Merc. 488
Il. III and IV, 489
Od. 24, 73-79, 488
- Homer, Unreal wishes wanting in, 233
- Homeric literature, Recent, 114 foll.
- Papyri, 494
- Horace and Tibullus, 364
- Carm. I 2, 12, 230
- III 30, 2, 497
- IV 8, 233
- Huyshe's Beowulf (rev.), 344-346

- Inscriptions:
 Baalbek, 494
 Capua, 494
 Ouled Agha, 229, 231
 Vestal, 172-178
- Instruction de la vie morale,
 O. F. Poem, 237
- Iranian in Greek, 494
- Iaidore, Dioscorides, a Source
 of, 103
- Italian, Imparisyllabic Declen-
 sion in, 235
- Jespersen on the English Lan-
 guage, 107
- Jonson's, Ben, 'Still to be Neat',
 Source of, 133-155
- Justin Martyr and St. Paul, 241
- Juvenal 1, 105, 360
- KEIDEL, GEORGE C. Report of
 Romania, 233-238
- KELLOGG, GEORGE DWIGHT.
 Report of Philologus, 492-497
- Kentish, Vowel Levelling in, 108
- KERLIN, ROBERT T., Virgil's,
 Fourth Eclogue, 445-460
- Kirchhoff, Death of, 498
- KNAFF, CHARLES. Review of
 Marx's Lucilius, 467 foll.
- Cichorius Untersuchungen
 zu Lucilius, 470 foll.
- Laidler's History of the Pastoral
 Drama in England, 108
- Latin:
 Acc. as a whither case, 103
 Acc. pl. in is, 359
 Accusative of Exclamation in
 Plautus and Terence, 303-315
 Contraction in the case-forms
 of *Deus* and *meus*, is and
idem, 336-341
 Formulas of asseveration, 106
 Fut. Perf. and Perf. Subj., 101
 Language, Bennett's (rev.), 84-93
 Terminal acc. after vocare
 and hortari, 355
- Latin:
 a and ab in the Historia Au-
 gusti, 100; ambron= $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\nu$,
 103; an=atne, 356; ardallo,
 103; bambalo ($\alpha\alpha\beta$)=
 $\phi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, 102; benemoria,
 233; coquere metaphor-
 ical, 100; cremo= $\kappa\rho\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -
 $\nu\mu\iota$, 106; dāt in Plau-
 tus, 356; eques=equus,
 104; etiamnunc, 101; etiam
 and etiamnunc, 358; fides, a
 vox media, 101; focaria
 soldier's concubine, 104;
 Galbanus and Galbianus, 98;
 gerro, 102; indiges fr. indu-,
 103; isse=ipse, 104; Italia
 and Italicus, 356; laticu-
 lus, 356; manus tollere=
 mirari, 101; magis=valde,
 355; minus=non, 355;
 modo, si modo, 100; Muto,
 102; nimbus=halo, 356;
 nucula, 99; pararius, 105;
 propter in Tacitus, 105;
 prorsus and prosa, 358; quia-
 quis=quisque, 355; reuir-
 descere, 104; salve and
 salvete, 100; sanna, 106;
 senus=sinus, 104; siquid=
 quicquid, 105; sopio, 105;
 storia=mat, 101; suas sponte
 and sponte sua, 105; sub
 divo columine, 98; sub
 auro, 101; supernus and
 superne, 103; tectus tutus,
 98; Titus=son, 358; totidem
 =eadem, 358; veno, 231;
 vitio=propter, 104.
- Lay Folk's Mass-book, 107
- Lefebvre's Comedies of Menan-
 der, 179-185
- LEUTNER, W. G. On $\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and
 $\delta\delta\epsilon$, 378
- Lucian, Lexicon of, 359
- Lychnopolis in, Sources of, 493
- Lucilius, 467 foll.
- Lucretius 5, 1233, 355
- The Proems of, 238
- Maccius, Origin of name, 232
- Manilius, Madrid Codex of, 493
- Martial, Notes on, 239
- Marx, Lucilius (rev.), 467 foll.
- on Metres, 367-375
- Maximianus and Boethius, 233
- Menander, Lefebvre's, 178-185
- Metres, Marx on, 367-375
- MICHELSON, TRUMAN. Review
 of Bennett's Latin Lan-
 guage, 84-93
- MILLER, C. W. E.:
 Historical Tenses in Greek, 245
- $\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta\delta\epsilon$, 378-9
- Report of Revue de Philolo-
 gie, 359-367
- MOORE, CLIFFORD H. Review
 of Toutain, Les Cultes

- Païens dans l'Empire Ro-
 main, 483 foll.
 MUSTARD, WILFRED P. Report
 of Rheinisches Museum, 328-333
 Virgil and the British Poets, 1-32
 Myrmidons in Cyrene, 489
- Necrology:
 Bingham, Hiram, 505
 Buecheler, Franz, 247
 Kirchhoff, A., 500
 Wölflin, E. v., 503
 Wright, J. H., 498
 Nicias in Plutarch, 490
 Norway in Mediaeval Poems, 237
 NUTTING, H. C. Cicero pro
 Sulla, 316-321
- Orphica *περι λιβων* (emended), 362
 OSGOOD, CHARLES G., JR.:
 Report of Englische Studien,
 107-112
 Ovid, The tomb of, 366
- Panormus, Battle of, 493
 Parthenon, Eastern frieze of, 492
 Paul (St.) and Justin Martyr, 241
 Pederasty, Doric, 232
 Persius 1, 12, 498
 Petilianus, Works of, 364, 366
 Phaedrus 3, 4, 6-7 emended, 109
 Studies in, 491
 Philemon and the Aulularia, 229
 Philoctetes, his Place of Banish-
 ment, 495
 Philologus, Report of, 492-497
 Philostratus, Damis in, 496
 Phoenix Theatre, 111
 Pindar, O. 4, 18, 503
 Pindarica, 118 foll.
 Piso, the annalist, 497
 Platonic number, 492
 Plautus, Accusative of Excla-
 mation in, 304 foll.
 Aulularia and Philemon, 229
 Captivi 926 (emended), 366
 Diogenes in, 489
 Hiatus in, 228
 Pseud. 785, 102
 Red- in, 106
 Turnebus MS of, 104
 Utopias in, 55-68
 Pliny, Aufidius and, 229
 Plutarch:
 Aratus, 490
 Brutus, 497
 Nicias in, 490
 Polybius and Painting, 496
 Pomponius Mela (emended), 362
- PENSCOTT, HENRY W. Notes
 and Queries on Utopias in
 Plautus, 55-68
 Punic War, First, 423
 'Punktuell', 229
- RADFORD, ROBERT S. Contra-
 ction in the case-forms of
Deus and *meus*, *is* and *idem*,
 336-341
 Recent Publications, 126-128;
 250-252; 380-384; 506-509
 Regula Benedicti, 107
 Relative sentences in Plautus
 and Terence, Rule of posi-
 tion in, 367
 Reports:
 Archiv für Lateinische Lexi-
 kographie u. Grammatik,
 99-107; 353-359
 Englische Studien, 107-112
 Hermes, 487-492
 Philologus, 492-497
 Revue de Philologie, 359-367
 Rheinisches Museum, 328-333
 Romania, 232-233
- Reviews:
 Bennett's Latin Language, 84-93
 Bright's Gospel of St. John
 in West-Saxon, 342-344
 Cattle-Raid of Cooley, Trans-
 lations of, 347 foll.
 Clechorius, Untersuchungen zu
 Lucilius, 470 foll.
 Denison's Nauatl, 484 foll.
 Farnell's Cults of the Greek
 States, 93-96
 Hirzel's Themis, Dike u. Ver-
 wandtes, 213-223
 Huyshe's Beowulf, 344-346
 Marx's Lucilius, 467 foll.
 Metres, 368-375, 502
 Moore's Toutain, Les Cultes
 Païens dans l'Empire Ro-
 main, 482 foll.
 Sandys' History of Classical
 Scholarship, 500
 Schlachter on Greek Tenses, 243
 Smith's Der vorchristliche
 Jesus, 241
 Thorndyke's Tragedy, 346-7
 Toutain, Les Cultes Païens
 dans l'Empire Romain, 482 foll.
 Vahlen's Opuscula Academica, 500
 Van Wageningen's Album
 Terentianum, 223-225
 Scaenica Romana, 225-227
 Wilamowitz on Kirchhoff, 496

- Revue de Philologie, Report of, 359-367
 Rheinisches Museum, Report of, 228-233
 Rhetorical terms, *ἔννοια* *δόξιν* and *γ. ἰσχυόν*, 229
 ROBINSON, DAVID M.: Review of Farnell's Cults of the Greek States, 98-98
 ROLFE, JOHN C.:
 Obituary of Wölfflin, 508
 Report of Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie u. Grammatik, 99-107; 353-359
 Romania, Report of, 237-238
 Rutliana, 360
 Sallust, Asyndeton in, 353
 Samoan Duplication Mechanics in, 33-54
 Sandys' History of Classical Scholarship (mentioned), 500
 SCHLUTTER, OTTO B. Gildas Glosses, 432-448
 SCOTT, JOHN A. Sigmatism in Greek Dramatic Poetry, 68-77
 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, 228
 Second sophistic, A commonplace of the, 364
 Seneca's Naturales Quaestiones, 494
 Seymour, T. D. In Memoriam, 118, 123-125
 SHEAR, T. LESLIE. A New Rhodian Inscription, 461-466
 SHOWERMAN, GRANT. Ancient Religions in Universal History, 156-171
 Sigmatism in Greek Dramatic Poetry, 69-77
 Simonides, Anyte and, 228
 SMILEY, CHARLES N. Ulpian *ὁ κειτοβκεϊτος*, 322-328
 SMITH, KIRBY FLOWER. Source of Ben Jonson's 'Still to be Neat', 133-155
 Smith's Der vorchristliche Jesus (noticed), 241
 Sophocles, O. R. 1350 (emend.), 494
 Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb, 257-279
 Syntax of the Greek Verb, 257-279
 Tacitus:
 Ann. 14, 60, 497
 Propter in, 105
 Terence, Accusative of Exclamation in, 319 foll.
 Antepenultimate foot in the Text of, 359, 365
 Eugraphius, Commentary on, 229, 231
 Eunuchus, various emendations in, 363
 Tertullian, de Idololatria, 8, 361
 ad Uxorem I, 4, 362
 Themis, Dike and the like, 218-223
 Theocritus 24, 49, 230
 Theophrastus, Char. 5, illustrated, 490
 Thorndyke's Tragedy (rev.), 346-7
 Thucydides 2, 52, 4; 3, 39, 6, 232
 Tibullus, Horace and, 364
 TOLMAN, H. C. A critical note on col. 4, l. 76, of the Behistan Inscription, 212
 Toutain, Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain (rev.), 482 foll.
 Tristan Ménestrel, 237
 Ulpian *ὁ κειτοβκεϊτος*, 322-328
 Urns, Cinerary, 488
 Utopias in Plautus, 55-68
 Vahlen's Opuscula Academica (noticed), 500
 VAN DERMAN, ESTHER BOISE. Notes on a few Vestal inscriptions, 172-178
 Van Wageningen's Album Terentianum and Scaenica Romana (rev.), 223-227
 Varro on wines, 490
 Vestal Inscriptions, 172-178
 Viking Society for Northern Research, 248-9
 Virgil's Georgics and the British Poets, 1-33
 Fourth Eclogue, 429
 Georgics, 3, 257, 360
 Vulgate, Latin, Gospels in, 496
 WHEELER, ARTHUR LESLIE. Hieremias de Montagnone and Catullus, 186-200
 WILSON, H. L. Notice of Curtius's Ancient Italy by Etторе Pais, 379
 Wölfflin, Death of, 493
 Wright, J. H., Death of, 493

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CONTENTS.

I.—Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. Second Article. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE,	389
II.—The Plot of Menander's Epitrepontes. By EDWARD CAPPS,	410
III.—Gildas, Libellus Querulus de Excidio Britannorum as a Source of Glosses in the Cottoniensis (Cleopatra A III = WW. 338-473) and in the Corpus Glossary. By OTTO B. SCHLUTTER,	432
IV.—Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.—An Overlooked Source. By ROBERT T. KERLIN,	449
V.—A New Rhodian Inscription. By T. LESLIE SHEAR,	461
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	467
Marx's C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae.—Cichorius' Untersuchungen zu Lucilius.—Toutain's Les Cultes Palens dans l'Empire Romain.—Denison's Nahuatl or Mexican in Aryan Phonology.	
REPORTS:	467
Hermes.—Philologus.	
BRIEF MENTION,	498
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	506
BOOKS RECEIVED,	510
INDEX,	513

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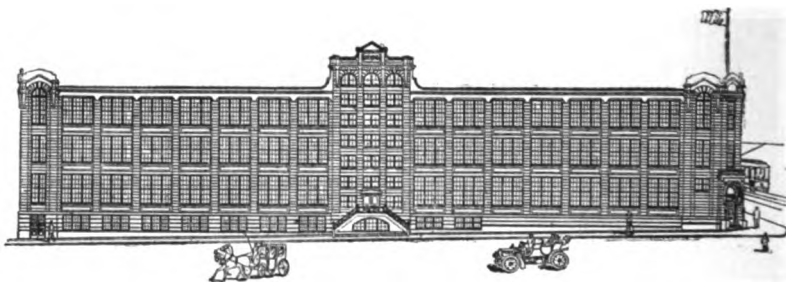
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